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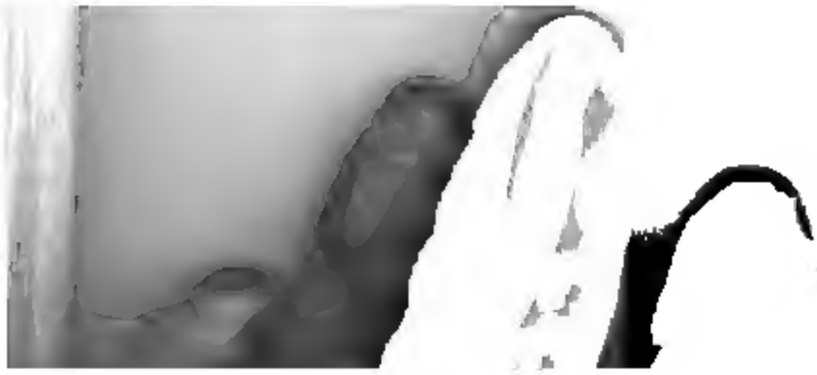

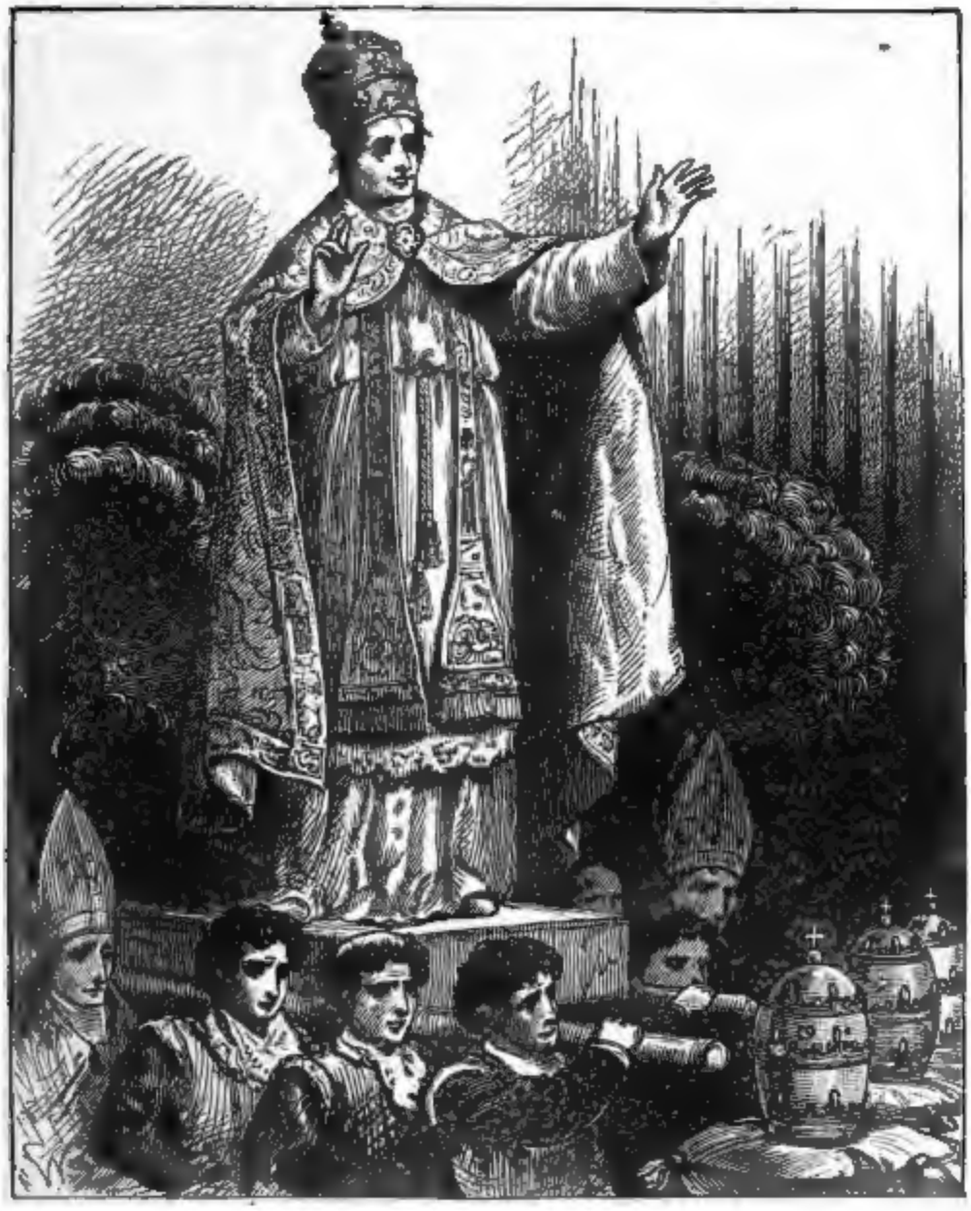

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OF THE

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DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

WITH A SUMMARY OF THE REFORMATION

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BY PHILIP SMITH, B.A.

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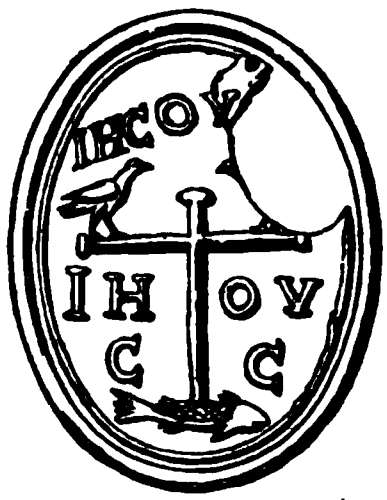

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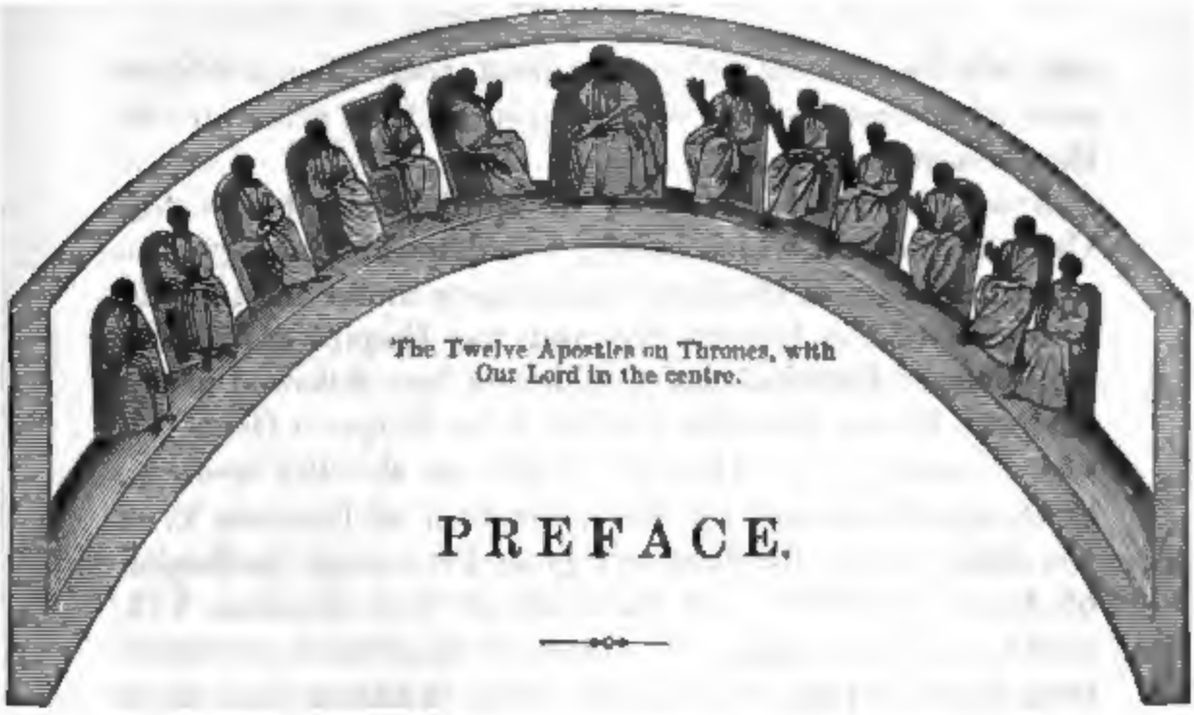

The Twelve Apostles on Thrones, with Our Lord in the centre.

PREFACE.

THE present Work forms the continuation and conclusion of the Author's "History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries."

The Preface to that Volume set forth the need of such a Manual, not only for the Theological Student, but also for every reader of Civil History, which becomes more closely connected with Ecclesiastical History as we advance into the Middle Ages; while the great severance of a large part of Western Christendom from Rome marks the epoch at which the general history of the Church branches out into that of the several nations.

The limit thus prescribed by the nature of the subject corresponds to that which has been found practicable in the execution of the work; for the Author is not ashamed to confess that he had to learn the magnitude of his task in its performance—"*Experto disces quam gravis iste labor*"—and the book was not written in the order of its final arrangement. The *History of the Medieval Church*—or rather that well-defined part of it which begins from the darkness of the Tenth Century—is a subject large enough in itself, and a complete *History of the Reformation* is one of equal magnitude; but the ultimate issue of the former

can only be seen by a glance at least, comprehensive however brief, over the latter; and this has been attempted in the present Volume.

Apart from all questions of opinion about the *true* Catholic Church, which belong to polemical Theology, the external union of Western Christianity under the twofold headship of the Roman See and the Empire supplies a well-defined *historical* chain, which is here followed in the first two Books, from the deaths of the Emperor OTHO III. and Pope SYLVESTER II. (A.D. 1002–3) to the Reformation, at the epoch marked by the coronation of CHARLES V. in the same year as the Diet and great Protestant Confession of Augsburg (1530) and the death of Pope CLEMENT VII. (1534), which is also the epoch of England's severance from Rome. Then, taking up what Mosheim long since defined as the *Internal History* of the Church, the attempt is made to exhibit, in successive Books, the *Constitution*, *Worship*, and most distinctive *Doctrines* of the Roman Catholic system; the progress and decline of *Monasticism*, including the wondrous phenomenon of the *Mendicant Orders*, the standing militia of Rome, till their corruptions became a chief cause of the revolt from her authority; the great intellectual movement of *Scholasticism* and the *Universities*; and the rebellion of opinion and conscience against authority, which—justly or unjustly—was stigmatized as *Heresy*. This subject leads, by a natural transition, to the great movement of *Reformation*, beginning with WYCLIF and HUS, and culminating in the religious revolution of the Sixteenth Century; the last wide period being only sketched in outline.

With regard to the authorities on which the Work is founded, the avowal made in the Preface to the former Volume is still more applicable to the vast literature of the Medieval Church. Though the subject has formed one of his special studies, the Author does not claim to have founded the present Manual on the life-long labour of original research; but to have used the best Histories

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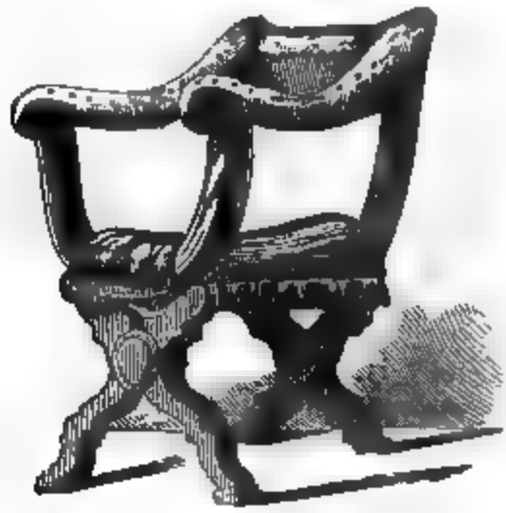

The Pope's Chair at the Council of Constance.

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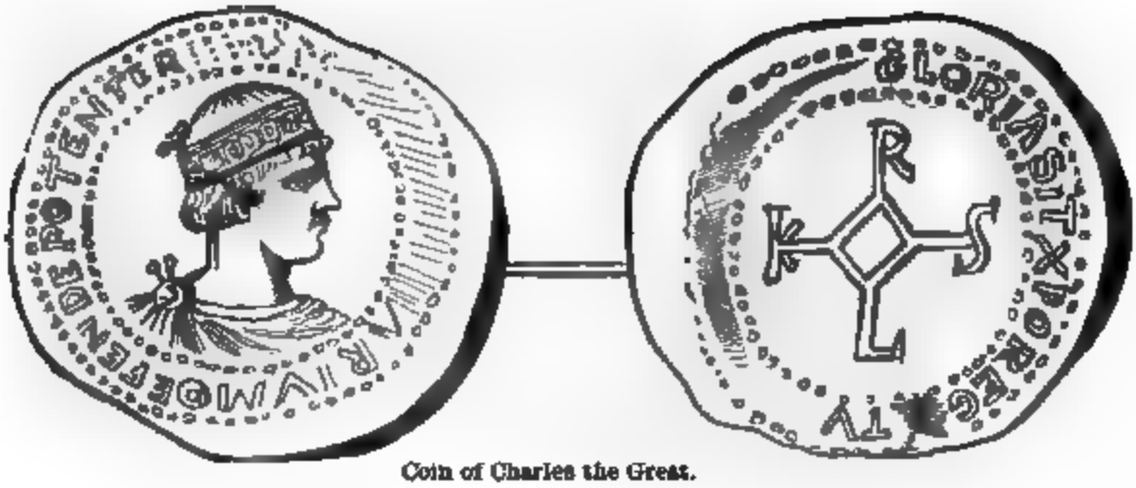

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[1] The ( ) are a reminder that the *name* is not yet used, but *in reality* UNIVERSITIES rose in the twelfth century or earlier (see p. 487 f.).

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[1] All the succeeding Emperors were of the house of Hapsburg, except CHARLES VII. (Bavarian) and FRANCIS I. of Lorraine, whose marriage with Maria Theresa made him head of the new line of Hapsburg-Lorraine.

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[1] The title borne by all his successors, except CHARLES V., who was crowned *Emperor* at Bologna.

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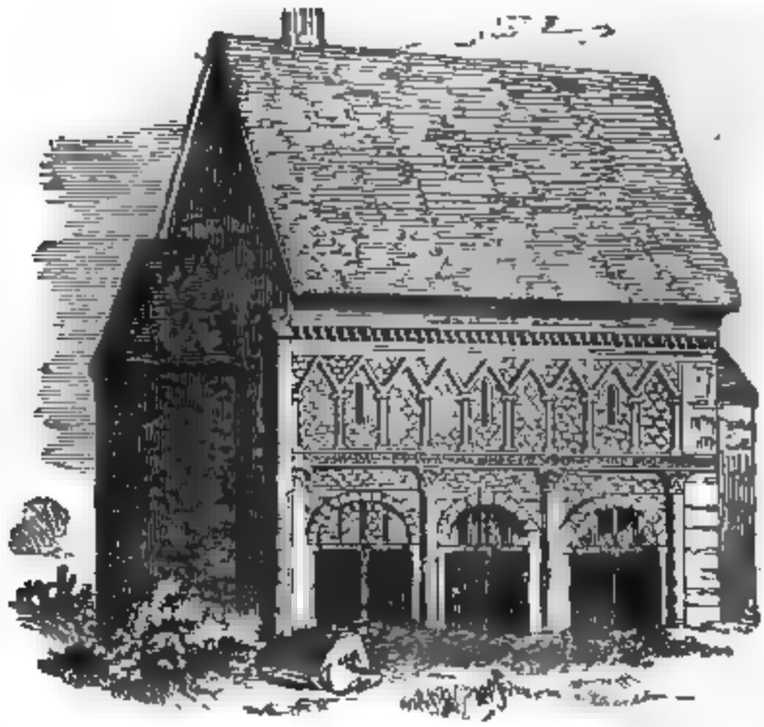

Vestibule of the Abbey of Lorsch, near Darmstadt. Of the time of Charles the Great.

LIST OF POPES AND EMPERORS.

The Names in [ ] are those of Antipopes and Rival Emperors. The term "Emperor" is used for convenience, but those who were not crowned at Rome are marked with *.

From the Beginning of the 11th Century.

From	Popes.	To	From	Emperors.	To
A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
				Saxon Line.	
999	Sylvester II.	1003	983	Otho III.	1002
1003	John XVII. Jan. 13–Dec. 7	1003	1002	Henry II. Bav. (the Saint).	1024
1003	John XVIII.	1009	1014	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1009	Sergius IV.	1012			
1012	Benedict VIII.	1024			
	[Gregory] Jan.-Dec. ..	1012		*Franconian Line.*	
1024	John XIX.	1033	1024	Conrad II. the Salic ..	1039
			1027	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1033	Benedict IX.	1046	1039	Henry III. the Black ..	1056
1044	[Sylvester III.]	1046	1046	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1045	Gregory VI.	1046			
1046	Clement II.	1047			
1048	Damasus II.	1048			
1048	Leo IX.	1054			
1054	Victor II.	1057	1056	Henry IV.	1106
1057	Stephen IX.	1058	1084	(Crowned Emperor; dep.)	
1058	[Benedict X.]	1059			
1059	Nicolas II.	1061			
1061	Alexander II.	1073			
1061	[Honorius II.]	1069		*Rivals with Henry IV.*	
1073	Gregory VII.	1085	1077	[Rudolf of Swabia.]	
1080	[Clement III.]	1100	1081	[Hermann of Luxemburg.]	
1086	Victor III.	1087			
1088	Urban II.	1099	1093	[Conrad of Franconia.]	
1099	Paschal II.	1118			
1100	[Theodoric.]	1102			
1102	[Albert.]	1105			
1105	[Sylvester IV.]	1111	1106	Henry V.	1125
1118	Gelasius II.	1119	1111	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1118	[Gregory VIII.]	1121			
1119	Calixtus II.	1124			
1121	[Celestine.]				
1124	Honorius II.	1130	1125	Lothair II. (or III.)	1137
1130	Innocent II.	1143	1137	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1130	[Anacletus II.]	1138		*Line of Hohenstaufen.*	
1138	[Victor.]		1138	*Conrad III.	1152
1143	Celestine II.	1144		(Never crowned at Rome.)	
1144	Lucius II.	1145			
1145	Eugenius III.	1153	1152	Frederick I. Barbarossa ..	1190
1153	Anastasius IV.	1154	1155	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1154	Adrian IV.	1159			
1159	Alexander III.	1181			
1159	[Victor IV.]	1164			
1164	[Paschal III.]	1168			
1168	[Calixtus III.]	1178			
1178	[Innocent III.]	1180			
1181	Lucius III.	1185			
1185	Urban III.	1187			
1187	Gregory VIII.	1187			

From	Popes.	To	From	Emperors.	To
A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1187	Clement III.	1191	1190	Henry VI...	1197
1191	Celestine III.	1198	1191	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1198	Innocent III.	1216	1197	[*Philip II.]	1208
1216	Honorius III.	1227	1197	Otho IV. (Saxon)	1218
			1209	(Crowned Emperor.)	
1227	Gregory IX	1241	1212	Frederick II. Hohenstfn.	1250
1241	Celestine IV.	1241	1220	(Crowned Emperor).	
1241	*The Holy See vacant* ..	1243	1246	[Henry of Thuringia] ..	1247
1243	Innocent IV.	1254	1247	[William of Holland] ..	1247
1254	Alexander IV...	1261	1250	*Conrad IV	1254
1261	Urban IV...	1264	1254	*Interregnum*	1271
1265	Clement IV.	1268	1257	[Richard of Cornwall] ..	1271
1268	*Vacancy*	1271		[Alfonso of Castile]	1273
1271	Gregory X.	1276	1273	*Rudolf I. (Hapsburg) ..	1291
1276	Innocent V	1276			
1276	Adrian V. July 11–Aug. 6.	1276			
1276	John XXI...	1277			
1277	Nicolas III.	1280			
1281	Martin IV.	1285			
1285	Honorius IV.	1287			
1288	Nicolas IV.	1292			
1292	*Vacancy*	1294	1292	*Adolf (Nassau) deposed..	1298
1294	Celestine V.	1294		killed	1298
1294	Boniface VIII.	1303	1298	*Albert I. (Hapsburg) ..	1308
1303	Benedict XI.	1304			

The Babylonian Captivity at Avignon.

1305	Clement V.	1314	1308	Henry VII. (Luxemburg)	1313
1314	*Vacancy*	1316	1312	(Crowned Emperor.)	
			1314	Louis IV. (Bavaria) ..	1347
1316	John XXII.	1334	1328	(Crowned by the Antipope)	
1328	[Nicolas V.]	1329	1314	[Frederick of Austria]	1325
1334	Benedict XII.	1342	1346	[Charles IV. of Luxemburg.]	
1342	Clement VI.	1352	1347	Charles IV. acknowledged	1378
1352	Innocent VI.	1362	1355	(Crowned Emperor)	
1362	Urban V.	1370	1349	[Günther of Schwarzburg]	
1370	Gregory XI.	1378			
1377	*Returns to Rome.*				

The Great Papal Schism.

1378	Urban VI. (Rome)	1389	1378	*Wenceslaus (of Luxemburg) deposed.	1400
1378	*Clement VII.* (Avignon)	1394			
1389	Boniface IX. (Rome) ..	1404	1400	*Rupert (Palatine)	1410
1394	*Benedict XIII.* (Av.) dep.	1417			
	died	1424[1]			
1404	Innocent VII. (Rome) ..	1406			
1406	Gregory XII. (Ro.) resig.	1415			
1409	Alexander V. (Pisa) ..	1410	1410	Sigismund (of Luxemburg)	1437
			1411	(Re-elected.)	
1410	John XXIII. (Pisa)	1415	1433	(Crowned Emperor.)	
	(Deposed)	1417			
	End of the Schism.		1410	[Jobst, of Moravia]	1411

[1] Clement VIII. and Benedict XIV.: rival elections by the followers of Benedict XIII. in Spain (1424–1429).

	Popes.		From	Emperors.	To
A.D.		A.D.	A.D.	*House of Hapsburg.*[1]	A.D.
1417	Martin V	1431	1438	*Albert II.	1439
1431	Eugenius IV.	1447	1440	Frederick III.	1493
1439	[Felix V. (Basle)]	1449			
1447	Nicolas V.	1455	1452	*Last Coronation at Rome.*	
1455	Calixtus III.	1458			
1458	Pius II.	1464			
1464	Paul II.	1471			
1471	Sixtus IV.	1484			
1484	Innocent VIII.	1492	1493	*Maximilian I.	1519
1492	Alexander VI.	1503	1508	(Emperor Elect.)	
1503	Pius III.	1503			
1503	Julius II.	1513			
1513	Leo X.	1521	1519	Charles V., abdicated	1556
1522	Adrian VI.	1523	1530	(Crowned at Bologna.) died	1558
1523	Clement VII.	1534			
1534	Paul III.	1549			
1550	Julius III.	1555			
1555	Marcellus II. (Ap. 9–30)	1555			
1555	Paul IV.	1559	1558	*Ferdinand I.	1564
1559	Pius IV.	1565	1564	*Maximilian II.	1576
1566	Pius V.	1572			
1572	Gregory XIII.	1585	1576	*Rudolf II.	1612
1582	*Reformation of Calendar*				
1585	Sixtus V.	1590			
1590	Urban VII. (Sept. 16–27)	1590			
1590	Gregory XIV.	1591			
1591	Innocent IX.	1591			
1592	Clement VIII.	1605			
1605	Leo XI. (April 1–27)	1605	1612	*Matthias	1619
1605	Paul V.	1621	1619	*Ferdinand II.	1637
1621	Gregory XV.	1623			
1623	Urban VIII.	1644	1637	*Ferdinand III.	1658
1644	Innocent X.	1655			
1655	Alexander VII.	1667	1658	*Leopold I.	1705
1667	Clement IX.	1669			
1670	Clement X.	1676			
1676	Innocent XI.	1689			
1689	Alexander VIII.	1691			
1691	Innocent XII.	1700	1705	*Joseph I.	1711
1700	Clement XII.	1721	1711	*Charles VI.	1742
1721	Innocent XIII.	1724			
1724	Benedict XIII.	1730			
1730	Clement XII.	1740	1742	*Charles VII. of Bavaria.	1745
1740	Benedict XIV.	1758	1745	*Francis I. of Lorraine. (H. of *Hapsburg-Lorraine.*)	1765
1758	Clement XIII.	1769	1765	*Joseph II.	1790
1769	Clement XIV.	1774			
1775	Pius VI. d. pris. in France	1799	1790	*Leopold II.	1792
1800	Pius VII. (Rome united with France, 1809–14).	1823			
1823	Leo XII.	1829	1792	*Francis II.	
1829	Pius VIII.	1830	1806	(Abdicated.)	
1831	Gregory XVI.	1846		*End of the Holy Roman Empire.*	
1846	Pius IX.	1878			
1878	Leo XIII.				

[1] **Mem.**—All subsequent Emperors were of the House of Hapsburg, except *Charles VII.* and *Francis I.*

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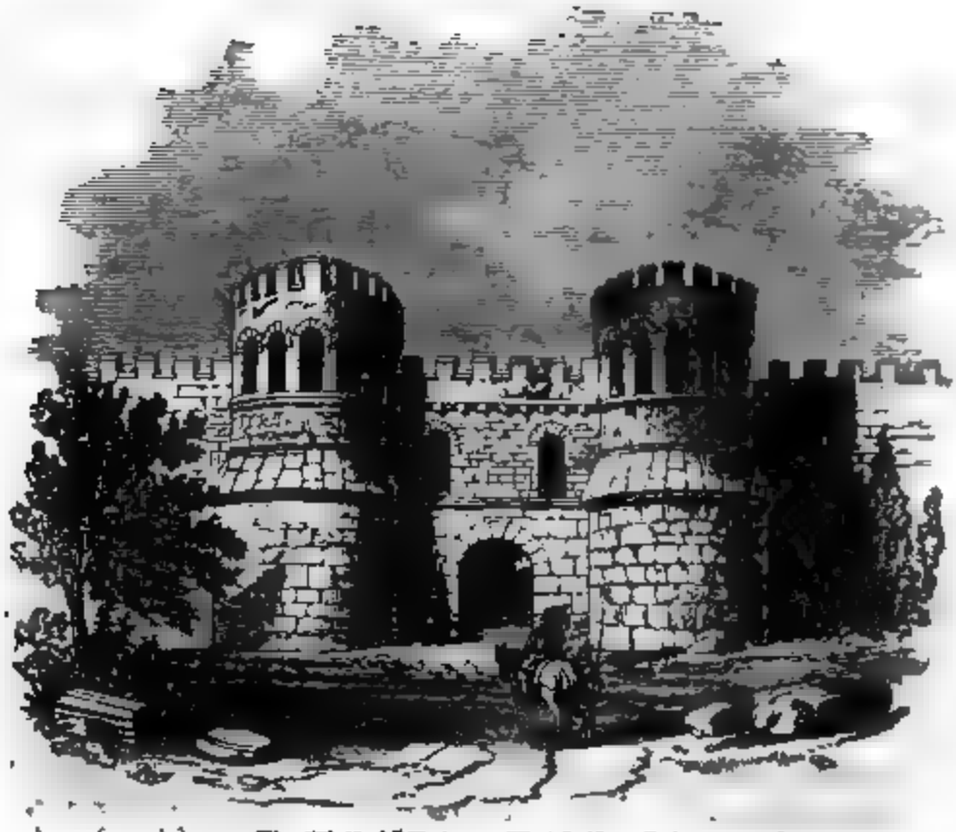


The Walls of Rome. The Ostian Gate.

BOOK I.

CLIMAX OF THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY AND THEIR CONFLICT FOR SUPREMACY.

CENTURIES XI.—XIII.

CHAPTER I.

SUPREMACY OF THE EMPIRE AND REFORM OF THE PAPACY, UNDER HENRY II., CONRAD II., AND HENRY III.

A.D. 1002—1056.

§ 1. The Papacy, redeemed from degradation, aims at Supremacy. § 2. HENRY II., King of the Germans—State of Italy and the Papacy—Pope BENEDICT VIII. crowns Henry Emperor. § 3. Pope JOHN XIX. and the Emperor CONRAD II., the Franconian—Pope BENEDICT IX. § 4. King HENRY III.—Contest for the Papacy—Simony at Rome—Synod of Sutri—Abdication of GREGORY VI.—Pope CLEMENT II. crowns Henry III. Emperor. § 5. Sudden deaths of Clement II. and DAMASUS II.—The Emperor appoints Brune Pope—Intervention of HILDEBRAND. § 6. The clerical party of Reform—They aim at papal supremacy—Life, Principles,

and Character of Hildebrand. § 7. Contest about the imperial nomination and confirmation of the Popes—Interview of Hildebrand and Bruno—Bruno's consecration as LEO IX. § 8. His Journeys and Synods—Councils of Rheims and Mainz—Leo's personal jurisdiction—Admission of papal assumptions. § 9. Leo IX. and the Normans in Italy—Capture of the Pope in battle, and treaty with the Normans—Death of Leo. § 10. Final Schism of the Greek and Latin Churches. § 11. Hildebrand declines the Papacy—Election of Gebhard as Pope VICTOR II.—Deaths of Henry III. and Victor.

§ 1. LIKE most schemes of human wisdom and policy, the reform of the Papacy by the great German emperors had effects very different from their fair designs and hopes. The ideal of a "holy alliance" between the supreme civil and ecclesiastical powers, for the regeneration of the world, was above the reach of human nature; and the practical question soon became, which of these powers should subdue the other to its supremacy. The Church in general, and the Papacy in particular, raised from the degradation into which it had sunk in the tenth century, with an awakened feeling of its high calling and duties, had also a revived sense of privilege and ambition. The subjection of the Church to the Empire seemed a danger only to be escaped by the subjection of the Empire to the Church. The victory was won by the power which the spiritual authority had over the minds of men, and by the energy and resolution of such Popes as Hildebrand and Innocent III., aided by the monastic orders and the standing army of mendicant friars. The Crusades too, while keeping religious enthusiasm at a high pitch of exaltation, occupied the attention and exhausted the strength of the European princes. But the victory of the Papacy was purchased at the heavy cost of discovering that the imperial power had been its best ally. The Pope had conquered the Emperor only to become subservient to the policy of France, and to prepare the way for the humiliation of the "Babylonian Exile."

§ 2. On the death of Otho III., HENRY,[1] duke of Bavaria, surnamed THE PIOUS, was elected King of the Germans through the influence of Archbishop Willigis (1002). Henry, who had been destined for the clerical office, was remarkably devout, but none the less vigorous in civil administration and in his efforts to reform the Church. It was ten years, however, before his power was established in Italy,[2]

[1] He is called in history HENRY II., which was his style as King of the Germans; but he was the first emperor of his name, for Henry the Fowler was not emperor.

[2] From this time forward the sovereign of Germany was elected at once in that character and as King of the Romans, with a title to the imperial dignity, involving (though by no clear claim of right) the sovereignty of Italy, which ere long became but nominal. (As to this last point, see

where the nobles had set up Ardoin (or Harduin) as king at Pavia, while the republican party was revived at Rome under John, a member of the Crescentian family, and three successive popes owed their election to his influence.[1]

On the death of the last of these, the election of GREGORY as his successor was disputed by the Tusculan party, who were strong enough to establish BENEDICT VIII. (1012–1014) on the papal throne. Gregory repaired for aid to Henry, who had just put down Ardoin; but Henry, on his arrival at Rome, declared for Benedict, who crowned him Emperor. The schemes of both for the reformation of the Church had to be postponed for more pressing occupations, and the energy of Benedict was spent in conflicts with the Greeks, who still ruled in Southern Italy and threatened to win back Rome for the Eastern Empire, and with the Saracens, who were extending their power from Sicily into Italy. It was during the papacy of Benedict that the first bands of Normans established themselves in Southern Italy, after giving their aid against the Greeks and Saracens.

§ 3. On the death of Benedict VIII. (1024), the Tusculan party *purchased* the votes of the Romans for his brother, Romanus, a layman, who took the name of JOHN XIX. (1024–1033). A few months later, the death of Henry II. ended the Saxon imperial line, and the crown of Germany was conferred on the first of the *Franconian* dynasty, CONRAD II. (1024–1039), whose surname of "the Salic" declared his origin from the noblest race of the Franks, and who proved himself a worthy successor of Charles the Great.[2] In 1026

Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 149–150, 6th ed. 1876.) Preceding Emperors were (before coronation) kings of the Franks, or of the Eastern Franks, or of the Franks and Saxons, or of the Germans (*Teutonicorum*, very rarely *Germanorum*. The title *Rex Germaniæ* was first used by Maximilian I. in 1508). Henry II. and his successors asserted their claims to the sovereignty of Rome by calling themselves *Kings of the Romans*, till the act of coronation at Rome invested each with the title of Emperor. But the title *Rex Romanorum* was not uniformly assumed till the reign of Henry IV. From the eleventh century to the sixteenth, the title *before* coronation at Rome was *Romanorum Rex semper Augustus*, and *after* that ceremony it was *Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus*. (Bryce, Note C, p. 452.)

[1] John XVII. (1003; John XVIII. (1003–1009); and Sergius IV. (1009–1012). Gregory is not reckoned among the Popes.

[2] Conrad was also connected with the Saxon line by his descent from a daughter of Otho the Great. *Franconia* was now the name of the eastern or Teutonic part of the old Frank kingdom (*Francia Orientalis*), to distinguish it from the western part, now called simply *Francia*. With reference both to Conrad's origin and character, it was said that his throne stood on the steps of Charles:—"Sella Chuonradi habet ascensoria Caroli," or, in verse—"Chuonradus Caroli premit ascensoria regis." (Wippo, *Vita Chuonradi*, c. 6, quoted by Robertson, vol. ii. p. 442.)

he was crowned King of Italy at Milan, and in the following year he received the imperial crown at Rome, our King Canute being present at the ceremony. Conrad vindicated his authority over the highest ecclesiastics by imprisoning Heribert of Milan, when, presuming on his former services, the archbishop added to his misgovernment insolence towards the Emperor. But, in the contest which ensued, Conrad demeaned himself by an alliance with the dissolute Pope BENEDICT IX. (1033–1048), whom, while a mere boy of ten or twelve, the Tusculan party had raised to the chair of St. Peter, as successor to his cousin John XIX.[1]

§ 4. In 1039 Conrad was succeeded by his son HENRY III. (1039–1056), who raised the German kingdom and the Holy Empire to the climax of its power, and was a vigorous reformer of the Church. His intervention was called for at Rome by the rival pretensions of three Popes, all of them the creatures of simony, and each holding one of the principal churches of the city. "BENEDICT IX. was supported by the Tusculan party, and SYLVESTER III. by a rival faction of nobles, while John Gratian, who had assumed the name of GREGORY VI., was the Pope of the people. The state of things was miserable; revenues were alienated or intercepted, churches fell into ruin, and disorders of every kind prevailed."[2]

Gregory VI., in whom the hopes of the reforming party were centred, met Henry III. on his entrance into Italy, and by his desire convened a synod at Sutri (Dec. 1046). This assembly set aside the claims of Benedict and Sylvester; and then proceeded to enquire into the election of Gregory himself. The worthy man, convinced that he had erred in purchasing his election, stripped off his robes in presence of the council; and a German, nominated by Henry, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, was elected at Rome on Christmas Eve as Pope CLEMENT II. (1046–47). On Christmas Day, he placed the imperial crown on Henry's head; and the Romans, in their joy for the restoration of order, conferred on Henry the hereditary patriciate,[3] with the right of nomination to the papal chair, and bound themselves by an oath not to consecrate a Pope without the Emperor's consent. No Emperor was ever so absolute at Rome as Henry, and under his rule the Romans were obliged to elect a succession of pious and reforming German Popes.

§ 5. Clement had only time to begin the work of reformation by

[1] His own name was Theophylact.

[2] Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. ii. p. 445; where the reader will find the complicated details of the elevation of these rival Popes, and the conflict between their parties.

[3] Henry constantly wore the green mantle and circlet of gold, which were the insignia of the Patrician of Rome.

holding a council against simony, when he died within ten months from his election (1047). Henry had returned to Germany, carrying with him the deposed Pope Gregory. The Tusculan party ventured on the restoration of Benedict IX.; but he was compelled to fly at the approach of the Emperor's nominee, the German DAMASUS II., with a powerful escort. The death of the new Pope on the twentieth day from his installation (1048), following on the sudden end of Clement's pontificate, raised suspicions of foul play by the anti-German party.

The choice of the Emperor now fell on his cousin BRUNO, bishop of Toul, who was famed "for piety, learning, prudence, charity, and humility; he was laborious in his duties, an eloquent preacher, and a skilful musician."[1] Notwithstanding his hesitation to accept the dignity, and without waiting for the form of election by the Roman clergy and people, Bruno was invested with the papal insignia at a Diet held at Worms, in presence of the Roman envoys; and he set out for Rome in full state. But at Besançon he was met by Hugh, abbot of Clugny, who was accompanied by the monk HILDEBRAND, and the renown of that great name may be said to date from the epoch of this interview.

§ 6. We have thus far seen the course of ecclesiastical and papal reform directed by the imperial head of the ideal Christian State. But there was a party within the Church, which laboured for deeper reform and aimed at a higher ideal of spiritual power, and only accepted the aid of princes till that power could be raised above all secular authority. "To the connection of the Church with the State, to the feudal obligations of the prelates, they traced the grievous scandals which had long disgraced the hierarchy—the rude and secular habits of the bishops, their fighting and hunting, their unseemly pomp and luxury, their attempts to render ecclesiastical preferments hereditary in their own families. And what if the empire were to achieve such an entire control over the Papacy and the Church as Henry appeared to be gaining? What would be the effect of such power when transferred from the noble, conscientious, and religious Emperor, to a successor of different character? The Church must not depend on the personal qualities of a prince; it must be guided by other hands, and under a higher influence; national churches, bound up with and subject to the State, were unequal to the task of reformation, which must proceed, not from the State, but from the hierarchy, from the papacy, from heaven through Christ's vicegerent, the successor of St. Peter; to him alone on earth it must be subject, and for this purpose all power must be

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 552.

centred in the papacy."[1] The strongholds of this reforming party were the cloisters recently founded for the purpose of reviving strict monasticism, especially those of Clugny and Camaldoli;[2] and their whole spirit was centred in the enthusiastic but deeply politic resolution of HILDEBRAND, the Italian monk, who began the conflict of life and death between the Papacy and the German Emperors.

Born between 1010 and 1020, the son of a carpenter, at the old Etruscan city of Suana (now *Sovana*), he was trained for the priesthood by his uncle, the abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine. His rigid views of the monastic life led him across the Alps to join the society of Clugny, where the abbot is said to have applied to him the prophecy, "He shall be great in the sight of the Highest." After visiting the court of Henry III., Hildebrand returned to Rome, and became chaplain to his former preceptor, Gregory VI., on whose deposition he retired again to his cell at Clugny, whence he now came forth to be the guiding and animating spirit of the reformation which was based on the supremacy of the Church over the State, of the Papacy above the Empire. It has been well said that Hildebrand "was not the inventor nor the first propounder of these doctrines; but *he was the first who dared to apply them to the world as he found it.* His was that rarest and grandest of gifts, an intellectual courage and power of imaginative belief which, when it has convinced itself of aught, accepts it fully with all its consequences, and shrinks not from acting at once upon it—a perilous gift, as the melancholy end of his own career proved, for men were found less ready than he had thought them to follow out with unswerving consistency like his the principles which all acknowledged. But it was the very suddenness and boldness of his policy that secured the ultimate triumph of his cause, awing men's minds and making that seem realized which had been till then a vague theory."[3]

§ 7. The chief practical point, on which the contest between the civil and ecclesiastical powers turned, was the right of the Emperor to nominate the Popes and to confirm their election.[4] In the present case, Henry and the Diet of Worms had gone so far as to invest Bruno with the papal insignia, which indeed he had only accepted on the condition that he should be duly elected at Rome. But, on the remonstrances of Hildebrand against his accepting from the Emperor the dignity to which he could only be raised by the free election of the Romans, Bruno laid aside all outward marks of his

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 551; who cites Voigt's *Hildebrand*, 8, 9, and Rémusat's *St. Anselme*, 186.

[2] Concerning these new orders, see below, Chap. XX.

[3] Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 160, 161.

[4] On the mode of election itself, see Part I. Chaps. VII. § 6, and below, Chap. II. § 2.

office for the dress of a pilgrim, and entering Rome barefoot, in company with Hildebrand, he was received with enthusiasm, and was elected Pope by the style of LEO IX. (1048–1054). Hildebrand, whom he ordained a sub-deacon and made his treasurer, was the chief director of his policy; and Italian influence was strengthened by the ascetic enthusiast, Peter Damiani, the vehement opponent of simony and "nicolaitanism," and the zealous votary of flagellation and other superstitions of the age.[1] Damiani was the tool of Hildebrand, whom he calls his "hostile friend" and "saintly Satan."

§ 8. Leo IX. addressed himself vigorously to carry on the work of reformation by his own presence and by frequent councils in various parts of the Empire. One of the most important of these was held at Rheims (1049), where the French bishops and abbots, who were among the most corrupt in Christendom, were required to take an oath that they had not obtained their benefices by simony; and several of them were excommunicated. The Council acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as Apostolic Pontiff and Primate of the whole Church, and recognized the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals as the law of the Church. In the same year Leo held another council at Mainz in presence of the Emperor. This personal assertion of his authority had a wonderful effect in crushing the rising tendency to dispute the advancing claims of Rome. Leo entered kingdoms and principalities without asking permission of their sovereigns; summoned councils, in which he not only sat as judge, but himself originated proceedings and conducted them according to no forms but his own pleasure; treated the dignitaries of each national church as responsible to himself, forced them to accuse or excuse themselves on oath, and pronounced a summary judgment on every offender. "Yet startling as were the novelties of such proceedings, Leo was able to venture on them with safety, for the popular feeling was with him and supported him in all his aggressions on the authority of princes or of bishops. His presence was welcomed everywhere as that of a higher power come to redress the grievances under which men had long been groaning; there was no disposition to question his pretensions on account of their novelty; rather this novelty gave them a charm, because the deliverance which he offered had not before been dreamed of. And the manner in which his judgments were conducted was skilfully calculated to disarm opposition. Whatever there might be of a new kind in it, the trial was before synods, the old legitimate tribunal; bishops were afraid to protest, lest they should be considered guilty; and while the process for the discovery of guilt was unusually severe, it was in the execution tempered with an appearance of mildness which took off much from its

[1] For the life and character of Damiani, see Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 555 f.

severity. Offenders were allowed to state circumstances in extenuation of their guilt, and their excuses were readily admitted. The lenity shown to one induced others to submit, and thus the Pope's assumptions were allowed to pass without objection."[1]

§ 9. The Norman adventurers, who had established themselves in Southern Italy at the expense both of the Greeks and Saracens, and had now conquered Apulia (1040–1043),[2] proved troublesome and dangerous neighbours to the Holy See, invading the patrimony of St. Peter and threatening Rome itself. To seek the Emperor's aid against them, Leo IX. crossed the Alps for the third time (1052). But his appeal was frustrated through the influence of Bishop Gebhard, the imperial chancellor, and he only obtained a body of 700 German adventurers. With these and the Italians who flocked to his standard, the Pope, who had hitherto exerted himself to put down the military spirit among the churchmen of France and Germany, advanced to battle agam a Christian enemy, and, being defeated at Civitella, became a prisoner to the Normans (1053). But this disaster led to a new alliance, on which the Papacy could rely in its contest with the Empire. The Norman victors implored the pardon of the Holy Father, who was glad to grant the terms he had before refused, that they should hold their present and future conquests in Italy and Sicily under the Pope, who claimed the right to those territories as included in the donation of Constantine. In consequence of this Treaty, the Two Sicilies remained a fief of the Holy See till their recent absorption in the new kingdom of Italy. Leo, after being kept in honourable captivity at Benevento for nine months, was permitted to return to Rome, to die before the altar of St. Peter (April, 1054).

§ 10. Just before his death, the schism between Rome and Constantinople was made complete and final. The interest of the Greek Emperors in Southern Italy had disposed them to cultivate the goodwill of the Popes; and the Emperor Basil II. had lately proposed to John XVIII. a reconciliation on the basis of allowing the title of *Universal Bishop* to both patriarchs; but the Italian bishops protested vehemently against the compromise. Leo IX. had laboured to heal the schism and to unite the forces of both Emperors against the Normans; but the threatened loss of Southern Italy seems rather to have roused the zeal of the Greeks against all the Latins.

The patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, joined the metropolitan of Bulgaria, Leo, archbishop of Achrida, in a letter to the bishop of Trani, in Apulia, denouncing the heresies of the Latin Church, and especially the use of unleavened bread in the

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 564, 565.

[2] For the history of the Normans in Italy and Sicily, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xxxi. pp. 520, foll.

Eucharist; and the patriarch closed the Latin churches and monasteries at Constantinople (1053). The captive Pope wrote a letter of remonstrance to the patriarch, and at the beginning of 1054 he sent three legates to the Emperor Constantine X. Monomachus. A controversy ensued between Humbert, the chief of the papal legates, and the Studite monk, Nicetas, in which the Emperor took the side of Humbert. But the patriarch Michael refused not only agreement, but even discussion; and the legates, after laying a sentence of excommunication against him on the high altar of St. Sophia, took their departure from Constantinople. Further attempts at reconciliation were made in vain by the Emperor and the moderate party among the Greeks, and soon afterwards by Pope Stephen IX.,[1] and the schism remains open to the present day.

§ 11. The dying words of Leo IX., and the wishes of the Roman clergy and people, summoned Hildebrand to assume the power which he really directed. But he saw that the Papacy was not yet strong enough to oppose a powerful emperor like Henry III., nor even to dispense with his support. With profound policy he preferred the elevation of another German, and that the very man whose influence had opposed Leo IX. Hildebrand himself headed an embassy from the Romans to the Emperor, requesting him to nominate a Pope, as none among themselves was worthy of the office; and, in suggesting the Chancellor Gebhard, he trusted that Henry's ablest counsellor, hitherto an opponent of the Cluniac party, would be transformed into the spirit of his new dignity. When Hildebrand's persistence had not only overborne the reluctance of Henry, who in vain suggested other names, but had brought him to press the appointment on his unwilling chancellor, Gebhard at length yielded, with the ominous words, "So be it! I give myself body and soul to St. Peter, but only on the condition that you give him back what is his" (1055).

A great victory was won when Henry not only consented to that formal election at Rome, in which he had tacitly acquiesced in the case of Bruno, but promised the restoration of the Patrimony of St. Peter in its full extent, and in performing his promise he also conferred on the Pope the administration of all Italy. The year after the installation, Gebhard, now VICTOR II., was invited by Henry to Germany, and was present when the great Emperor died, in his fortieth year, commending his infant son HENRY IV. (1056-1106) to the Pope's care, and bidding his widow Agnes to be guided by his ancient counsellor's advice. The power of the Empire and of the Papacy seemed to be united in the see of St. Peter, when Victor himself died in the following year (1057).

[1] Frederick of Lorraine, who was one of Leo IX.'s envoys to Constantinople.

Rome.

CHAPTER II.

SUPREMACY OF HILDEBRAND (GREGORY VII.) AND HIS CONTEST WITH HENRY IV. ABOUT INVESTITURES.

A.D. 1057—1085.

§ 1. Infancy of Henry IV. and Regency of his mother AGNES. Popes STEPHEN IX. and BENEDICT X.—Election of NICOLAS II.—Beginning of Hildebrand's Supremacy. § 2. Regulation of Papal Elections by the *College of Cardinals*—The Emperor's right only saved in name. § 3. Relations of the Empire and Papacy at this crisis—Lofty claims of Hildebrand's party—Aid sought from the Normans—Treaty with Robert Guiscard. § 4. German Council against Nicolas—His death—Double Papal Election—ALEXANDER II. and the Antipope HONORIUS II. § 5. Revolution in Germany—Abduction of Henry IV. by Archbishop Hanno—Synod of Osbor—Deposition and death of Honorius. § 6. Germany under Hanno and Adalbert—Henry IV. cited to Rome—Death of Alexander II. § 7. Hildebrand becomes Pope GREGORY VII.—His lofty claims embodied in the "*Dictate.*" § 8. Reformation of simony, and enforcement of clerical celibacy—Discords between clergy and people—Gregory VII. and Henry IV. § 9. Gregory's decree against *Investitures*—State of the question—Consequences of the Papal claim. § 10. Outrage of Cencius on Gregory. § 11. Revolt of the Saxons—The Pope cites the Emperor to Rome—Gregory deposed by the

Synods of Worms and Piacenza. § 12. Excommunication of Henry—Diet of Tribur: Henry conditionally deposed. § 13. Henry goes to Italy—His humiliation and interview with Gregory at Canossa—Hard terms of absolution. § 14. Rudolf elected King—Civil War and Victory of Henry. § 15. Second excommunication of Henry—Guibert made Antipope as CLEMENT III. § 16. Henry enters Italy, takes Rome, and is crowned Emperor by Clement. § 17. Rome retaken and sacked by Guiscard—Gregory VII. retires to Salerno—His death.

§ 1. THE change from the rule of Henry III. to the government of a woman, as guardian for a child of seven, encouraged the cardinals to choose Frederick of Lorraine, abbot of Monte Cassino, as Pope STEPHEN IX.[1] (1057–58). The great schemes attributed to this haughty and ambitious pontiff were cut short by his death, while Hildebrand was absent on a mission to reconcile the Empress-Regent to his election. The Tusculan party seized the opportunity to set up once more a member of the Crescentian family, John, bishop of Velletri, by the title of BENEDICT X. (1058–59); but the cardinals withdrew from the city to Siena; and Hildebrand secured both the Empress's nomination and their election of Gerard, bishop of Florence, and a Burgundian by birth, as NICOLAS II. (1059–1061). Benedict, condemned and excommunicated by a council, fled from Rome, but presently returned and submitted to Nicolas. From this time may be dated the full ascendancy of Hildebrand as the soul of the papal Curia.

§ 2. Up to this time the Emperor had still the right both of nominating a candidate for the vacant chair and of confirming the election, and the Pope was his acknowledged subject. But now the first decisive step towards freeing the Papacy from dependence on the Empire was taken by the appointment of a permanent body of electors to St. Peter's chair, who were possessed of high dignity and authority. Hitherto the election of the Pope, as of bishops in general, had been made by the clergy and people; and this right, which had been exercised in a manner both uncertain and often tumultuous, was not formally annulled, but was so modified as to place the election virtually in the hands of the august body since known as the *College of Cardinals.*

This famous title, like so many others, had a simple and comparatively humble origin.[2] As, from the etymological sense of the word,[3] anything principal and fixed is called *cardinal*—such as

[1] Or Stephen X., according to the reckoning noticed in vol. i. p. 522.

[2] "*Nomen* vetus, nova est *dignitas*, *purpura* recentior," say the Benedictine editors of St. Gregory the Great (*Ad Epist.* i. 15). See the Article CARDINAL in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*

[3] *Cardo*, the "hinge," on which the door turns and is supported.

cardinal numbers, points of the compass, virtues, and, in ecclesiastical usage, the cardinal altar and mass—so the permanent and chief holders of benefices and officers in churches were called *cardinal* bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as opposed to those who held temporary, movable, or subordinate appointments. The title, whose origin is very ancient, is frequently used in this sense by Gregory the Great.

At Rome, especially, it was applied from an early age to the permanent priests and deacons of the twenty-five or twenty-eight parish churches, or of the seven regions of the city. The title of *cardinal-bishops* was given later (probably not till the time now spoken of) to the seven bishops of the Pope's own immediate province, who assisted him in his functions, and officiated in turn at the altar of St. Peter's—those, namely, of Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, and Præneste. These bishops, with the cardinal priests of the city,[1] were now formed into a College for the election of all future popes; but in such a manner that the initiative was given to the seven cardinal-bishops. They were first to consult about the election, and then to call in the cardinals of lower rank; and the choice thus made was to be ratified by the assent of the rest of the clergy and the people.

The time had not come for the Emperor's right of confirmation to be openly renounced; but it was recognized in terms little short of the mockery of formal respect, and reasserting the papal claim to grant the imperial dignity, "saving the due honour and reverence of our beloved son, Henry, who at present is accounted King, and hereafter will, it is hoped, if God permit, be Emperor,[2] *as we have already granted to him*, and of his successors *who shall have personally obtained this privilege from the Apostolic See.*"

§ 3. This bold assertion calls us to pause and notice the relations of the Papacy to the Empire on the eve of the coming conflict. "The attitude of the Roman Church to the imperial power at Henry III.'s death was externally respectful. The right of a German

[1] "Although the term *cardinal* was applied to Roman *deacons*, there were as yet no members of the electoral college below the order of priest; but afterwards, on the complaint of the deacons and lower clergy that they were excluded, some deacons were added to the body. The steps are uncertain; but it is supposed that the College of Cardinals was thus arranged by Alexander III. (See Mosheim, ii. 331–34.) The whole number was fifty-three, until Sixtus V., in 1586, fixed it at seventy (Walter, 290–1). See lists of the churches from which the cardinals took their titles at various times in Ciacon, vol. i. pp. 117–120." (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 584.)

[2] Henry IV. is here recognized as *King of the Romans.* (See Chap. I. § 2, note.) He did not become Emperor till the twenty-eighth year of his reign, when he was crowned by the Antipope Clement (1084).

King to the crown of the city was undoubted, and the Pope was his lawful subject. Hitherto the initiative in reform had come from the civil magistrate. But the secret of the pontiff's strength lay in this: he, and he alone, could confer the crown, and had, therefore, the right of imposing conditions on its recipient. Frequent interregna had weakened the claim of the Transalpine monarch, and prevented his power from taking firm root; his title was never by law hereditary: the Holy Church had before sought, and might again seek, a defender elsewhere. And since the need of such defence had originated this transference of the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks, since to render it was the Emperor's chief function, it was surely the Pope's duty, as well as his right, to see that the candidate was capable of fulfilling his task, to degrade him if he rejected or misperformed it."[1]

If these lofty claims were to be more than an idle boast, a new helper must be found against the Emperor, who, rejected as a protector, must soon be reckoned with as an enemy; and the needed force was at hand in the now established power of the Normans. After the council at Rome, Nicolas went into Southern Italy, and held a council at Melfi to denounce certain Greek customs of the clergy in those parts, especially the liberty of marriage (1059). This gave him the opportunity of making a treaty with the Norman chieftain, ROBERT GUISCARD (*i.e.* the *Wise* or *Crafty*),[2] to whom the Pope renewed the grant of such territories in Italy and Sicily as he now held or might conquer from the Saracens and Greeks, by the title of "Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, Duke of Apulia and of Calabria, and, with the help of both, hereafter to be of Sicily." The Norman duke engaged to hold his territories as a fief of St. Peter, paying an annual quit-rent; to be the faithful defender of his lord the Pope against all men; and especially to support the new order of the papal elections. All the churches in his dominions were to be subject to the Pope. Nicolas also secured the support of Richard, the chief of the Normans who had been long established at Aversa, by creating him Prince of Capua. In the next and following years, the conquest of Sicily by Roger, the brother of Guiscard, won back another province to the see of Rome.

§ 4. Meanwhile the proceedings of Nicolas roused in Germany a vehement opposition, headed by Hanno, archbishop of Cologne. At Easter, 1061, the Empress Agnes convened a council of German bishops, which excommunicated the Pope and annulled his ordinances. Nicolas, who was already ill, received the sentence of his

[1] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 157-8.

[2] For the history of Robert Guiscard and his brothers, the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xxxi. §§ 6, foll.

countrymen with signs of the deepest grief, and died immediately afterwards (July 1061).

A fierce contest broke out for the succession to the papal chair. The Tusculan and imperial parties combined in opposition to Hildebrand, and sent an embassy to offer Henry the Patriciate and Empire. Hildebrand, learning that this embassy was well received by the Empress, while his own envoys were kept waiting for an audience, bribed the Prince of Capua to come to Rome, where Anselm, bishop of Lucca, was elected by the cardinals as ALEXANDER II. (1061–73), and was enthroned by night, after a bloody conflict between the Norman troops and the imperialists (Oct. 1).

Thereupon the diet and council, which the Empress was holding at Basle, with the concurrence of some Lombard bishops, headed by the Chancellor Guibert,[1] annulled the decree of Nicolas concerning papal elections, and elected Cadalous, bishop of Parma, as Pope Honorius II. (October 28).[2] The war between the supporters of the two Popes in the neighbourhood of Rome was stopped by the armed mediation of Godfrey, Count of Tuscany, the ally of Hildebrand. Cadalous and Anselm engaged to retire to their respective bishoprics, till the question between them should be decided by the Empress. But all was changed by a new crisis in Germany.

§ 5. A large party of the German princes, who resented their subjection to Henry III. and the firm and upright administration of his widow Agnes, laid a plot to obtain possession of the person of Henry IV., who was now twelve years old. Archbishop Hanno, while feasting with the young King on an island of the Rhine, near the present town of Kaiserswerth, tempted Henry on board of a richly-equipped vessel, which carried him to Cologne; and a decree was published, vesting the administration in the archbishop of the province where the King should be at any time resident. To support the power thus seized, Hanno deserted the party of the Antipope, and formed a league with Alexander and Hildebrand. A synod held at Osbor (Augsburg) acknowledged Alexander and excommunicated Honorius (1062). The Antipope, however, gained possession of the Leonine city, and was enthroned at St. Peter's; but, after being besieged for two years in the Castle of St. Angelo by a Norman force, he fled to his bishopric of Parma, and died there in 1072.

§ 6. After the revolution at the German court, the Empress Agnes, having been brought by Peter Damiani to repent of her resistance to the Holy See, became a nun in a Roman convent.

[1] Guibert had been the leader of the Imperialist party in the Roman Council of 1059.

[2] In the Papal Annals, Honorius is treated as an Antipope.

Henry IV. was brought up in such a manner as to spoil his natural good qualities, and to develop his faults by frivolous pursuits and the indulgence of his passions. Hanno, unable to overcome the young King's dislike of him, committed his education to Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, a prelate whose many noble qualities were marred by haughtiness, ambition, and ostentation, and a strange mixture of affability and angry temper. Under these two prelates Germany, both in State and Church, became a prey to misgovernment and disorder, rapacity and corruption, which grew worse when Adalbert supplanted Hanno as minister of the young King, who, at the age of fifteen, was declared able to govern without a regent (1065). It belongs to civil history to relate the alternate rise and fall of the rival prelates, till Adalbert died in March 1072, and Hanno retired at the end of the same year.

Freed from these able though unscrupulous ministers, Henry gave the reins to his licentiousness and misgovernment, till many of his subjects, driven to the verge of rebellion, carried their complaints to the Holy See. After calling the chief prelates of Germany to answer before him for their misrule, especially in the permission of flagrant simony, Alexander ventured on the unprecedented assumption of citing Henry to Rome; but, before the mandate could be delivered, the Pope died (April 21, 1073).

§ 7. The signal thus given for the long-impending conflict at length called the great champion of Rome to his true place. The appointed pause of three days before the election of a new Pope was broken, at the funeral of Alexander, by the cries of the clergy and people for HILDEBRAND; and the cardinals, having retired for a short time, presented him to the acclamations of the people. As if to intimate his resolve to resume the work and spirit of his friend and preceptor Gratian, Hildebrand chose the title of GREGORY VII. (1073–1085).[1] With consummate prudence, he asked for the royal confirmation;[2] and, the envoys sent by Henry having reported that they found no informality in the election, Gregory was consecrated on St. Peter's Day (June 29, 1073).

In devoting himself to the reformation of the Church, Gregory plainly declared, as the essential condition of the work, her independence of all secular control, and her sovereignty over all worldly powers. With equal plainness, he asserted a despotic power for the Papacy over the rest of the Church.[3] In the "Dictate," which gives

[1] The choice of this title was also a declaration that he regarded Gregory VI. as a legitimate Pope. (See above, p. 4.)

[2] This was the last occasion on which such confirmation was asked for a papal election.

[3] Canon Robertson (vol. ii. pp. 610–11) sums up the principles of his

a fair summary of Gregory's principles, it is laid down that "the Roman pontiff alone is universal bishop; that his name is the only one of its kind in the world. To him alone it belongs to depose or to reconcile bishops; and he may depose them in their absence, and without the concurrence of a synod. He alone is entitled to frame new laws for the Church—to divide, unite, or translate bishoprics. He alone may use the ensigns of empire; all princes are bound to kiss his feet; he has the right to depose emperors, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. His power supersedes the diocesan authority of bishops. He may revise all judgments, and from his sentence there is no appeal. All appeals to him must be respected, and to him the greater causes of every Church must be referred. With his leave, inferiors may accuse their superiors. No Council may be styled General without his command. The Roman Church never has erred, and, as Scripture testifies, never will err. The Pope is above all judgment, and by the merits of St. Peter is undoubtedly rendered holy." The claim, that all kingdoms are held as fiefs of St. Peter, was not only laid down by Gregory as a general principle, but was asserted in his direct dealings with all the states of Christendom.

§ 8. Gregory's chief efforts for the reformation of the Church were directed against simony and the marriage of the clergy. A synod held in Lent, 1074, debarred those guilty of such practices from all functions in the Church, and charged the laity to refuse their ministrations. The enforcement of clerical celibacy raised a commotion through Germany and France; but Gregory sent out legates to execute the new decrees; and they were supported by the monks, who inveighed against the disobedient clergy. The laity were not only released from obedience to the bishops and clergy who opposed the decrees, but were enjoined by Gregory to prevent their ministrations, "even by force if necessary." An excuse was thus given for acts of outrage against the clergy and profanation of religious ordinances; and the contempt of the clergy thus generated contributed greatly to the increase of anti-hierarchical and heretical sects.[1]

In his dealings with the Empire, Gregory began with remarkable moderation. The disorders and discontent caused by the mis-

system as "embodied in a set of propositions known as his *Dictate*, which, though not drawn up by himself, contains nothing but what may be paralleled either from his writings or his actions. These maxims are far in advance of the forged decretals." The propositions of the Dictate are generally believed to belong to Gregory's own time. Gieseler observes as to their form, that they look like the headings of a set of canons passed at some synod under Gregory.

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 619.

government of Henry seemed to give an opportunity for friendly intervention, which the difficulties of the young King disposed him to accept. When his mother Agnes came to Nuremberg with four bishops on an embassy from Gregory, Henry did penance, and received absolution for his sins against the Church, and promised to aid the Pope in suppressing simony (1074). Gregory, while returning his thanks, announced the project of a Crusade, which he himself was to lead, while Henry was to watch over the Church. But all hope of friendly relations was destroyed by a new blow which the Pope aimed at the whole existing system of secular authority.

§ 9. At his second Lenten synod (1075) Gregory issued a decree that no ecclesiastic should take investiture from lay hands, on pain of deposition; and that any lay potentate who should confer investiture should be placed under the ban of the Church. The custom of *investiture*,[1] that is, of putting ecclesiastics in possession of their temporalities by a symbolical act performed by the sovereign, was peculiar to the West, where its origin was later than the ninth century, and it seems to have been not fully established till the end of the tenth. Under the feudal system, the custom formed an important bond between the sovereign and the clerical holders of fiefs, to whom it secured their lord's protection, while it assured him of their submission as his liege vassals. But the line of demarcation between the appointment to the spiritual office and the investiture with temporalities was less clear in practice than in theory. The right of investiture might be so used as to secure the power of nomination; and, by withholding it, the sovereign might annul a canonical election. Nay, the very form of investiture seemed to imply a claim on the sovereign's part to confer the spiritual office; for the symbols which he delivered to the bishop were the *ring*—the figure of spiritual marriage with his Church—and the *pastoral staff* (the *crook* or *crosier*), the emblem of pastoral authority over the flock.

To the obvious argument that, if bishops and abbots were to hold property, they ought, like other holders, to be subject to its feudal obligations, the advocates of ecclesiastical independence replied, "that the temporalities were annexed to the spiritual office, as the body to the soul; that, if laymen could not confer the spiritualities, they ought not to meddle with the disposal of their appendages, but that these should be conferred by the Pope or the

[1] *Investitura*, from *vestire*, "to put into possession." The word is exclusively ecclesiastical, in the sense defined above. The earlier and more general term for the form of giving position, in the case both of lay and clerical holders, was *traditio*. The attempt to trace investiture to the time of Charles the Great, and to make it a privilege conferred on the Emperor by Adrian I., is contradicted by the silence of the Capitularies. (See *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. INVESTITURE.)

Metropolitan, as an assurance to the receivers that their temporalities were given by God." Herein lay the whole practical issue of the dispute. The abolition of investitures meant nothing less than the transfer of the feudal allegiance of all ecclesiastics (for the lower clergy and monks depended on the bishops and abbots, as the lesser vassals on the greater) from the sovereign to the Pope. There could be no longer any treason against the crown, nor any feudal obedience to any lord except the supreme bishop.

§ 10. With his usual policy, Gregory took no hasty steps to enforce the decrees against investiture; and at the end of the year a strange incident befel him. As he was celebrating a midnight mass on Christmas Eve, Cencius, the leader of the anti-reforming party among the Roman nobles, broke into the church at the head of an armed band, cutting down many of the worshippers; and the Pope, beaten and wounded in the head by a sword, was dragged from the altar and carried off to a tower, with the intention of taking him away from the city as a prisoner. But the people of Rome rose in the night, and forced Cencius to set Gregory at liberty; his popularity was redoubled, and the shame of the sacrilegious outrage was imputed to the Imperial party, just at the time when the relations between the Emperor and the Pope had reached a crisis.

§ 11. The misgovernment of Henry had driven his Saxon subjects to open revolt; and both parties had appealed to the Pope. Gregory, still intent on gaining his ends by friendly influence, had congratulated Henry on a victory gained over the Saxons in June 1075; but his advice to use that success well had been utterly disregarded. Shortly before the outrage of Cencius, Gregory had replied to an embassy from Henry by sending legates with a letter, greeting the King with "Health and benediction—*if, however, he obey the Apostolic See as a Christian king ought.*" The obedience thus required had respect to Henry's conduct in holding intercourse with excommunicate persons, and investing several bishops. With his usual study of moderation, at least in form, the Pope offered to listen to any reasonable accommodation on the question of investitures. Henry had already been privately warned that his rejection of the Pope's demands would be followed by excommunication; but he replied by an indignant refusal; and the envoys cited him to appear at Rome at the ensuing Lenten synod (January 1076).

The King's anger was now inflamed to the utmost, and his indignation was shared by the German bishops and abbots whom he convened at Worms (January 24). On the ground of simony, magic, and other incredible charges—supported by letters, in the name of Roman cardinals, which appear to have been forged—the Council pronounced the deposition of Gregory, to whom Henry

announced the sentence in a letter addressed, "To Hildebrand, not now Apostolic Pontiff, but a false monk." He also wrote to the Romans, bidding them to thrust out "the monk Hildebrand," by force, if he should resist, and to receive a new Pope from the King. This letter charged Hildebrand with attempting to rob Henry of his Italian kingdom and of his rights in the appointment to the Papacy, and with determined designs against the King's crown and life. Another, from the bishops to their "brother Hildebrand," accused him of throwing the Church into confusion. "His beginning had been bad; his progress worse; he had been guilty of cruelty and pride; he had attempted to deprive the bishops of the power committed to them by God; and had given up everything to the fury of the multitude."[1] After adding other charges, the bishops solemnly renounced their obedience to Gregory; and the same renunciation was made by a synod of Lombard bishops at Piacenza, which confirmed the decree of Worms.

§ 12. At the Lenten Synod at Rome (February 21–22, 1076) the decrees of the two councils and the King's letter were answered by a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Henry, who replied from Utrecht by pronouncing a ban against the Pope. But, as to the power of enforcing the sentences, their natural position was inverted; the subjects whose support the King should have commanded became the ministers of the Pope. Bishops who had taken part in the council of Worms went to Rome to seek absolution; and when the disaffected Saxons applied to the Pope, they were exhorted to choose another King. The same threat was formally announced as the resolution of an assembly of the German princes, prelates, and nobles, at Tribur;[2] and Henry's abject offers of amendment could only procure the alternative of a reference of all questions in dispute to the Pope, who was invited to attend a diet at Augsburg next Candlemas. Henry's continuance on the throne was made conditional on his obtaining papal absolution before a year and a day had elapsed from his excommunication, in which case the German nobility would attend him to Rome for his coronation as Emperor, and help him to win back Italy from the Normans. Meanwhile he was to live as a private person at Spires.

§ 13. Dreading the effect of Gregory's presence in Germany, Henry crossed the Alps in the depth of a severe winter, with his wife and child and the scantiest attendance, and was received with enthusiasm by the Lombards. Gregory had already set out for

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 625.

[2] Tribur (*Trebur*) on the east side of the Rhine, south of Mainz, was one of the old election fields of the Germans. Henry IV was now at Oppenheim, on the other side of the Rhine.

Germany, in company with his devoted supporter, Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, called the "Great Countess" from her immense wealth and commanding talents.[1] On hearing that Henry had reached Vercelli, with a train growing as he advanced, the Pope withdrew to Canossa, a strong castle in the Apennines, belonging to Matilda. Here he was joined by some of his most eminent adherents, as well as by several bishops of Henry's party, who came to make their submission, and were put to severe penance before they received absolution.

Henry, on arriving before Canossa, prevailed on Matilda, and other persons of high influence, to mediate for him with the Pope, who required, as a proof of the King's penitence, the surrender of his royal insignia, with a confession that for his offences he was unworthy to reign. When the importunity of the envoys at length obtained Gregory's consent to a personal interview, Henry was kept waiting for three days in a court of the castle, alone, barefooted, in the coarse woollen garment of a penitent, exposed from morning to night to the winter's cold of that mountain region, till, as Gregory himself relates,[2] all within the castle cried out against his harshness, as being not the severity of an apostle, but barbarous and tyrannical cruelty. On the fourth day Henry, having persuaded the Countess Matilda and Hugh, abbot of Clugny, to be his sureties, was admitted to the presence of Gregory. "Numb with cold, bareheaded and barefooted, the King, a man of tall and remarkably noble person, prostrated himself with a profusion of tears, and then stood submissive before the Pope, whose small and slight form was now withered with austerities and bent with age. Even Gregory's sternness was moved, and he too shed tears."[3] But he showed no relenting in the terms of absolution which he imposed. Henry's conduct was to be tried before a diet of the German princes under the Pope's presidency; his kingdom was to depend on the sentence given according to the laws of the Church; and he was for the future to yield implicit obedience to the Holy See (January 1077).

Gregory cleared himself of the charges made against him by an

[1] Matilda was the daughter and heiress of Boniface, Count of Tuscany, and Beatrice, a cousin of the Emperor Henry III. She had been lately left a widow, and sole mistress of her enormous wealth, by the deaths of her husband, the younger Godfrey of Lorraine, and of her mother. In spite of the scandal raised by the Pope's enemies, there is no reason to question the purity of her enthusiasm for Gregory, and for the ecclesiastical principles with which he had imbued her mind. During Gregory's residence at Canossa, Matilda bequeathed her vast inheritance to the See of Rome; but the donation was only partially carried into effect.

[2] *Epist.* iv. 12.

[3] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 633

oath taken upon the eucharistic bread. "Here," said he, "is the Lord's body; may this either clear me from all suspicion if I am innocent, or, if guilty, may God strike me with sudden death!"—an awful and convincing ordeal to the bystanders; but from which Henry, in his turn, recoiled with terror, pleading the absence of his accusers, and preferring a trial by the diet.

§ 14. Gregory is said to have replied to the remonstrances of the Saxons at Henry's absolution, "Be not uneasy, for I will send him back to you more culpable than ever;" and its effect was to widen the breach with his German subjects, who complained that Henry had broken faith with them by his journey into Italy, and were jealous of his reception by the Italians. A diet held at Forchheim, in Franconia, where legates attended from the Pope,[1] elected a new king in the person of Henry's brother-in-law, Rudolf, duke of Swabia, who was crowned at Mainz by the primate Siegfried (March 1077). But the deposition of the rightful king by the princes, and his humiliation by the arrogance of the Italian Pope, awoke a strong reaction in Henry's favour; and most of the bishops and towns took his part against the nobles. We must leave to secular history the account of the three years' civil war, which was ended by the victory of Henry and the death of his rival on the banks of the Elster (October 1080).

§ 15. The Pope, having tried to keep his favourite attitude of a mediator during the conflict, had taken a decided course just in time to incur the conqueror's implacable resentment. At the Lenten Synod following a victory won by Rudolf at Fladenheim (Jan. 1080), he renewed the sentence against Henry in terms most remarkable for their assertion of his claims to supreme sovereignty—nay, to universal ownership—for the See of Rome: "Come, now I beseech you, O most holy and blessed Fathers and princes, Peter and Paul,[2] that all the world may understand and know that if ye are able to bind and to loose in heaven, ye are likewise able on earth, according to the merits of each man, *to give and to take away empires, kingdoms, princedoms, marquisates, duchies, countships, and the possessions of all men.* For if ye judge spiritual things, what must we believe to be your power over worldly things? and if

[1] Gregory, whose profound policy foresaw the reactionary effect of this extreme step, excused his own attendance on the ground that Henry would not grant him a safe-conduct, and instructed his legates to endeavour to postpone the new election till he should be able to attend, but not to risk the consequences of direct opposition to it.

[2] Both sentences of excommunication were in the form of an address to the two Apostles. Let it be remembered that the doctrines thus affirmed in the eleventh century have been declared of *infallible authority* in the nineteenth by the Vatican Council.

ye judge the angels, who rule over all proud princes, what can ye not do to their slaves?"

But Gregory proved himself unable to "bind on earth" the fate of the King, on whose death or utter defeat within the year he ventured to stake his credibility. When, on the contrary, that fate befel the rival King Rudolf, Gregory, in the spirit of an ambiguous Delphic oracle rather than of an infallible Vicar of Christ, is said to have declared that he had rightly prophesied the death of the *pretended* king.

Meanwhile, Henry had felt himself strong enough to meet this second deposition by an equally decisive stroke. A synod convened at Mainz, and adjourned to Brixen for the attendance of the Lombard bishops, who had been Henry's most stedfast friends, elected the great leader of the Lombard party, Guibert, now archbishop of Ravenna, as Pope CLEMENT III. (1080–1100).[1]

§ 16. After his victory over Rudolf, Henry offered peace to the Saxons, but they refused to treat without the Pope, and set up a new king, Hermann, to whom Gregory sent a form of oath which would have reduced the kingdom and empire to a fief of the Church. While abating nothing of his sovereign claims, Gregory relaxed his reforming zeal in order to win support from various countries against the march of Henry into Italy. But he found no sure ally except the Countess Matilda, who put her wealth and forces at his disposal.

In this extremity he turned again to the Normans, and released Robert Guiscard from a ban laid on him for invading the patrimony of St. Peter. The entreaties of his friends, that he would make peace with the King, were all in vain; and even after Henry had entered Italy, Gregory wrote, "If we would comply with his impiety, never has any one of our predecessors received such ample and devoted service as he is ready to pay us, but we would rather die than yield."[2] He still maintained his resolution when, after a tedious siege of three years, Henry had won the Leonine city; and in a last council he anathematized the King, just before the Romans capitulated on March 21st, 1084. On Easter Day, HENRY IV. at length received the imperial crown from the Antipope Clement, who had been enthroned on Palm Sunday.

§ 17. But the triumph of Henry and Clement at Rome was short. Gregory held out in the castle of St. Angelo, awaiting the promised aid of the Normans, whose expulsion from Italy was one object of Henry's expedition. To this end he had made an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor, ALEXIUS COMNENUS (1081–1118); while Robert

[1] He is only reckoned as an Antipope; but he maintained himself against four successive Popes, keeping many adherents till the day of his death.

[2] *Epist.* ix. 11, April 28th, 1081.

Guiscard, on the other hand, had engaged in an expedition into Northern Greece.[1] Henry had already sent away most of his forces, when he received news that Guiscard was on his march from Salerno at the head of 6000 horse and 30,000 foot. The Emperor retreated; and the Normans gained an easy entrance into the city, which, after three days' sack and pillage, was set on fire to avenge a rising of the exasperated people (May–June 1084).

The liberated Pope, unable to bear the spectacle of such ruin or the reproaches of the people, retired with his Norman allies to Salerno, whence he renewed his excommunication of the Emperor and the Antipope; and he still excepted them when, feeling the approach of death, he absolved all others whom he had anathematized.[2] He expired amidst the raging of a fearful tempest, after leaving this last testimony to the sincerity of his motives: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile" (May 25th, 1085). This assumption, habitual to Gregory and to most other popes, of language that belongs only to Him whose human nature is glorified by His deity, reveals far better than any elaborate analysis of character and motives the fundamental fault of Gregory's career, and of the principles to which he sacrificed all other claims of right and goodness.

[1] See the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xxxi. § 10.

[2] Such is the statement of Gregory's friends; but the imperialist writers say that he absolved all, acknowledged that he had sinned greatly in his office, and sent his confessor to request Henry's forgiveness. For the authorities on either side, see Robertson (vol. ii. p. 647, note), who observes that Gregory's dying words, "which have been interpreted as a reproach against Providence, may perhaps rather imply a claim to the beatitude of the persecuted."

Ancient Chalices, formerly at Monza.
From a Painting in the Cathedral Library.

Jerusalem.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRUSADES AND THE PAPACY:

WITH THE SEQUEL OF THE DISPUTE ON INVESTITURES.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII. TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS AND THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR HENRY V. A.D. 1085—1125.

§ 1. Election and Character of URBAN II. § 2. His relations with Henry IV. —Progress of the conflict in Germany—Conrad made King of Italy. § 3. The *First Crusade* adds to the power of Urban—Council of Clermont—PHILIP I. of France—Results of the Crusades in favour of the Clergy and Papacy. § 4. Recovery of Rome from the Antipope—Capture of Jerusalem—Death of Urban—His arrangement with the Normans in Sicily, called the *Sicilian Monarchy*. § 5. PASCHAL II. Pope—Deaths of Guibert (Clement III.) and Conrad—New excommunication of Henry IV. § 6. His good government and efforts for peace—Henry made prisoner by his son, who is crowned HENRY V.—Death and Character of Henry IV. § 7. The contest renewed between Henry V. and the Pope—Henry enters Italy, and accepts a compromise, which fails—Imprisonment of the Pope and Cardinals—Enforced treaty, and coronation of Henry as Emperor. § 8. Paschal is compelled to condemn the treaty and to excommunicate the Emperor. § 9. Henry again at Rome—Flight and Death of Paschal—Elections of GELASIUS II. and the Antipope Gregory VIII. — Expulsion and Death of Gelasius, and election of CALIXTUS II. in France. § 10. Council of Rheims and renewed excommunication of Henry V. § 11. Questions between England and the

Papacy—Resistance to Legates—Sees of Canterbury and York—Interview of Calixtus with Henry I. at Gisors—Calixtus at Rome—Punishment of the Antipope. § 12. Civil War in Germany—The Dispute on Investitures ended by the *Concordat of Worms*—*First General Council of Lateran* (Ninth Œcumenical Council of the Romans)—Death of Henry V. § 13. Ecclesiastical affairs of England—Supremacy maintained by WILLIAM I., independently of Rome. § 14. LANFRANC, Archbishop of Canterbury—His reforms, and support of the King's policy—William and Gregory VII. § 15. Rapacity and Tyranny of WILLIAM RUFUS—Seizure of vacant bishoprics and abbacies. § 16. ANSELM made Primate—His Life and Character. § 17. Differences between Anselm and Rufus—The pall brought from Pope Urban. § 18. Renewed disputes—Anselm goes to Rome—Death of William Rufus. § 19. Anselm recalled by HENRY I.—He refuses Investiture and Homage—His second exile. § 20. Agreement about Investiture and Homage—Return and Death of Anselm—Council of Westminster—Celibacy of the Clergy enforced.

§ 1. AT the death of Gregory VII., his party held the ascendancy in Italy, supported by the Normans and the Countess Matilda, while the great cities showed a growing desire to make the Papacy the rallying point for their claims of independence against the Empire. It is not worth while to pursue the confused details of the disputes among the party of Hildebrand in professing to carry out his dying wishes, or the short papacy of his successor, VICTOR III. (1086–87), preceded and followed by long vacancies, till Otho, bishop of Ostia, was elected by a council at Terracina as URBAN II. (1088–1099). A Frenchman of noble family, educated at Rheims under Bruno, the famous founder of the Carthusians, he became a monk of Clugny, whence he was sent to Rome in 1076, as one of a body of monks whose services were desired by Gregory, and he was there advanced to the bishopric of Ostia. Such a training made him a devoted adherent of the Cluniac party and of the principles of Hildebrand, who had named Otho among those most worthy to succeed him; and, with equal firmness and activity, Urban surpassed his master in artfulness and caution.

§ 2. Rome was now in the hands of Clement;[1] and the partisans of Pope and Antipope carried on fierce and cruel conflicts both in the

[1] The following epigrams cleverly described the positions of the rival Popes:—

"CLEM. Diceris *Urbanus*, cum sis projectus ab urbe;
Vel muta nomen, vel regrediaris ad urbem.

"URB. Nomen habes *Clemens*, sed clemens non potes esse,
Cum tibi solvendi sit tradita nulla potestas."

(Gerh. *Syntagma*, 17, *Patrolog.*, cxciv.; quoted by Robertson, vol. ii. p. 669.)

capital and other cities of Italy. In Germany Henry put an end to the civil war this year, and expelled the hostile bishops from their sees, so that only four were left who acknowledged Urban. On the other hand, Clement was driven out of Rome by the citizens (1089); and a negociation was opened between Urban and Henry on the basis of their mutual acknowledgment as Pope and Emperor; but it was defeated by the imperialist bishops, who feared that they might be made victims of the peace. It is needless here to dwell on the progress of the conflict between the papal and imperial parties during the next few years, including the Countess Matilda's marriage to the young Welf, son of the Duke of Bavaria, and Henry's troubles with his second wife, Adelaide of Russia, and with his rebellious son CONRAD, whom the Lombards and papalists set up as King of Italy; nor need we repeat the story of the first Crusade, which is related in all the civil histories.[1]

§ 3. The enterprise, to which Peter the Hermit incited Europe by his tale of the sufferings of the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land from the Seljuk Turks, who had lately conquered Asia Minor and Palestine, gave the one great opportunity for realizing the idea of the Holy Roman Empire in the union of Christendom, roused to the defence of the faith at the call and blessing of the Pope, and led by the Emperor to its achievement. But at this crisis the civil head of Christendom was an excommunicated prince, with a disputed title conferred only by an Antipope: he was distracted by domestic troubles, and weakened by rebellion. The crusading enthusiasm, which "Henry III. might have used to win back a supremacy hardly inferior to that which had belonged to the first Carolingians, . . . turned wholly against the opponent of ecclesiastical claims, and was made to work the will of the Holy See, which had blessed and organized the project."[2]

As the sole head of this great movement, animating and directing the princes and chivalry of Europe, Urban was raised above both the temporal power and the Antipope, while the appeal for his help from Alexius Comnenus, so lately banded with Henry against Gregory, seemed to invite him to the high destiny of reuniting the Eastern with the Western Church. It was significant of his increased strength that the great council of Piacenza,[3] at which the Pope proposed the holy war, and the much greater council of Clermont in Auvergne,[4] at which the Crusade was adopted with the

[1] For the foundation of the Seljukian kingdom of *Roum* (1074), the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks (1076), and the history of the Crusades, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chaps. xxxii. and xxxiii.

[2] Bryce, p. 164. [3] March 1095. [4] November 1095.

enthusiastic war-cry, "God wills it!"—both pronounced new condemnations of the Antipope and the Emperor, and excommunicated another disobedient king, Philip I. of France, for his adultery with Bertrada.[1]

The assured ascendancy added to the Pope, as director of the united enterprise of Western Christendom, was afterwards still further enhanced when, in the Second Crusade, sovereign princes were sent forth to fulfil their religious vows, to which the Pope had the power of holding them. The preaching of a Crusade gave a new pretext for the interference of legates and the exaction of contributions, especially from ecclesiastical bodies, whose property was thus brought more or less under papal control. In the East, the lands won from the infidels were added to the Latin Church and to the papal claim of sovereignty; but this course, combined with the double dealing of the Byzantine Empire and the violence of the Crusaders towards the Greeks, made the desired reunion of the two churches more than ever hopeless.

The increased power of the Popes was shared by the clergy, who found in the Crusaders' vow a new hold on the conscience of nobles and people. They remained a permanent body amidst the changes caused by absence and death; and, while their contributions to the cause affected only their annual income, they added greatly to their wealth by purchasing the estates sold at a depreciated value to equip the nobles and their followers.[2] Nor were the political changes produced by the Crusades, and the impulse which they gave to commerce, learning, the spirit of chivalry, and freedom of thought, without great indirect influence upon the Church. The direct result of the first Crusade for Christianity in the East was the establishment of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, and of the Latin patriarchates of that city and of Antioch.

§ 4. Urban's last year was crowned by the complete recovery of Rome from the Antipope Clement, and by the capture of Jerusalem (July 15th, 1099); but his own death followed in a fortnight, uncheered by the news of the great success (July 29th).

It remains to notice the important arrangement which he made for the Church re-established in Sicily by Count Roger's conquest of the island from the Saracens. Always careful to preserve the goodwill of his Norman allies, when the great count complained of the subjection of the Church in Sicily to the bishop of Trani as legate, Urban, at a council at Salerno, made the ordinance known as "the Sicilian Monarchy," vesting the exercise of the ecclesias-

[1] Philip's quarrels with Gregory VII., Urban II., and Paschal II. belong rather to the history of France than to that of the Church.

[2] Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 699–701.

tical supremacy in the civil power, and appointing Roger and his successors perpetual legates of the Roman See.[1]

§ 5. Urban was succeeded by another member of the Cluniac party, a Tuscan named Rainier, who, like his predecessor, had been sent from the monastery of Clugny to Rome to serve under Gregory VII., at the age of twenty. He took the title of PASCHAL II. (1099–1118). In the following year (September 1100), death removed his rival, Guibert (Clement III.), a man whose noble qualities and great abilities might have adorned the papal chair, into the disputed possession of which he was thrust against his will. Next year, death relieved Henry also from the rivalry of his son Conrad in Italy; while in Germany, since his return in 1096, he had won back much of his people's esteem, and his supremacy was generally acknowledged, even by many bishops of the papal party.

Thus the twelfth century seemed to open with new opportunities for reconciliation; and the Emperor proposed to cross the Alps and submit all differences to a Council. But it seems that the German bishops dissuaded him from the double risk of leaving Germany and trusting himself in Italy to the papal party, now elated with the success of the Crusade; and his failure to appear furnished the ground for a new excommunication by Paschal (March 1102).

§ 6. Henry, however, persevered in his desire for peace, and at the Christmas diet at Mainz he announced his resolution of abdicating in favour of his son Henry (now twenty-one years old),[2] and devoting himself to the Crusade, as soon as he could obtain a reconciliation with the Pope. The "peace of God," which he proclaimed for four years, seemed to open a new era of happiness for Germany; but the sources of discord were too deeply seated to be healed by words. The turbulent nobles, who longed for the renewal of war and plunder, were the natural allies of those papal claims which depressed the power of their sovereign. A large party of the clergy, and especially the monks, found the principles of Hildebrand suited to their interests as well as their spiritual pride, or in many cases were moved by a purer enthusiasm of duty to God rather than man.

These passions were brought to a terrible focus, and both Emperor and Empire were plunged back into a sea of misery, by the rebellion of the prince who had been held forth as the hope of a

[1] The contrast between the policy adopted on the vital principle at stake, when the Empire was to be humbled, and when the Normans were to be conciliated, is naïvely exposed by Baronius, when he uses it as an argument against the genuineness of this decree. "How is it to be supposed that Urban could have granted to Roger such powers, when, by granting but a small part of them to Henry, he might have prevented so much misery?" On this question see further in Robertson, vol. ii. p. 702.

[2] Henry V. was born in 1081.

new age. The noble youths, his comrades, were naturally ready, and were encouraged by the Emperor's enemies, to foster the son's discontent at any position short of equality with his father on the throne.[1] But young Henry declared, with characteristic hypocrisy, that he had no wish to reign, but only to bring about the conversion of his father, whom, as an excommunicated person, he could not in conscience obey: and his own share in the excommunication was removed by the Pope, whose counsel he sought as soon as he broke into open rebellion (December 1104). The Emperor's paternal fondness led him to place himself in the hands of his son at Coblenz (December 1105); whence, with a perfidious show of affection, young Henry carried his father up the Rhine to a prison, where the harshest treatment broke his already humbled spirit; and he resigned his crowns, with abject entreaties for the absolution which the papal legate still found excuses for postponing.

Henry V. was crowned "King of the Romans" at Mainz, at Epiphany, 1106;[2] but the deposed Emperor escaped, and seemed in a fair way to regain the crown, when he died at Liège on the 7th of August, sending his ring and sword to his son, with a fruitless request for an amnesty to his adherents. His faults had been many; but his better qualities brought upon him much of the opposition and trouble that embittered the fifty years' reign which he had begun as a child of seven. "It was his fate," says William of Malmesbury, "that whosoever took up arms against him regarded himself as a champion of religion." The common people and the poor, to whom he had always shown kindness, honoured with a saintly reverence the remains which his enemies disinterred from his tomb at Liège and kept for five years in an unconsecrated vault at Spires, where Henry had wished to be buried in the cathedral raised by himself. It was not till August 1111 that Henry V., having obtained a reluctant consent from the humiliated Pope, interred his father's body in the cathedral with a funeral of unexampled splendour.

§ 7. During those five years, Paschal II. had in his turn been made the victim of the craft and perfidy which he had encouraged in Henry V. against his father. Trusting to the King's professions of obedience, the Pope renewed the decrees against investiture at a council at Guastalla (October 1106). He was on his way to spend the Christmas with Henry at Augsburg, when news reached him

[1] The association of a son in the kingdom, nominally of the Romans, really of Germany, during his father's life, was now common, as a means of securing the succession, which fell to him on his father's death, without a new election, involving also the claim to the Empire. (See Bryce, App. C., p. 456–7.) Both Henry III. and Henry IV. had been crowned during the lifetime of their fathers.

[2] He reigned between nineteen and twenty years, to May 1125.

which raised his suspicions, and he turned aside to France to seek support from King Philip I. At a conference at Châlons-on-the-Marne (April 1107), the German envoys demanded the acknowledgment of the right of investiture, which Henry had already put in force; and, on the Pope's refusal, they declared that the question must be decided at Rome, and by the sword.

Three years later Henry crossed the Alps; and Paschal, unable to obtain help from his Norman allies, offered a remarkable compromise—that, if Henry would relinquish investiture, the Church should give up the property on which the claim was founded, namely, all the endowments and secular privileges conferred upon bishops and abbots by his predecessors since Charles the Great. "The Pope expressed an opinion that, as the corruptions of the clergy had chiefly arisen from the secular business in which those privileges had involved them, they would, if relieved of them, be able to perform their spiritual duties better; while he trusted for their maintenance to the tithes, with the oblations of the faithful, and such possessions as they had acquired from private bounty or by purchase."[1]

The needful consent of the clergy was so unlikely, as to have thrown doubts on the sincerity both of the Pope's offer and of its acceptance by Henry on the condition that it should be ratified by the bishops and the Church. Henry at all events contrived to secure all the advantage of the impossibility of its performance. On his arrival at Rome (Feb. 12th, 1111), where the agreement was to be confirmed and he was to receive the imperial crown, he publicly declared in St. Peter's that it was not his wish to take away from the clergy any gifts made by his predecessors. This threw all the odium upon the Pope, who was attacked at once by the German and Lombard bishops, and by the nobles who held ecclesiastical fiefs. Henry demanded his immediate coronation, as the execution of the agreement had become impossible; and when the Pope did not at once comply, he was seized and imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, with several of the cardinals, while fearful riots broke out in Rome against the Germans, and the royal troops devastated the country all around.

It was not till after two months that Paschal yielded to the entreaties of the cardinals and the distress of the Romans. He was released on swearing, together with thirteen cardinals, to allow investiture by the symbols of the ring and staff after a free election, never to trouble the King either on this subject or for his late treatment of him, and never to excommunicate him; and he was

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 741.

reluctantly compelled to place a copy of this agreement in Henry's hands when he crowned him at St. Peter's (April 13th). The Pope and Emperor ratified their treaty by a solemn oath upon the Eucharist, and the Scotch historian, David,[1] who was Henry's chaplain, compares his master's treatment of the Pope to Jacob's importunity when he wrestled with the angel at Peniel, and said, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me." (Gen. xxxii. 26.)

§ 8. It was not likely that the treaty thus extorted should be lasting, though Paschal attempted to be faithful to his engagements, against the clamour of the Hildebrandine party, headed by Bruno, abbot of Monte Cassino, whom he regarded as a dangerous rival. At the Lateran Synod of 1112, he was compelled to condemn the agreement, as having been made under constraint; and soon afterwards he was artfully drawn into a more decided step. Guy, archbishop of Vienne, in Henry's kingdom of Burgundy, held a council which not only repeated the Lateran condemnation of the compact, but pronounced investiture a heresy, and excommunicated Henry for his outrages against the Pope. The decree was sent to Paschal, with a threat of renouncing obedience to him if he refused to confirm it, and the Pope saved his conscience by the plea that this indirect act was no violation of his oath.

§ 9. Meanwhile the proceedings of Henry towards the German Church had given the grossest provocation, and had thrown Germany back into civil war. In 1116 he again crossed the Alps to take possession of the inheritance of the Countess Matilda, in disregard of her donation to the papal see. On his way to Rome he made vain attempts to negociate with Paschal, who fled to Monte Cassino; and when Henry departed, after Easter (1117), the Romans, who had a quarrel of their own with the Pope, refused him admission, and he died in the castle of St. Angelo (Jan. 21st, 1118). The cardinals elected one of their own number, John of Gaeta, as Pope Gelasius II. (1118–1119); but, before his consecration, Henry returned to Rome, and used his prerogative to confirm the election by the people of Burdinus, archbishop of Braga, as the Antipope Gregory VIII. After much trouble, and even personal violence, from the turbulent factions of Rome, Gelasius retired to France and died at Clugny (Jan. 29, 1119). The five cardinals who had accompanied him chose as his successor the anti-imperialist champion Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who, after much reluctance on his own

[1] David, a Scot by birth, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, accompanied Henry into Italy, with several other men of learning, to support the controversial part of the conflict, which has been quite eclipsed by the King's decisive measures. David was charged to write a history of the expedition, which was used by Ekkehard and William of Malmesbury.

part and violent resistance from his flock, was consecrated in his cathedral as Pope CALIXTUS II. (1119–1124).

§ 10. The anarchy and civil war now raging in Germany disposed the Emperor to listen to the Pope's proposals for a compromise, on the terms that Henry should be released from excommunication on giving up his claim to investiture, but that the bishops should still do homage for their fiefs. Calixtus had even set out from Rheims, where he was holding a great Council, to meet the Emperor, when his commissioners reported that Henry was trying to evade the terms agreed upon. Calixtus returned to Rheims in great indignation, and the Council, after enacting further canons against simony, clerical marriage, and investiture, pronounced a most solemn anathema on the Emperor and the Antipope, and absolved Henry's subjects from their allegiance (Oct. 1119).

§ 11. Among the matters brought before the Council of Rheims were complaints made by the King of France[1] against Henry I. of England, for his conduct in regard to the duchy of Normandy, and for his treatment of his brother Robert.[2] These purely secular disputes were referred by Louis, with the consent of Henry, to the Pope's arbitration; and the attempt of the Norman primate, Godfrey of Rouen, to vindicate his sovereign, was put down by the clamour of the Council. Henry had given four English bishops permission to attend the Council; but he had warned them against bringing back any "superfluous inventions;" and he had charged them not to complain against each other, because he was resolved to do full justice to every complaint within his own kingdom.

In accordance with this principle, Henry had resisted the use of the legatine authority, which was one of the most effective means of subjection employed by the Hildebrandine party. At the beginning of his reign (1100), he and the English Church had refused to receive the present Pope as legate of Paschal II., who had admitted the claim of the Archbishop of Canterbury[3] to be his sole representative in England. On the election of a new archbishop, Ralph (1114), Paschal had complained of the independent spirit

[1] Louis VI. le Gros (1108–1137).

[2] Robert had been a prisoner since the battle of Tenchebrai (1106); but Louis supported the claims of his son, William, to the duchy of Normandy.

Here, and in §§ 13–20, we relate briefly, as a part of our whole subject, the matters of which a fuller account is given in the *Student's History of the English Church*, by Canon Perry, Period I., Chaps. xi.–xiii.

[3] This admission, however, was personal to Anselm, who had just returned from his first exile, and might be relied on to support the cause of Rome. The next legate appointed by Paschal was Anselm's nephew, also named Anselm, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury. Respecting the earlier disputes of Anselm with William Rufus and Henry I., see below §§ 16–20

shown by the English Church, and had appointed another legate, whom Henry ordered to be received with honour in Normandy, but did not suffer him to cross the sea.

There was also a question open between Henry and the Pope about the claim of the see of York to independence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which two successive archbishops of York had maintained against Lanfranc and Anselm, but without success. Thurstan, who had been appointed to the see of York in 1114, and had refused to be consecrated at Canterbury, had gone to Reims and received consecration from Gelasius, in spite of the protest of the English bishops.

On all these questions the Pope determined to hold a personal conference with Henry, whom it was of great importance to conciliate, both as King of England and as father-in-law of the Emperor.[1] Calixtus proceeded from Reims to meet Henry at Gisors, and readily accepted his answers to the complaints of the King of France (November 1119). The Pope promised that no legate should be sent into England except at the King's request, and for the arrangement of such matters as the English bishops could not settle. Having conceded these points, the Pope asked that Thurstan might return to his see; and when the King replied that he had sworn to the contrary, Calixtus, as apostolic pontiff, offered to release him from his oath. Henry's conscience was not over-scrupulous; but he was able to plead that, whatever a pope might do or undo, a king could not break his oath without producing universal distrust.

On his return to Italy, Calixtus punished the Antipope, who was betrayed into his hands, by a humiliating exposure,[2] and shut him up for life in a monastic prison (1121).

§ 12. Germany was still a prey to anarchy, and the armies of the Emperor and the primate Adalbert, now papal legate, were encamped near Würzburg, as if for a decisive battle, when negociations were opened, and had a successful issue (October 1121). The contest of half a century had exhausted both parties, and each had learned the impossibility of obtaining complete supremacy over the other. The princes of Germany were unwilling that the Emperor should be subjected to Rome, and the clergy of France—where investiture was unknown, because the kings had retained an effectual control over

[1] Matilda, daughter of Henry I., was married to the Emperor Henry V. in 1114, when only twelve or thirteen, and was left a widow by his death in 1125. She married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, in 1130.

[2] Burdinus was paraded about Rome, dressed in bloody sheepskins for his Pontifical robe, and seated backwards on a camel, the tail of which he held in his hands.

the Church—came forward to suggest a compromise, by which the election and consecration, which made a bishop, should be clearly distinguished from his investiture in his temporalities by means of other symbols than the ring and staff, which were proper to his spiritual authority. On this basis the Pope and the Emperor made the *Concordat of Worms* (September 23, 1122). "On the Pope's part it was stipulated that in Germany the elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the King, without simony or violence. If any discord should arise, the King, by the advice of the metropolitan and his suffragans, was to support the party who should be in the right. The bishop *elect* was to receive the temporalities of his see by the sceptre, and was bound to perform all the duties attached to them. In other parts of the Emperor's dominions the bishop was, within six months after *consecration*, to receive the temporalities from the sovereign by the sceptre, without any payment, and was to perform the duties which pertained to them. The Emperor, on his part, gave up investiture by ring and staff, and engaged to allow free election and consecration throughout his dominions; he restored to the Roman Church all possessions and royalties which had been taken from it since the beginning of his father's reign, and undertook to assist towards the recovery of such as were not in his own hands."[1] These terms were read out before a vast multitude assembled in a meadow near Worms, and the ratifications were solemnly exchanged in the city. The papal legate, Lambert, cardinal bishop of Ostia, performed mass, and gave the Emperor the kiss of peace. On the apparent simplicity of the solution, as contrasted with the length and bitterness of the struggle, Canon Robertson observes:—"But in truth circumstances had disposed both parties to welcome a solution which at an earlier time would have been rejected. The question of investitures had, on Gregory's part, been a disguise for the desire to establish a domination over temporal sovereigns; on the part of the emperors, it had meant the right to dispose of ecclesiastical dignities, and to exercise a control over the hierarchy. Each party had now learnt that its object was not to be attained, but it was not until this experience had reduced the real question within the bounds of its nominal dimensions that any accommodation was possible."

The terms of the Concordat were confirmed by the *First General Council of Lateran*, which is reckoned by the Romans the *Ninth Œcumenical Council* (March 1123). Two years later, Henry V. died childless at Utrecht (May 23, 1125), and with him ended the line of the Franconian Emperors.

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 757.

§ 13. A few words must be added concerning the dispute about investitures in England, a country which had also at this time the honour of possessing the two greatest lights of the Western Church, as successive primates. The ecclesiastical policy of William the Conqueror was directed by his own resolute will, with the twofold purpose of securing his power over England, and keeping it free from foreign control. From the first he acted on the watchword of our national independence—"Britain is a world by itself." The native English prelates were soon replaced by his own followers, whom he appointed and promoted at his pleasure, and invested according to the feudal forms. By abstaining from the sale of benefices, he earned the praise of Gregory VII., and also deprived him here of what was the great excuse for his interference with the German Church, in order to put down simony. Deep as were his obligations to the Papacy for the support given to his enterprise by Alexander II., William was not the man to hold his kingdom as the vassal of the Pope. Legates were allowed to hold synods, in which, however, nothing was to be done without the King's sanction first obtained. Bishops were forbidden to obey citations from Rome, or to receive letters from the Pope without showing them to the King; and none of his nobles or servants were to be excommunicated without his license.

§ 14. While conferring bishoprics and abbeys on his Norman followers with very little regard to learning or even character, William chose for the primacy one of the most eminent ecclesiastics of the age, the Lombard LANFRANC, a native of Pavia, who had been a distinguished lawyer before he became a monk of Bec-Herlouin in Normandy, which he made a great school of both sacred and secular learning. William had made Lanfranc head of his new abbey of St. Stephen's, at Caen, whence he was called to Canterbury, against his own will, on the deposition of the English primate, Stigand (1070). Proceeding to Rome for the pall, he was received by Alexander II. with the highest honour, and was made legate in England. He exerted himself to reform the disorders of the English Church, which the Norman writers represent as in a disgraceful state from the ignorance and low character of the clergy. On the two great points of contention, monasticism and celibacy, the effects of Dunstan's reforms had passed away, and Lanfranc had to renew the work, with imperfect success.[1] The substitution of monks for secular canons in cathedrals led to serious struggles; and a council at Winchester, while enforcing celibacy on canons

[1] For the work of Dunstan, and the whole history of the English Church under the Anglo-Saxon kings, see the *Student's History of the English Church*, Period I., Chaps. ii.–viii.

and on future priests and deacons, allowed the rural clergy to keep their wives (1076).

Lanfranc seconded the King's policy of independence towards Rome, and professed neutrality in the contest between Hildebrand and Guibert. Gregory VII. used every effort to secure the support of William; and his letters, both to the King and the Archbishop, are in a curiously mingled tone of compliment and authority. But neither flattery nor command, nor even citations to Rome, backed by threats, were of any avail. When, for example, Gregory required William to enforce the payment of Peter's Pence, and to swear fealty to the Apostolic see, the King granted the former, as an *alms due by precedent, but not as tribute*, and peremptorily refused the latter, as neither called for by precedent nor by his own promise. His letter is characteristic: "Your legate has admonished me in your name to do fealty to you and your successors, and to take better order as to the money which my predecessors have been accustomed to send to the Roman Church. The one I have admitted; the other I have not admitted. I refused to do fealty; nor will I do it, because neither have I promised it nor do I find that my predecessors have performed it to yours."[1]

§ 15. The firm policy of the Conqueror contrasts most favourably with his son's reckless disregard of all religious obligations, his contemptuous levity and self-interest, alternating with abject weakness under superstitious terror. William of Malmesbury says of Rufus, "He feared God but little; man not at all." The death of Lanfranc, two years after the King's accession (1089), put an end to the hopes founded on his influence over his pupil, who took for his adviser the unprincipled Ralph Flambard. The revenues of vacant bishoprics and other high preferments were not only diverted to the use of the crown, but the offices themselves were kept vacant to supply the King's extravagance. The primacy remained unfilled for four years, Rufus swearing that he would have no archbishop but himself, till a serious illness brought on a fit of seeming penitence, and he chose ANSELM for the see of Canterbury.

§ 16. This great divine and philosopher was, like Lanfranc, an Italian, having been born at Aosta about 1033. Having entered the monastery of Bec, he succeeded Lanfranc as prior and master of the school (1063), and was afterwards elected abbot (1078). He was regarded as the greatest light of the Western Church since Augustine; and he has been called the founder of Natural Theology, in the wide sense of bringing all science and philosophy to the support and illustration of Divine truth. But, unlike Johannes Scotus,

[1] *Ap.* Lanfranc, *Epist.* 7; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 718.

who forced theology into agreement with his philosophy, Anselm proceeded from the principle, that the truth concerning God is the foundation and end of all knowledge. The great motto of his system—"Faith in search of Understanding" (*Fides quærens intellectum*)—was the first title of his work called '*Proslogion*,' which aims to prove the existence and attributes of the Deity by a single argument: "God is that than which none greater can be conceived, and he who well understands this will understand that the Divine Being exists in such a manner that His non-existence cannot even be conceived."[1]

§ 17. Anselm was the more unwilling to leave his cloister and his work of teaching, as he foresaw the difficulty of acting in concord with such a king as Rufus. He reluctantly accepted the archbishopric, on conditions which the King partly agreed to and partly evaded, and he was consecrated near the end of 1093. The King impeded his efforts for reforming clerical and social disorders; and when Anselm urged him to fill up the vacant abbacies, Rufus replied, "What is that to you? Are not the abbeys mine?" "They are yours," answered Anselm, "to defend and protect as advocate, but they are not yours to invade and devastate."

An open quarrel broke out when Anselm asked leave to go to Rome, to receive the pall from Urban II. Neither the Pope nor the Antipope had yet been acknowledged in England; and William angrily declared that no one should be styled Pope there without his special warrant. He consented, however, to refer the question of the primate's duty to a council of bishops and nobles at Rockingham (March 1095). With two exceptions, all the prelates took part against Anselm, and urged him to make full submission to the King's authority; but Rufus could not prevail on them absolutely to renounce obedience to the primate.[2] The nobles still more decidedly refused to disown him; and the people outside were clamorous in his favour.

At length a truce was agreed on till after Whitsuntide: and William meanwhile sent two ecclesiastics to Rome, to enquire into the claims of the rival Popes. They decided in favour of Urban, and from him they asked for a pall, not for Anselm by name, but for the Archbishop of Canterbury, as William hoped to confer it on another primate of his own choice. The pall was brought

[1] Eadmer's 'Life of Anselm,' 6; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 722. Respecting Anselm's position as the founder of Scholastic Theology, see further in Chap. XXVII.

[2] It is interesting to find the bishops recognizing the Archbishop of Canterbury as primate, not only of all England, but also of Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent islands, in accordance with the scope of the commission given by Gregory the Great to Augustine.

by Walter of Urbano, who refused to depose the Archbishop; and Anselm was summoned to receive the pall from the King's hands. On his refusal to take it from any secular person, it was agreed that the pall should be laid on the altar, and that the primate should take it thence, as from St. Peter.

§ 18. In order to make up the sum for which Duke Robert, when preparing for the Crusade, pledged Normandy to his brother, Rufus made severe exactions from the Church; and he found a pretext for citing Anselm to answer in the King's court for failing to make certain contributions. Regarding this summons as an attempt to bring him under feudal subjection, Anselm asked leave to go to Rome, to lay his case, and the whole state of the English Church, before the Pope. After several refusals, the King gave an ungracious assent (October 1097); and Anselm, who was received at Rome with high honour and sympathy for his wrongs,[1] remained in Italy,[2] and afterwards in France, with his friend Hugh, archbishop of Lyon, till William's death (1100).

§ 19. Anselm was recalled to England by Henry I., who began his reign by granting a charter securing the liberties of the Church, the nobles, and the people; he also filled up the vacant bishoprics and abbacies,[3] and restored their possessions. The King received the primate with marked honour; but it soon appeared that Anselm had brought back from his exile ideas of papal authority beyond what had hitherto been admitted in England. The custom of investiture, with the concomitant act of homage by the ecclesiastical possessor to the King as his feudal lord, was firmly established in England, and had been submitted to by Anselm himself on his appointment to the primacy. But, on being required to receive investiture from, and to do homage to, the new king, he replied that he was bound to obey the decree of the council, which he had lately attended (at Bari), against investitures.

The question was referred to Pope Paschal II., who would make no concession; and, after long and complicated negociations, Anselm undertook a journey to Rome to confer with the Pope, at the King's

[1] In the exuberance of his compliments to "the holy man" (as Anselm was commonly called at Rome), Urban bore an unconscious testimony to the independence of the English Church by declaring that he ought to be treated as an equal—as "pope and patriarch of another world." Again the maxim, "Britain is a world by itself."

[2] During his retirement at a monastery among the hills near Telese, in 1097, Anselm finished his work, *Cur Deus Homo?* which is one of the best treatises on the Incarnation of our Saviour. He was present at the Councils of Clermont and Bari, and at the latter he made a powerful address on the questions at issue between the Greek and Latin Churches.

[3] In the last year of Rufus, the King received the revenues of Canterbury, Salisbury, Winchester, and of twelve abbeys. (William of Malmesbury.)

desire, but protesting that he would do nothing to the injury of the Church or to his own discredit. At the same time Henry sent an envoy of his own, who declared that his master would rather lose his crown than give up his right of investiture, and Paschal rejoined that he also would rather die than yield (1103). Dreading, however, the result of the corruption to which the King's envoy resorted, Anselm retired again to Lyon, where he received repeated invitations from Henry to return, if he would do as his predecessors had done, which he construed as a virtual sentence of banishment.

§ 20. Anselm had at length resolved to pronounce, by his own authority, the sentence of excommunication which he had in vain urged the Pope to utter against the King, when the mediation of Henry's sister, the Countess of Blois, brought about an interview between the King and primate at the castle of L'Aigle, in Normandy. The result was, that both again sent envoys to Rome, who brought back the proposal of a compromise, by which the King was to give up investiture, but, "until he should come to a better mind," bishops and abbots should be permitted to do homage. The victory was apparently with Anselm; but the King retained his feudal rights over the clergy and the power of nominating the bishops, in the exercise of which, however, he took the advice of his ecclesiastical councillors.[1] The agreement was confirmed at Bec (August 1106), and Anselm returned to England, where he was received with enthusiasm, the "good Queen Maud" taking a prominent part in his welcome. At a council held at Westminster next year, the King and Church of England formally adopted the agreement. Canons were at the same time passed, renewing the enforcement of celibacy on the parochial clergy, which had been enacted by a council at London in 1102. The Pope, however, consented that, for a time, the sons of the married clergy might be admitted to holy orders, for a reason which really furnished a strong argument against the prohibition, namely, that "almost the greater and the better part of the English clergy" were derived from this class. Anselm remained the honoured friend of Henry till his own death two years later (April 1109). The archbishopric, having remained vacant for five years, was conferred on Ralph, bishop of Rochester (1114), who was successful in his mission to Rome to maintain the rights of the primacy against the attempt to intrude a papal legate (see § 13).

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, lib. v. p. 654:—"Rex investituram annuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum; retento tantum electionis et regalium privilegio. Respecting his exercise of the power of nomination, Anselm writes to the Pope, "Rex ipse in personis eligendis nullatenus propriâ utitur voluntate, sed religiosorum se penitus committit consilio."

Shrine of the "Three Kings," Cologne Cathedral.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN AND THE PAPACY.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE HONORIUS II. AND THE EMPEROR LOTHAIR II. TO THE DEATHS OF THE EMPEROR HENRY VI. AND POPE CELESTINE III. A.D. 1124 TO 1198.

§ 1. Results of the Conflict on Investitures—The German People and the Papacy. § 2. Contest for the Empire—The House of Hohenstaufen—Election of LOTHAIR II. of Saxony—Civil War between the Saxon and Swabian parties. § 3. Pope HONORIUS II.—Papal Schism between INNOCENT II. and the Antipope Anacletus II. § 4. St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the "Venerable" of Clugny—General acceptance of Pope Innocent. § 5. Diet of Würzburg—LOTHAIR crowned Emperor—His submission to the Pope—Roger of Sicily—Death of Lothair, and of the Antipope. § 6. CONRAD III. of Hohenstaufen, the first King of the *Swabian Line*—War of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*. § 7. The *Second Lateran Council*—Arnold of Brescia—Republic at Rome—Popes CELESTINE II. and LUCIUS II. § 8. Pope EUGENIUS III.—The *Second Crusade*—Bernard's work "On Consideration"—Deaths of Conrad, Eugenius, and Bernard. § 9. Election of FREDERICK I. BARBAROSSA—His Character and Work. § 10. State of Italy—Frederick's first expedition into Lombardy—Pope ANASTASIUS IV. § 11. Pope ADRIAN IV.—Execution of Arnold of Brescia—Frederick

crowned Emperor. § 12. Beginning of the Hundred Years' Conflict between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen—Affairs of Sicily—Assembly of Besançon and quarrel about "*beneficia.*" § 13. Frederick again in Lombardy—Assembly of Roncaglia—Indignation and death of Adrian. § 14. The Twenty Years' Papal Schism—Pope ALEXANDER III. and the Imperialist Antipope Victor IV.—Real significance of the contest—Council of Pavia—General acceptance of Alexander—His Character and Policy. § 15. Frederick takes Milan—Council of Tours—Thomas Becket—The Antipope Paschal III.—Council of Würzburg. § 16. Frederick's fourth expedition into Italy—League against him—The Emperor Manuel Comnenus—Frederick at Rome—The fatal Pestilence and disastrous Retreat—The Lombard League—Murder of Becket and Submission of Henry II. to Alexander—The Antipope Calixtus III. § 17. Frederick's fifth expedition and defeat at Legnano—His agreement and meeting with the Pope at Venice. § 18. Alexander at Rome—Submission of Calixtus and imprisonment of the fourth Antipope, Innocent III.—The *Third Lateran Council* prescribes the order of Papal Elections and sanctions Crusades against Heretics—Death of Alexander III. § 19. Pope LUCIUS III.—Frederick's *Reichsfest* at Mainz—His sixth visit to Italy and agreement with the Lombards—Pope URBAN III.—His hostility to Frederick—Marriage of Henry VI. to Constance of Sicily—Death of Urban—The *Third Crusade* and death of Frederick Barbarossa—Death of Pope CLEMENT III. § 20. HENRY VI. crowned Emperor by Pope CELESTINE III.—Henry's War in South Italy—He conquers Sicily: his cruelties—His Proposal of an Hereditary Empire rejected—His Ecclesiastical Policy—The *Fourth Crusade*—Deaths of Henry and Celestine—Results of the Conflict.

§ 1. THE long conflict between the Franconian Emperors and the Italian Popes left permanent results, which had great influence both on the imperial constitution and on the second and decisive stage of the struggle for supremacy. The personal authority of the Emperor had received rude shocks, and the power of the princes and nobles had risen on his humiliation. "All fiefs are now hereditary, and when vacant can be granted afresh only by consent of the States; the jurisdiction of the crown is less wide; the idea is beginning to make progress, that the most essential part of the Empire is not its supreme head, but the commonwealth of princes and barons. Their greatest triumph is in the establishment of the elective principle, which, when confirmed by the three free elections of Lothair II., Conrad III., and Frederick I., passes into an undoubted law. The Prince-Electors are mentioned in A.D. 1156 as a distinct and important body.[1] The clergy, too, whom the policy

[1] "Gradum statim post Principes Electores."—Frederick I.'s Privilege of Austria, in Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* Legg. ii.

of Otto the Great and Henry II. had raised, are now not less dangerous than the dukes, whose power it was hoped they would balance; possibly more so, since protected by their sacred character and their allegiance to the Pope, while able at the same time to command the army of their countless vassals."[1] But their pretensions had roused a new spirit among the German people, and especially in the rising order of the burghers. "It was now that the first seeds were sown of that fear and hatred, wherewith the German people never thenceforth ceased to regard the encroaching Romish court. Branded by the Church, and forsaken by the nobles, Henry IV. retained the affections of the faithful burghers of Worms and Liège. It soon became the test of Teutonic patriotism to resist Italian priestcraft."[2]

§ 2. The choice of Henry V.'s successor exemplified at once the principle of free election and the influence of the clergy. The death of Henry without a direct heir gave an opportunity for asserting fully the old German right of electing the new sovereign; and the princes who attended his funeral issued from Spires a letter —ascribed to Henry's chief enemy, Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz— exhorting their brethren to choose one who would free the kingdom from "so heavy a yoke of slavery."[3]

In August, 1125, a great assembly of 60,000 men of the four German nations—Franconians, Saxons, Swabians, and Bavarians— encamped on both banks of the Rhine between Worms and Mainz, the city where the princes met. Under the guidance of the papal legate, the procedure was modelled on that of an election to the Holy See; the choice being made by a select body—ten from each of the four nations—and ratified by the whole assembly.

The candidate who had the strongest hereditary claim was Frederick, Duke of Swabia, whose father, Frederick, head of the ancient house of Hohenstaufen,[4] had risen into celebrity as the firm adherent of Henry IV., who had bestowed on him the hand of his daughter Agnes, and the duchy of Swabia. Thus Frederick was

[1] Bryce, p. 165. [2] Ibid, p. 164.
[3] Pertz, Legg. ii. 79; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 2.
[4] This renowned title was derived (like that of Hapsburg) from the family castle of Hohenstaufen, which stood (as its name denotes) on a lofty conical hill, between Ulm and Stuttgart. It was destroyed in the Peasants' War, and only a few foundations mark its site: but the remembrance of its imperial dignity is preserved by an inscription over the doorway of a chapel on the slope below—"HIC TRANSIBAT CAESAR." To avoid confusion, the succession of the Dukes of Swabia, of the house of Hohenstaufen, should be noted:—(1) Frederick I., son-in-law of Henry I.; (2) His son, Frederick II., the competitor with Lothair II.; (3) His son, Frederick III., who became the Emperor FREDERICK I. BARBAROSSA.

grandson of Henry IV., and joint heir of the family estates of the Franconian emperors with his brother Conrad, who inherited the duchy of Franconia through his mother. But their other inheritance—of the policy of their house—provoked the opposition of the clergy, as well as of the nobles, who feared a strong emperor; and the influence of Archbishop Adalbert turned the scale in favour of Lothair, Count of Supplinburg and Duke of Saxony, who was chosen king, and became afterwards the Emperor LOTHAIR II. (1125–1138).[1] Though he had been, during a life already long, the firm opponent of the late Emperor, Lothair was now required to give new guarantees in favour of the Church, among which the Concordat of Worms was tacitly ignored. The mission of two bishops to solicit the Pope's confirmation of his election gave an earnest of that complete submission to the Holy See, by which he sought to strengthen himself against the Swabian party.[2]

§ 3. The Pope to whom this request was made, HONORIUS II. (1124–1130), had succeeded Calixtus II. after a brief contest with an Antipope, Celestine. The death of Honorius was followed by a far more important struggle for the papal throne, which brought into notice the great names of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and Peter "the Venerable" of Clugny. On this occasion the double election represented no conflict of principles, but a rivalry of powerful factions. No sooner was Honorius dead, than a party of the Cardinals met in the church of St. Gregory, on the Cælian, and made a hasty election of Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo, by the name of INNOCENT II. (1130–1143), but without the proper formalities; while a larger number of the sacred college, at a later hour of the same day and observing the regular forms, chose Peter Leonis, cardinal of St. Mary in the Transtevere. Peter, who had studied at Paris and been a monk of Clugny, was the head of the "Leonine" family or "Pierleoni," so called from his grandfather, a wealthy Jew, who had embraced Christianity under Leo IX., and was baptized by his name. The family had gained increasing power by their wealth and their able services in office and diplomacy; and the party of Peter, who was styled Anacletus II.,[3] was strong enough to hold possession of Rome, while Honorius sought refuge and support in France. The response of Louis VI. and the French church was determined by the two great Abbots, of whom some account must now be given.

[1] Lothair was descended from Otho II. through his daughter Matilda. He became Duke of Saxony in 1106.

[2] The origin and details of Lothair's civil wars with Frederick and Conrad belong to civil history.

[3] Antipope from 1130 to 1138.

§ 4. BERNARD, born in 1091, the third of the six sons of a Burgundian knight, imbibed a spirit of deep devotion from his mother Aletha, who died while he was still a youth. After a conflict between the love of learning for its own sake and the religious profession, to which his sainted mother often appeared to summon him in vision, he resolved not only to devote himself to the monastic life, but also to lead his family and friends to the same calling. His uncle, his brothers, his father, and his only sister, were successively won over, and at length, in 1113, Bernard, with more than thirty companions, applied for admission to the monastery of Cîteaux.[1]

The Cistercian fraternity, which had grown but slowly owing to its rigorous discipline, was so enlarged by this addition, that new monasteries were founded at La Ferté and Pontigny; and, in 1114, Bernard himself led forth a company to a desolate spot, formerly the haunt of robbers, which now exchanged the name of "Valley of Wormwood" for that of Clairvaux (*Clara Vallis*). But it was a "bright valley" only in the spiritual sense: for the new settlers suffered extremities of cold and hunger, and a visitor carried away a piece of bread as a curiosity. The Abbot's own life was one of the most rigid mortification, hard manual labour, and diligent study, pursued in a spirit of independent thought, which demands special record: "Although he read the orthodox expositors, he declared that he preferred to learn the sense of Scripture from itself, that his best teachers were the oaks and beeches among which he meditated in solitude."[2] Miracles were ascribed to him, and he appears to have been himself persuaded of their reality; but they were hardly needed to enhance the fascination of Bernard's eloquence, made doubly persuasive by his pale face and emaciated form and the power of his holy life. "As the chief representative of the age's feelings, the chief model of the character which it most revered, he found himself, apparently without design and even unconsciously, elevated to a position of such influence as no ecclesiastic, either before or since his time, has attained. Declining the ecclesiastical dignities to which he saw a multitude of his followers promoted, the Abbot of Clairvaux was for a quarter of a century the real soul and director of the Papacy: he guided the policy of emperors and kings, and swayed the deliberations of councils; nay, however little his character and the training of his own mind might have fitted him

[1] The Cistercians, that is, brethren of Cîteaux, had been founded by Robert, a Benedictine, near the end of the eleventh century. They were now under their third abbot, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who had sought the solitude of the convent as a pilgrim. For an account of these and the other new monastic orders, see Chap. XX.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 9.

for such a work, the authority of his sanctity was such as even to control the intellectual development of the age which owned him as its master."[1]

The whole weight of Bernard's influence was thrown into the scale for the fugitive Pope; and his eloquence, which was felt to be like a divine inspiration, prevailed on the Council which Louis VI. convened at Etampes to declare in favour of Innocent, chiefly on the ground of his personal character; for Anacletus was accused of impiety, corruption, and many other misdeeds. But at this crisis the authority of Bernard had scarcely more weight than the spontaneous judgment of PETER, the "Venerable" Abbot of Clugny, against Anacletus, who had relied on the support of his former fraternity. "The character of Peter was such as to give all weight to his decision. Elected to the headship of his order at the age of thirty, he had recovered Clugny from the effects of the disorders caused by his predecessor, Pontius, and had once more established its reputation as a seat of piety, learning, and arts. In him the monastic spirit had not extinguished the human affections, but was combined with a mildness, a tolerance, and a charity, which he was able to reconcile with the strictest orthodoxy. The reputation of the 'Venerable' Abbot was such, that emperors, kings, and high ecclesiastical personages revered his judgment; and when it became known that Innocent had reached Clugny with a train of sixty horses, provided by the Abbot for his conveyance, the effect of this signal declaration against the Cluniac Antipope was widely and strongly felt."[2] During his stay at Clugny, Innocent was welcomed in the King's name by the Abbot of St. Denys; and early in the new year Louis himself received him, with every mark of reverence, at Fleury. By the personal influence of Bernard, though opposed by many English and Norman prelates, Henry I. of England was brought to give his support to Innocent in a personal interview at Chartres (Jan. 1131). All the great orders throughout the West declared in favour of Innocent, while Anacletus vainly pleaded his cause in letters to princes and prelates; and the state of the controversy was pithily expressed by the verse:—

"Peter holds Rome, but Gregory the world."[3]

§ 5. A German diet held at Würzburg declared in favour of Innocent, who met Lothair at Liège, and crowned him with his queen Richenza (March 1131). Two years later the King met the

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 11, 12. We have to speak in another place of St. Bernard's share in the scholastic controversies of the age, and of his conflict with Abelard. (See Chap. XXVIII.) [2] Ibid. pp. 12, 13.

[3] "Romam Petrus habet, totum Gregorius orbem." Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1130: Robertson, ibid. p. 14.

Pope in Italy and escorted him to Rome, where Innocent crowned Lothair Emperor in the Lateran, St. Peter's being still held by the Antipope (June 4th, 1132). Before the ceremony, Lothair took an oath to defend the Pope's person and dignity, to maintain those royalties of St. Peter which Innocent already possessed, and to aid him with all his power for the recovery of the rest. It is, however, doubtful whether the Emperor's submission went the length of that acknowledgment of vassalage which Innocent boasted in the inscription beneath a picture of the scene on the wall of the Vatican:

> "Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
> Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."

For the present, the Emperor had so little power to give the promised help, that, as soon as he had left Rome, Innocent was again driven out to Pisa, where he remained till 1137. By that time Anacletus had exhausted his wealth and lost most of his adherents; his only powerful supporter being Roger II., whom he had crowned King of Sicily. Innocent now returned to Italy; and Lothair, who had made peace with the Swabian party in 1135, led a powerful army across the Alps, drove Roger out of his possessions in Italy, and restored the Pope to Rome. But on his return the Emperor fell sick at Trent, and died in a peasant's hut on the Alps (Dec. 3, 1137). A few weeks later the papal schism was ended by the death of Anacletus in the Vatican (Jan. 25, 1138).[1]

§ 6. The pretensions of Lothair's son-in-law, Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria and afterwards of Saxony, were now contested by Conrad of Hohenstaufen, who was chosen king by a part of the electors, headed by the Archbishops of Trêves and Cologne, without waiting for the meeting of the Diet. With CONRAD III. (1138–1152) began the *Swabian* or *Hohenstaufen* dynasty; but civil war and his unfortunate part in the Second Crusade prevented his establishing his power in Italy, or even going to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. His contest with Henry is memorable for the use of the names of the Saxon and Swabian factions, *Guelph* and *Ghibelline*, which became so famous as the titles of the Papal and Imperial parties.[2] They are said to have been first used as watchwords at the great battle of Weinsberg, in which Conrad defeated Welf, the brother of Henry (1140). The fall of Weinsberg vir-

[1] A new Antipope, who was set up under the name of Victor IV., was soon persuaded to make his submission to Innocent (May 1138).

[2] *Guelph* and *Ghibelline* are the Italian forms of the German *Welf* and *Waiblingen*; the former being the family name which the Dukes of Saxony inherited from Henry's grandfather, Welf I., Duke of Bavaria, the latter the name of the village where Conrad's brother Frederick had been brought up.

tually ended the civil war. Henry had died the year before; and peace was made in 1142.[1]

§ 7. Pope Innocent II., restored to the undisputed possession of Rome, held the *Second General Council of Lateran* (the *Tenth Œcumenical* of the Romans), which annulled the acts of Anacletus and excommunicated Roger of Sicily (1139). This Council also condemned ARNOLD OF BRESCIA, who may be called in some respects one of the forerunners of the Protestant Reformation, while he was also a leader of the republican agitation which was now gaining strength in Italy. The conflicts between the Empire and the Papacy, and the diminished power of the Emperors south of the Alps, had encouraged many of the Lombard cities to assert their independence under republican forms of government; and the claims of their bishops to temporal rule provoked a political resistance to the hierarchy, who were already widely denounced for their worldliness and immorality. This twofold opposition found a vigorous leader in Arnold, who was born about 1105 at Brescia, one of the chief centres of republican independence in Lombardy. Having been for some time a reader in the church, he adopted the monastic profession, and began to denounce the corruptions both of the clergy and the monks in a strain of eloquence, to which Bernard applied the language of the Psalmist (lv. 22):—"his words were softer than oil, yet were they very swords." His ideas of reform were based on the pure spirituality of the Church. "Filled with visions of apostolical poverty and purity—of a purely spiritual church working by spiritual means alone—Arnold imagined that the true remedy for the evils that had been felt would be to strip the hierarchy of their privileges, to confiscate their wealth, and to reduce them for their support to the tithes, with the free-will offerings of the laity."[2] Condemned to banishment by the Council of 1139, he withdrew to France, and afterwards to Zurich.

The influence of Arnold's teaching was supposed to be manifested by the insurrection at Rome in 1143, which replaced the Pope's civil government by a Senate in the Capitol. The Romans "resolved that their city should resume its ancient greatness—that it should be the capital of the world, as well in a secular as in a religious sense; but that the secular administration should be in different hands from the spiritual."[3] Broken down by this revolt, Innocent died in the same year, and his successor CELESTINE II. held the See for only six months (1143–44), during which time Arnold, who had been before protected by the new Pope, seems to

[1] The details belong to the histories of Europe and Germany.
[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 43. [3] Ibid. p. 46; cf. Bryce, pp. 174, 253, 277, f.

have returned to Rome. On the death of Celestine, the model of the old Republic was still further copied by the creation of an equestrian order; and a Patrician, as nominal representative of the Emperor,[1] was substituted for the papal prefect of the city. The new Pope, LUCIUS II., provoked by the riots and new demands of the people, and trusting to the armed power of the nobles, lost his life in an attempt to drive the Senate from the Capitol (Feb. 15th, 1145).

§ 8. His successor, EUGENIUS III. (1145–1153)—a pupil of Bernard of Clairvaux, and hitherto known only for his pure simplicity—surprised his former master and the world by displaying an ability and eloquence, which were explained by miraculous illumination. The interruption of his consecration by a riotous demand for his acknowledgment of the Republic caused his retirement to Viterbo; and he only returned to Rome (Jan. 1146) to be driven out again by the people (March), whose riots were inflamed by the harangues of Arnold and by his armed force of 2000 Swiss. The efforts of Bernard to induce Conrad to restore the Pope were interrupted by the excitement which caused the disastrous *Second Crusade*, of which Bernard was the great preacher (1147–1149).[2]

The Pope Eugenius, who had gone to France to support the Crusade, was enabled by the help of Roger of Sicily to return to Rome in 1149. The treatise "On Consideration,"[3] which Bernard wrote at his request and for his direction, exhorting him to the spiritual duties of his office and warning him against secularity, contains an exposure of the abuses that infected the Roman Church and the monastic system, which is doubly impressive as a witness borne by the great champion of the Papacy. Though respecting the personal character and spiritual authority of Eugenius, the Romans still resisted his secular government, and he was again driven out after a few months. While preparing an expedition to restore him, Conrad died of a sudden illness (Feb. 1152). At the end of the year the Romans consented to receive Eugenius, but he died six months after his return (July 1153); and in the following month Bernard—to use the words of a chronicler—"ascended from the Bright Valley to the mountain of eternal brightness."[4] He was canonized by Alexander III. in 1174.

[1] It should be remembered that there was no Emperor at this time; and Conrad had refused the invitation of the republican party to receive the imperial crown at Rome as the head of the revived state.

[2] The details of the Crusade belong to civil history.

[3] "De Consideratione."—Bernard explains the meaning of this term (in contradistinction to *contemplatio*) as "intensa ad investigandum cogitatio vel intentio animi investigantis rerum."—ii. 2.

[4] Rob. Autissiod.; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 70.

§ 9. A week after Conrad's death, the electors at Frankfort confirmed his designation of his nephew FREDERICK I.,[1] surnamed by the Italians BARBAROSSA ("with the Red Beard"). In him was united the blood of the Ghibellines and Guelphs, whose feud was suspended during his reign. A few days later he was crowned as King of the Germans at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the age of thirty-one, and he reigned thirty-seven years (1152–1189). His firm character and splendid abilities qualified him to fulfil his resolution of supporting the imperial dignity and rights after the model of Charles the Great; and his reign is the most brilliant in the annals of the Empire. "Its territory had been wider under Charles, its strength perhaps greater under Henry III., but it never appeared in such pervading vivid activity, never shone with such lustre of chivalry, as under the prince whom his countrymen have taken to be one of their national heroes, and who is still, as the half mythic type of Teutonic character, honoured by picture and statue, in song and in legend, through the breadth of the German lands. The reverential fondness of his annalists, and the whole tenor of his life, goes far to justify this admiration, and makes it probable that nobler motives were joined with personal ambition in urging him to assert so haughtily and carry out so harshly those imperial rights in which he had such unbounded confidence. Under his guidance the Transalpine power made its greatest effort to subdue the two antagonists which then threatened and were fated in the end to destroy it—Italian nationality and the Papacy."[2] Frederick's famous struggle with the Lombard cities must be left to the civil history of the age, except in its bearing on his conflict with his papal antagonists, Adrian IV. and Alexander III.

§ 10. The state of Italy at Frederick's accession was such as to demand vigorous action, unless he were prepared to renounce all dominion beyond the Alps. The exiled Pope Eugenius entreated his aid against the republicans, while they wrote to assure him that all respect for the Papacy was lost at Rome. The cities of North Italy were not only asserting their independence, but abusing it in bitter contests with each other; the larger oppressed their weaker neighbours; and a fierce feud was waged between Milan and Pavia, the ancient capital of Lombardy, which remained faithful to the Empire. To protect Southern Italy against the Norman kingdom of Sicily, Frederick formed an alliance with the Greek Emperor, MANUEL COMNENUS, and he made a compact with Pope Eugenius for the mutual safeguard of their interests (March 1153). At his first

[1] He was the son of Frederick II., Duke of Hohenstaufen, and of Judith, sister of Henry the Proud and of Welf. (Cf. p. 42, n. 4.)

[2] Bryce, p. 167.

diet (1152) he proposed an expedition to Italy, the importance of which was indicated by the two years' preparation required of the princes. In October, 1154, Frederick led into Lombardy the strongest German army that had ever crossed the Alps, and asserted his power over the imperial vassals and the cities. Meanwhile death had carried off not only Eugenius, who had promised to crown him Emperor, but also his successor, ANASTASIUS IV. (1153–1154); and, while Frederick was still in Lombardy, the election fell upon ADRIAN IV., who began that hundred years' conflict with the house of Hohenstaufen, which at length raised the Papacy to the climax of its power (Dec. 1154).

§ 11. Nicolas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever filled St. Peter's chair, is described by a biographer as "a man of great kindness, meekness, and patience, skilled in the English and the Latin tongues, eloquent in speech, polished in his utterance, distinguished in singing and an eminent preacher, slow to anger, quick to forgive, a cheerful giver, bountiful in alms, and excellent in his whole character."[1] But these milder personal virtues did not exclude the utmost vigour in exalting and enforcing the claims of his office. He at once refused to acknowledge the republican government of Rome, and, on the murder of a cardinal in the street, he placed the city under an interdict in the midst of the solemnities of Lent, and only removed it on the consent of the Senators to banish Arnold of Brescia.[2] This vigorous stroke was followed by an embassy of three cardinals to Frederick, who was now advancing rapidly towards Rome, requesting him to take measures against the common enemy of the Empire as well as the Church. Arnold, given up by his protectors, was sent by Frederick to Rome, where he was hanged and his body burnt, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber (1155).

The mission of the Cardinals, who received friendly assurances from Frederick and promised him the imperial crown, was followed by a visit of the Pope to the King's camp. Not content with the

[1] Card. Aragon, in the *Patrolog.*, clxxxix. 1352; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 74.

[2] An *Interdict* was a sentence, pronounced by the supreme spiritual authority of a district or country, suspending the service of the churches and all the other offices of religion, except the baptism of infants and the confession and absolution of the dying. Its appeal to men's spiritual fears was doubly terrible, as the innocent were involved equally with the guilty. The first example of its use was by Alduin, bishop of Limoges, in 994; but it was not till the time of Hildebrand and his successors that Interdicts on a whole kingdom were resorted to as the most powerful weapon in the Papal armoury. They were used most effectively by Innocent III. against France and England.

prostration of Frederick at his feet, Adrian required him to hold his stirrup, as Constantine was said to have performed that service to Sylvester! The politic King referred the question to his nobles, and, finding that the service had been performed by Lothair to Innocent II., he went through the form, but in such a manner as to make it ridiculous. Accompanying the Pope to Rome, Frederick was crowned Emperor by Adrian at St. Peter's (June 18, 1155).

§ 12. Causes of quarrel soon arose, first from Adrian's treaty of peace with William the Bad (son of Roger of Sicily), whom he invested with the kingdom of Sicily and more than the former possessions of the Normans in Italy, as a fief of the Holy See, not only disallowing the imperial sovereignty, but obtaining William's promise of aid against all enemies. A petty quarrel, also, caused by an outrage on a Scandinavian bishop, was inflamed into a grave offence by one ambiguous word. At an assembly at Besançon (1157) two cardinals presented a letter from Adrian, reminding Frederick that the Pope had conferred on him the imperial crown, and protesting his willingness, had it been in his power, to have bestowed on him still greater favours (*beneficia*). This word was taken by the Germans in its technical sense of *benefices*, as if it were meant to imply that the Empire was a fief of the Holy See. When, amidst their clamorous resentment of the supposed insult, one of the cardinals, Roland, rashly exclaimed, "From whom then does the Emperor hold his crown, if not from the Pope?"—the noble who carried the unsheathed sword of state was hardly restrained from cleaving his head, and the Emperor—while holding him back—said, "If we were not in a church, they should know how the swords of the Germans cut." The taunt was amply avenged when the other of "the two swords"[1] was wielded by the same Roland as Pope Alexander III. Frederick dismissed the legates with vehement reproaches, and put forth a declaration to his subjects that he would rather hazard his life than admit the Pope's insolent assumptions. Adrian found it prudent to explain that by *beneficia* he had only meant *bona facta*, and by *conferring* the crown the act of placing it on the Emperor's head. More than this, he yielded to Frederick's demand for the removal of the offensive picture of Lothair's homage to Innocent II.[2] (Jan. 1158).

§ 13. In the following July Frederick again led an immense army across the Alps, with the resolution of establishing the imperial authority on a firm basis, which was settled in a great assem-

[1] Luke xxii. 38; a text which was constantly applied to the two swords of temporal and spiritual government—of the Emperor and the Pope—especially by Boniface VIII., in his famous Bull Unam Sanctam (see below, p. 99).

[2] See above, § 2.

bly held on the plains of Roncaglia (Nov. 1158). The details belong to the civil history of Italy: what concerns us here is the resentment of Adrian at the almost autocratic power over the Italian cities, which the assembly conferred upon the Emperor. "It seemed to him as if all that the Emperor gained were taken from himself."[1] The quarrel reached its climax in the Pope's claim to the uncontrolled government of Rome, in reply to which Frederick cited the imperial rights secured by the Civil Law,[2] and concluded thus:—"Since by the ordination of God I both am and am called Emperor of the Romans, in nothing but name shall I appear to be ruler if the control of the Roman city be wrested from my hands." Such was the crisis in the midst of which Adrian IV. died at Anagni, on Sept. 1, 1159.

§ 14. Each of the two factions at Rome—the Imperialist, and that of the late Pope, which relied on the Sicilian power—now made a separate election, and a Papal schism ensued for twenty years. The majority of the sacred college elected the Chancellor Roland, Cardinal of St. Mark, whose bearing at the assembly of Besançon[3] had given an earnest of his bitter opposition to the Empire as Pope ALEXANDER III. (1159–1181). A majority of the cardinals, supported by the lower clergy, the nobles, and the people, chose the Imperialist Octavian, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, who is regarded as the Antipope Victor IV. (1159–1164). It would be tedious to review the arguments of the two parties or the contradictory accounts of the riotous proceedings on both sides.[4] The true issue is described by the voice of impartial history:—"The keen and long-doubtful strife of twenty-years that followed, while apparently a dispute between rival Popes, was in substance an effort by the secular monarch to recover his command of the priesthood; not less truly so than that contemporaneous conflict of the English Henry II. and St. Thomas of Canterbury, with which it was constantly involved. Unsupported, not all Alexander's genius and resolution could have saved him: by the aid of the Lombard cities, whose league he had counselled and hallowed, and of the fevers of Rome, by which the conquering German host was suddenly annihilated, he won a triumph the more signal, that it was over a prince so wise and pious as Frederick."[5]

[1] Gunther, viii. 107-8, quoted by Robertson, vol. iii. p. 82.

[2] The study of the Civil Law had received a great impulse through the University of Bologna, the professors of which had decided in favour of the high claims of imperial authority in the assembly of Roncaglia. For the great intellectual movement of this age, and the rise of the Universities, see Book V., especially Chap. XXIX.

[3] See above, § 12.

[4] For the details, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 85, 86.

[5] Bryce, p. 171.

Frederick was engaged in quelling the resistance of Milan and other Lombard cities when he received the appeal of Victor for his decision, as well as a letter from Alexander announcing his election in terms which roused the Emperor's passionate indignation. In right of his imperial authority, after the examples of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and Charles the Great,[1] he summoned a General Council, inviting the kings of France, England, Hungary, Spain and other countries, to send bishops; but in fact the fifty prelates who assembled at Pavia were almost entirely his own German and Lombard subjects (Feb. 1160). Alexander not only refused to attend, asserting the old claim that a lawful Pope was above all human judgment, but he accused Frederick of invading the rights of the Holy See by calling a Council without his sanction. The Council pronounced its judgment for Victor and rendered him homage, the Emperor holding his stirrup, while on his part he received investiture from Frederick by the ring.

Beyond the Empire, however, almost all Christendom declared for Alexander, who was solemnly acknowledged by the kings and bishops of France and England in a Council at Toulouse, as well as by the Byzantine court and the Latin Christians of Palestine. "In Alexander the hierarchical party had found a chief thoroughly fitted to advance its interests. While holding the highest views of the Hildebrandine school, the means which he employed in their service were very different from those of Hildebrand. He was especially skilful in dealing with men, and in shaping his course according to circumstances; and above all things he was remarkable for the calm and steady patience with which he was content to await the development of affairs, and for the address with which he contrived to turn every occurrence to the interest of his cause."[2]

§ 15. Neither of the rival Popes had been strong enough to establish himself at Rome. Alexander indeed returned thither from Anagni in April 1161, but he soon found himself unsafe in the city, and after a short residence at Terracina he took refuge in France, just after Frederick had destroyed all his hopes of support in Lombardy by the capture and cruel chastisement of Milan after a three years' siege (1162).[3]

[1] This was Frederick's own declaration at the opening of the Council.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 89, 90.

[3] Among the relics now carried away from Milan were the skulls of the three "Magi," or "Wise Men from the East" (Matt. ii. 1), which were said to have been presented by the Empress Helena to Eustorgius, bishop of Milan, and were now transferred to Cologne Cathedral by Reginald, the imperial Chancellor. The splendid shrine of the "Three Kings of Cologne" was made towards the end of the century. It is more than 5 feet long, and 5 feet high. (See Vignette to this Chapter.)

In the following year Alexander was solemnly acknowledged by a great council of cardinals, bishops, and abbots, convened at Tours by Louis VII. and Henry II.;[1] and on their invitation the Pope took up his residence at Sens (Oct. 1163).

Among the ecclesiastics present at this Council was THOMAS BECKET, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury in the year before (1162), and who, a year later, returned to France an exiled fugitive (Nov. 1164).[2] His cordial welcome by Louis and Alexander seemed to offer an occasion for detaching Henry from the cause of the Pope. Meanwhile the Antipope Victor had died at Lucca in the same year; and of the two surviving cardinals who had elected him, one, the Archbishop of Trèves, declining the tiara for himself, appointed the other, Guy of Crema, as Paschal III. (April 1164). This step is ascribed to Reginald of Cologne;[3] and it is a curious parallel to our own time to find an imperial chancellor, seven centuries ago, denounced by the then Pope as "the author and head of the Church's troubles."[4] Having secured the warm support of Frederick (who is said to have first inclined to a reconciliation with Alexander), Reginald went to England to negociate with Henry, who consented to send envoys to an imperial diet at Würzburg, which pronounced a most solemn decision for Paschal (Whitsuntide, 1165). But Alexander gained new adherents even among the high ecclesiastics of Germany; and the Romans, won over by money supplied from France, England, and Sicily, received him back into the city with an enthusiastic welcome (Dec. 23).

§ 16. And now the tide of Barbarossa's fortune began to turn. The tyranny and exactions of the *podestàs*[5] had spread disaffection in Lombardy even among the imperialist cities, and the princes of Germany were less and less ready to supply the force for another campaign in Italy. The Emperor Manuel took advantage of the long quarrel, to propose to the Pope a reconciliation of the Churches under a reunited Empire; and he landed a body of troops at Ancona. At

[1] It must be remembered that Henry II.'s possessions in France were larger than those of Louis.

[2] The great conflict between Henry and Becket is so essential a part of the history of England, that we need only notice it here in its connection with the wider contest between the Empire and the Papacy. (See the *Student's History of the English Church*, Period I., Chap. XV.)

[3] Reginald, though ruling at Cologne, was at this time only in deacon's orders, from the fear (as it seems) that consecration by a schismatic Pope would shut the door to reconciliation with Alexander; but, on the decision of the Diet of Würzburg for Paschal, he was obliged to receive priest's orders, and was soon afterwards consecrated at Cologne as Archbishop.

[4] Alex. III. *Epist.* 254; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 93.

[5] The *podestà* was the chief magistrate in each city, appointed by the Emperor, under the provisions settled at Roncaglia.

length Frederick crossed the Alps for the fourth time,[1] with a powerful army, in the autumn of 1166; and, while he himself remained to besiege Ancona, the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz gained a decisive victory over the Romans at Monte Porzio, near Tusculum (May 20, 1167). Hastening to Rome, Frederick took possession of the Leonine City, and, after a fearful massacre of the Romans, who held out in the very Basilica of St. Peter, the Antipope Paschal was brought from his residence at Viterbo and solemnly enthroned, and the Emperor and Empress were crowned by him anew (Aug. 1). The Romans swore fealty to Frederick, who acknowledged the privileges of their Senate. Alexander, fortified among the ruins of the Colosseum, refused all terms which would subject him to any earthly government.

But this success was the prelude to a fatal disaster, in which the Papal party claimed God's judgment on "the new Sennacherib;" only it fell as heavily on the Romans themselves. The German army had scarcely been established in Rome when a pestilence broke out in the city and camp, carrying off in one week 20,000 of the soldiers, and among many chief prelates and nobles the Chancellor Reginald of Cologne. Frederick retreated northwards—his army thinned at every march—to find Lombardy in full insurrection. Already while he was detained at the siege of Ancona, the chief cities, encouraged by the Pope and the Emperor Manuel, had formed the famous *Lombard League;* the walls of Milan had been rebuilt; and Frederick's disaster made the revolt almost universal. Scarcely any of the cities obeyed his call to an assembly at Pavia; and, having launched the *brutum fulmen* of an imperial ban against the rebels, he pursued his retreat, harassed by constant attacks, till at Susa he was obliged to fly for his life across the Alps. The great fortified city of Alessandria, which the Italians built to command the road through Piedmont, still preserves the memory of the Pope in whose honour it was named, and whose power was secured by his alliance with the Lombard League.

The last stroke needed to turn the general sympathy of Christendom into enthusiasm was given by the murder of Thomas Becket (Dec. 29, 1170), and the submission of Henry II. to the terms of reconciliation dictated by the Papal Legates (May 1172). The King's penance at the tomb of "Thomas of Canterbury," whom the Pope canonized as "Saint and Martyr," at Lent, 1173, was the sign to Europe, as well as England, of Alexander's victory. Meanwhile the Antipope Paschal had died at Rome (Sept. 1168), and his successor, John of Struma, who bore for ten years the

[1] He had visited Italy the third time in the autumn of 1163, but without any large force.

empty title of Calixtus III. (1168–1178) is scarcely worthy of mention.

§ 17. It was not till seven years after his great repulse that Frederick once more crossed Mont Cenis, and avenged the insults he had received at Susa (1174); but both Alessandria and Ancona resisted his attacks, and the Lombard League gained a decisive victory in the great battle of Legnano, the Emperor hardly escaping with his life (May 20th, 1176). In the following year the complete triumph of the Papacy was displayed in the striking scene of the meeting between Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarossa, in the great square of St. Mark's at Venice,[1] with all the public marks of abject homage, followed by less formal, and even cordial converse (July 23–25, 1177).[2] "Three slabs of red marble in the porch of St. Mark's point out the spot where Frederick knelt in sudden awe, and the Pope with tears of joy raised him and gave the kiss of peace. A later legend, to which poetry and painting have given undeserved currency, tells how the Pontiff set his foot on the neck of the prostrate King, with the words, 'The lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.'[3] It needed not this exaggeration to enhance the significance of that scene, even more full of meaning for the future than it was solemn and affecting to the Venetian crowd that thronged the church and the piazza. For it was the renunciation by the mightiest prince of his time of the project to which his life had been devoted: it was the abandonment by the secular power of a contest in which it had twice been vanquished, and which it could not renew under more favourable conditions."[4]

§ 18. In March, 1178, Alexander re-entered Rome from his retirement at Anagni, on the invitation of all ranks of the people, whose obedience was guaranteed by the senate's homage and oath of fealty. His horse could hardly move through the crowds of people who struggled to kiss his feet, and his right hand was weary of bestowing benedictions.[5] Calixtus soon after submitted to Alexander, who gave him a rich abbacy at Benevento (Aug. 1178);

[1] The republic had been neutral in the conflict.

[2] The terms of peace, settled before the meeting, provided for the abjuration of the Antipope by the Emperor and the imperialist bishops, and a perpetual peace between the Empire and the Papacy. The Lombards were to yield the Emperor the same obedience which they had paid to his predecessors from Henry V. downwards; while the Emperor acknowledged their power to appoint their own consuls, to fortify their cities, and to combine for the defence of their liberties. There was to be a truce of six years with the Lombards, and of fifteen years with the King of Sicily.—Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 101, 102.

[3] Psalm xci. 13. [4] Bryce, p. 171–2. [5] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 104.

and a fourth Antipope, set up by the Frangipani, mocked by anticipation the famous title of Innocent III. for about a year, when he was delivered up to the Pope and imprisoned for life. To lessen the danger of future schisms, a new order for Papal elections was enacted by the *Third Lateran Council* (the *Eleventh Œcumenical* of the Romans), held by Alexander in March 1179. "The share which had been reserved to the Emperor by Alexander II. had already been long obsolete; and it was now provided that the election should rest exclusively with the College of Cardinals; while, by adding to the College certain official members of the Roman clergy, Alexander deprived the remaining clergy of any chiefs under whom they might have effectually complained of their exclusion from their ancient rights as to the election. It was enacted that no one should be declared Pope unless he were supported by two-thirds of the electors; and that, if a minority should set up an Antipope against one so chosen, every one of their party should be anathematized, without hope of forgiveness until his last sickness."[1] This Council also marks a new epoch in the history of the Roman Church, as well as of the forces rising up in opposition to its supremacy, by its 27th Canon, which gave the first public sanction to a *Crusade against Heretics.*[2]

The few remaining events of Alexander's long pontificate[3] belong rather to the separate histories, especially of France and England. Notwithstanding his triumph over all his enemies, he found the turbulence of his subjects at home so dangerous that he was again obliged to leave Rome, and he died at Civita Castellana (Aug. 30, 1181). His enemies insulted his corpse on its way to the city, and would hardly allow him to be buried in the Lateran Church.

§ 19. The enmity of the Romans broke out into open violence on finding themselves excluded, by the recent scheme, from any voice in the election of the new Pope, LUCIUS III. (1181–1185), who was forced to seek refuge at Velletri, and was unable to re-enter the city during his whole pontificate. Frederick gained new strength by conciliating the Lombards, and, before the expiration of the six years' truce, the relations between the Empire and the cities were definitely settled by the peace of Constance (1183). At Whitsuntide, 1184, Frederick gathered the flower of the German nobility to a great festival at Mainz—the famous *Reichsfest* of Barbarossa on

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 104.

[2] On the whole subject of *Heresies* in this age, see Chaps. XXXIV. f.

[3] Since St. Peter's pretended Papacy of twenty-five years, the twenty-two years of Alexander III. had only been exceeded by the twenty-three years of Sylvester I. and Adrian I. (before him), and of Pius VII. since (1800–1823), till Pius IX. falsified the old prophecy of warning to each Pope—"Non videbis annos Petri"—by surviving the full term of twenty-five years, which he completed in 1871, and lived on to the 7th of Feb., 1879.

the Rhine—to celebrate the conferring of knighthood on his two elder sons, Henry and Frederick—Henry having been already crowned "King of the Romans."[1] The Emperor was warmly welcomed, even at Milan, in the same year, when he visited Italy for the sixth time. At Verona he was met by the Pope, who solicited his aid against the Romans, but refused to crown Frederick's son Henry as his colleague in the Empire. Other causes of mutual complaint made a breach which seemed already hopeless, when Lucius died at Verona (Nov. 25, 1185), and was succeeded by a bitter enemy of the Emperor.

Humbert Crivelli, archbishop of Milan, had been both a leader and a sufferer in the resistance of that city to Frederick, an advocate of the high pretensions of Pope and priesthood, and the friend and companion of Thomas Becket. On the same day that Lucius died, he gathered together twenty-seven cardinals, who elected him as Pope URBAN III.[2] (1185–1187). He at once sounded the note of conflict, not only by repeating the refusal to crown Henry emperor, but by refusing also, as Archbishop of Milan, to place the iron crown of Italy on the young King's head.

Meanwhile Frederick was maturing a scheme for enhancing his power in Italy, which he compared to "an eel, which a man had need to grasp firmly by the tail, the head, and the middle, and which might nevertheless give him the slip." He had regained a hold of the head in Lombardy, and by securing the tail in the Two Sicilies, he might hope to keep the Pope in check in the middle. The kingdom, which had descended from the famous Roger to his son, William the Bad, had devolved in 1166 on his son, William the Good, who had been married to a daughter of Henry II. of England since 1177, but was still childless. Frederick resolved to grasp the almost sure reversion by the union of his son Henry with the next heiress, Constance, a posthumous daughter of Roger. In spite of the Pope's violent opposition and threats, the marriage was celebrated at Milan, where also Frederick was crowned as King of Burgundy, Henry as King of Italy, and Constance as Queen of the Germans (January 1186). The harshness of King Henry to the partisans of the Pope had embittered the growing quarrel, when Urban died at Ferrara, whither he had removed from Bologna with the intention of excommunicating Henry (October 20, 1187).

Before his death the thoughts and feelings of all Western Christendom had been turned into a new channel by the fall of

[1] On such coronations, see p. 29, n.

[2] As in the case of Urban II. (see Chap. III. § 1), the name provoked pun, and Urban III. was nicknamed *Turbanus*—"eo quod in odium Imperatoris volebat *turbare* ecclesiam."—*Chron. Ursperg.*, 224.

the corrupt Latin kingdom of Palestine before the victorious Sultan of Egypt, SALADIN, who took Jerusalem on the 3rd of October, 1187. This is not the place to relate the story of the *Third Crusade*,[1] the van of which was led by Frederick Barbarossa, who was now sixty-seven years old. Amidst all his contests with the Papacy, he had always been a devout Christian, and it seemed fitting that he should end his course as he had begun it, in fighting for the Sepulchre of Christ.[2] But he was not destined even to reach the Holy Land. Leaving to civil history the story of his march, which began from Ratisbon in 1189, and of his firm policy towards the treacherous and supercilious Byzantines, it behoves us only to record his unlooked-for death near Tarsus, in attempting the passage of the river Calycadnus (June 10, 1190). The Pope CLEMENT III., who had followed Urban after the two months' pontificate of GREGORY VIII.—and of whom nothing need be said except that he was restored to Rome by an agreement with the citizens—survived the great Emperor only till March 1191.

§ 20. The new Pope, CELESTINE III. (1191–1198), who was elected at the age of eighty-five, deferred his consecration till the arrival of KING HENRY VI.,[3] who was on his way to Rome to receive the imperial crown. The Pope was consecrated on Easter Day, and he crowned Henry and Constance on the two succeeding days (April 14–16, 1191). Henry at once marched southwards with his empress, whose inheritance had been seized—on the death of William in 1189—by Tancred, a bastard of the Norman royal house. The first campaign, though opened by the capture of Naples, had a disastrous end; but two years later Henry conquered Sicily with the aid of a Genoese fleet, and his triumphal entry into Palermo was followed by cruelties which proved him—as indeed he had already shown in Lombardy—"a man who had inherited more than all his father's harshness, with none of his father's generosity."[4] The acquisition of Naples and Sicily (1194) turned the stronghold of his enemies into a vantage-ground against the Papacy from the south, as Lombardy already was on the north, and encouraged him to propose a scheme for making the crown hereditary; but all he

[1] Besides the splendid narrative of Gibbon and the other histories which treat of this Crusade, it forms a special part of the history of England through the brilliant achievements of Richard Cœur de Lion.

[2] Frederick had accompanied his uncle Conrad on the Second Crusade just forty years before.

[3] We have seen that Henry had already been crowned King of the Romans (that is, heir to the German kingdom and the Empire) and of Italy in the lifetime of his father, who had left the government in his hands when he went on the Crusade.

[4] Bryce, p. 205.

could obtain from the diet was the election of his infant son Frederick as King of the Romans (1196).[1]

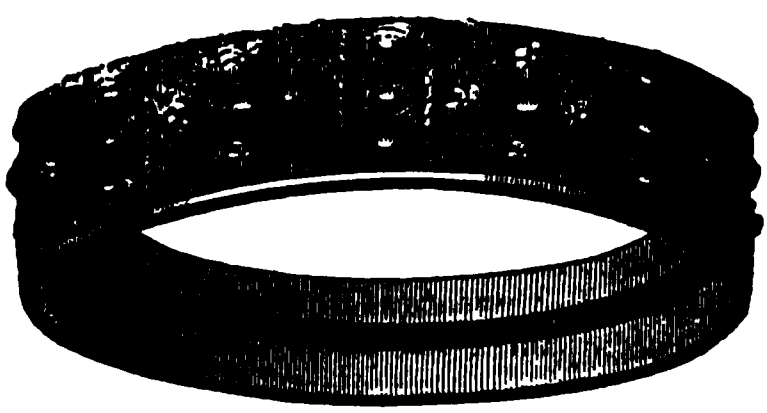
"In his ecclesiastical policy, Henry showed himself resolved to yield nothing to the Papacy. He forbad appeals to Rome, and prevented his subjects from any access to the Papal court. He attempted to revive the imperial privilege of deciding in cases of disputed election to bishopricks. He refused the homage which the Norman princes had performed to the Pope for their Italian and Sicilian territories, and, returning into Italy, he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter up to the very gates of the city."[2] The aged Pope tried to conciliate the Emperor, and reminded him of the vow which he had taken some time before to lead a new crusade.[3] Henry renewed his engagements at Bari (Easter, 1195), and he gathered a force in Apulia, but with the intention of using it for his own ends, and especially against the Byzantine Empire. He had crossed over into Sicily and resumed his cruelties in putting down a conspiracy, when he died suddenly at Messina, not without a suspicion that he was poisoned by his wife Constance, through abhorrence of his savage treatment of her Norman relatives and friends (September 28th, 1197). Pope Celestine died soon after, on the 8th of January, 1198.

The death of Henry VI. marks the turning point from which we have to trace the rapid fall of the imperial house of Hohenstaufen, and the advance of the Papal power to its climax.

[1] He is not, however, reckoned as King Frederick II. till his *de facto* accession in 1212. (See next chapter.)

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 134.

[3] A part of the German forces proceeded on this *Fourth Crusade*, and gained some success on the sea-coast only; but they had fierce quarrels with the Templars, and on the death of Henry they made a six years' truce with the infidels.



The Iron Crown of Lombardy, at Monza Cathedral.

Apse of the Apostles' Church at Cologne.

CHAPTER V.

CLIMAX OF THE PAPACY: AND FALL OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN.

FROM THE ELECTION OF INNOCENT III. TO THE DEATHS OF CONRAD IV. AND INNOCENT IV. A.D. 1198–1254.

§ 1 Exaltation of the Papacy. § 2. Election of INNOCENT III.—His previous career, works, and character. § 3. His Reforms at Rome, and power in Italy—Frederick, King of Sicily and ward of the Pope. § 4. Contest for the German Crown—OTHO IV. and PHILIP II.—

Murder of Philip—Otho crowned Emperor. § 5. His quarrel with the Pope, excommunication, and deposition—Election of FREDERICK II. § 6. Wide influence of Innocent—England, France, Spain, and other states—The *Fifth Crusade*: Latin Empire of Constantinople. § 7. Crusades against Heathens and Heretics—New Romish doctrine of persecution and death for Heresy—The Vernacular Scriptures forbidden by Innocent—Burning of French Bibles—Rising forces of resistance. § 8. The *Fourth Lateran Council*—Transubstantiation and Auricular Confession—Death of Innocent III.—Climax of the Papacy, but seeds of Reaction. § 9. Pope HONORIUS III.—*Sixth Crusade*—Frederick II. crowned Emperor—Kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem. § 10. Pope GREGORY IX.—Final and decisive contest with the Empire—Character of Frederick II. § 11. The Crusade—Frederick excommunicated—His Recovery of Jerusalem, return to Italy, successes, and Absolution. § 12. Legislation of Frederick and Gregory—The Code of Melfi and the new Decretals—Laws of Frederick for burning Heretics. § 13. Rebellion, pardon, and death of Frederick's son, Henry—Election of Conrad as King—Victory of Corte Nuova over the Lombards. § 14. Frederick again excommunicated—Deaths of Gregory and his successor CELESTINE IV. § 15. Papal Vacancy—Election and Character of INNOCENT IV. § 16. His opposition to and peace with Frederick—His flight to Lyon—*The First Council of Lyon* deposes Frederick. § 17. War in Italy and Sicily—Rival Kings in Germany: HENRY of Thuringia and WILLIAM of Holland—Death of Frederick II. § 18. Real Fall of the Empire—CONRAD IV., the last King of the Hohenstaufen line—Affairs of Italy—Deaths of Conrad and Innocent.

§ 1. THE Thirteenth Century of the History of the Church exhibits the closing scene of that great contest for supremacy, which was the unforeseen but inevitable result of the grand idea, conceived and carried on by Otho I. and his successors down to Henry III., of making a reformed Papacy the life and strength of a renovated Empire.[1] "The first result of Henry III.'s purification of the Papacy was seen in Hildebrand's attempt to subject all jurisdiction to that of his own chair, and in the long struggle of the Investitures, which brought out into clear light the opposing pretensions of the temporal and spiritual powers. Although destined in the end to bear far other fruit, the immediate effect of this struggle was to evoke in all classes an intense religious feeling; and, in opening up new fields of ambition to the hierarchy, to stimulate wonderfully their power of political organization. It was this impulse that gave birth to the Crusades, and that enabled the Popes, stepping forth as the rightful leaders of a religious war, to bend it to serve their own ends: it was thus too that they struck the alliance—strange

[1] See Chap. I. § 1.

as such an alliance seems now—with the rebellious cities of Lombardy, and proclaimed themselves the protectors of municipal freedom. But the third and crowning triumph of the Holy See was reserved for the thirteenth century. In the foundation of the two great orders of ecclesiastical knighthood—the all-powerful all-pervading Dominicans and Franciscans—the religious fervour of the Middle Ages culminated. In the overthrow of the only power which could pretend to vie with her in antiquity, in sanctity, in universality, the Papacy saw herself exalted to rule alone over the kings of the earth."[1] But before the close of this century we shall see the triumphant Papacy fairly launched on the descent to its worst corruption and deepest degradation.

§ 2. We have seen that Henry VI. died in September 1197, and Celestine III. on Jan. 8, 1198; but a new Pope was elected before the succession to the Roman and German crowns was settled. On the very day of Celestine's death—without waiting, as was the rule, till after his funeral—the assembled cardinals pressed the papal dignity, against his own resistance and even tears, on Lothair, cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. Having waited till the ember season for ordination to the priesthood, for he was as yet only a sub-deacon, he was enthroned as INNOCENT III. (Feb. 22).

The new Pope was now only 37 years old. Born a member of the house of Conti, as the Counts of Segni proudly styled themselves, he had studied at Paris, and also at Bologna, where he acquired a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical law. Having been ordained a sub-deacon by Gregory VIII., he was made a cardinal, in his 29th year, by his relative, Clement III., and discharged several important missions. "The papacy of Celestine, to whom he was obnoxious on account of the hostility between their families,[2] condemned him for a time to inaction; and he employed himself chiefly in study, which produced its fruit in a treatise, *On the Contempt of the World*, and in other writings. The general tone of these is that of a rigid ascetic, withdrawn from the world and despising it—a tone seemingly very alien from the vigorous practical character which the author was soon to display. His sermons are remarkable for the acquaintance with Scripture which appears in them, and for his extraordinary delight in perverting its meaning by allegory; a practice which in later times enabled him to produce scriptural authority for all his pretensions and for everything that he might desire to recommend. And in his books *On the Sacred Mystery of the Altar*, he had laid down the highest Roman doctrine as to the elevation of St. Peter and his successors over all other Apostles and

[1] Bryce, pp. 204-5. [2] Celestine was of the family of the Orsini.

Bishops."[1] Now that he was raised to the position for putting these principles in practice, he displayed a union of the boldness of Hildebrand with the cautious and patient policy of Alexander III. "Yet stern as Innocent was in principle, fully as he upheld the proudest claims of the Papacy—and not the less so for his continual affectation of personal humility—he appears to have been amiable in his private character. His contemporary biographer describes him as bountiful but not prodigal, as hot in temper but easily appeased, and of a magnanimous and generous spirit. He is said to have been even playful in intercourse; he was a lover of poetry and music, and some well-known hymns of the Church have been ascribed to him."[2]

§ 3. The first act of Innocent was to reform the luxury of the Papal court; and he attempted to free the administration of the Curia from corruption. Having secured the support of the citizens, he abolished the last vestiges both of the imperial and republican government at Rome, by exacting oaths of fidelity to himself from the Prefect of the City, and from the Consul who now alone represented the Senate, as well as from all the people.

Thus established as sole ruler in Rome, Innocent next set himself to get rid of the Imperial power in Central Italy, and to transfer the suzerainty over Southern Italy and Sicily from the Empire to the Papacy. Taking advantage of the hatred borne by the Italians to the Germans, and of the discords among the German officers themselves, he contrived, by mingling negociations with threats of excommunication, to win the allegiance of the imperialist and other nobles who held possession of a great part of the States of the Church, and to drive out those who refused to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

The desired severance of the Sicilian kingdom from the Empire was prepared to his hand by that hatred of the people to the Germans, which was felt even by their Queen, the widowed Empress Constance. Having caused her son Frederick to be crowned King of Sicily (May 1198), she offered to place the kingdom and her son under the Pope's protection. She died before the treaty was completed (Nov.); but her will left the guardianship of the young King to Innocent; and thus the training of the heir of the anti-papal Hohenstaufens was committed to the hands of the very Pope who was most determined in upholding the claims which that family had resisted.

§ 4. In Germany the untimely death of the Emperor Henry VI.,

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 283. [2] *Ibid.* p. 284.

while his son and colleague in the kingdom was an infant of three years old, caused new and strange relations of the rival parties both to each other and towards the Papacy. In the critical state of affairs, a long minority was but another name for anarchy; and while PHILIP, the youngest brother of Henry VI., was chosen by the Ghibelline party, at first only as guardian of the kingdom for his nephew Frederick (March 6, 1198), a Guelphic assembly, held at Andernach at Easter, elected OTHO of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion, and nephew of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who strongly supported his cause.

"Each of the competitors was in the earliest manhood—Otho twenty-three years of age, and Philip younger by a year. In personal character, in wealth, and in the number of his adherents, Philip had the advantage. The chroniclers praise his moderation and his love of justice; his mind had been cultivated by literature to a degree then very unusual among princes—a circumstance which is explained by the fact that he had been intended for an ecclesiastical career, until the death of an elder brother diverted him from it;—and his popular manners contrasted favourably with the pride and roughness of Otho. But Otho was the favourite with the great body of the clergy, to whom Philip was obnoxious as the representative of a family which was regarded as opposed to the interests of the hierarchy."[1] At his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, OTHO IV. took an oath to maintain the Roman Church and to relinquish the abuses of his predecessors (July 12). Two months later, his rival was crowned at Mainz as PHILIP II.[2] (Sept. 8).

It could not be doubtful which side Innocent would take; but the applications made to him by the rival princes themselves, and by the kings of England and France—Richard pleading the cause of Otho, and Philip Augustus that of Philip—gave him the opportunity of declaring his decision for Otho with the appearance of impartial argument.[3] A ten years' war ensued in Germany; and, though Innocent used his influence with growing vehemence on behalf of Otho, the cause of Philip prevailed more and more, till he was murdered by a personal enemy, Otho of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Bavaria (June 21, 1208).

The Hohenstaufen family was now left without a head, for Frederick was still only in his fourteenth year, and was under the tutelage of the Pope. All parties desired peace, and it was proposed

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 292.

[2] The *number* not only claimed a sequence with the old Roman Empire, but also recognized the claim of Philip (A.D. 244–249) to be regarded as the first Christian Emperor (see Part I. Chap. V. § 4).

[3] It is hardly worth while to cite the Pope's reasons, which will be found in Robertson, vol. iii. p. 294.

to unite the Swabian and Saxon houses by Otho's marriage to Philip's daughter Beatrice, who was yet only twelve years old. Having been recognized as king in a great assembly at Frankfort (Nov. 11, 1208), and having solemnly renewed his promises to the Pope by a deed signed at Spires (March 1209), and celebrated his betrothal with Beatrice, Otho set out for Rome, where he was crowned Emperor by Innocent (Oct. 4, 1209). At this ceremony he confirmed all his former promises by a solemn oath; and, for the first and last time, an Emperor confessed that he held his crown "by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See."[1]

§ 5. But even this Guelph, hitherto so obsequious to the Pope, formed no exception to what seemed almost to have become a rule—that an Emperor's coronation was the preface to a deadly quarrel with the Pope who had just blessed him. Disputes began with the usual collisions between the Roman citizens and the German troops, for which Innocent refused redress. Otho withdrew from Rome, and made himself master of some of the places which the Pope had occupied; and, when Innocent reminded him of his oath to respect the property of the Church, he replied that the Pope himself had caused him to swear that he would maintain the rights of the crown, and that, while he owned the authority of the Pope in spiritual things, he was himself supreme in the affairs of this world. After spending a year in strengthening his cause in Tuscany and Lombardy, and composing the disputes of Guelph and Ghibelline, Otho proceeded to assail the most vital part of the Pope's Italian policy by invading Apulia. Upon this provocation, the Pope pronounced an excommunication against the Emperor (Nov. 1210); and, after repeated attempts to negociate with Otho in his winter-quarters at Capua, Innocent solemnly confirmed the sentence on Maunday Thursday (1211).

A powerful party had now risen up in Germany against the absent Emperor. His rough manners, his avarice, and his exactions, had made him unpopular with all classes, and especially with his chief supporters, the clergy, whose state he had attempted to reduce. Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, whom Otho had formerly protected, undertook, as legate, to publish the Pope's sentence, and organized a confederacy of the Swabian party in favour of Frederick, the surviving heir of Hohenstaufen. On Ascension Day, a meeting of German princes and prelates at Nuremberg declared Otho to have forfeited the crown, and invited Frederick from Sicily. This call to the youth of sixteen, to embark on a career so much higher and vaster than he could hope for in his Sicilian kingdom, was eagerly accepted by Frederick, against the advice of his councillors and the entreaties

[1] Gregorov. v. 80: Robertson, vol. iii. p. 300.

of his wife.[1] Innocent gave his consent, whether in the belief that his own influence and Frederick's southern blood and training had mastered the old Hohenstaufen leaven, or as the best policy open to him. In either case we may well be struck with the destiny of the young prince, "whom a tragic irony sent into the field of politics as the champion of the Holy See, whose hatred was to embitter his life and extinguish his house."[2]

It does not concern us here to follow Frederick's journey from Palermo—whence he set out on Easter Day, 1212—to Rome—where he received counsel and money from Innocent—and across the Alps to Constance, with a small band of followers, which was swollen at every stage of his progress down the Rhine. In Lorraine he was met by Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who made a treaty with Frederick. Meanwhile, Otho, at the news of the revolt, had returned to Germany (March 1212), which became the scene of a fierce civil war. In the desperate hope of reconciliation with the Swabian party, he completed his marriage with Beatrice (Aug. 7); but her death only four days afterwards, ascribed to poisoning by her husband's Italian mistresses, inflamed the exasperation of his enemies. His final effort against his rival's great supporter, the King of France, ended in his decisive defeat, with his English and Flemish allies, in the battle of Bouvines (July 27th, 1214). Otho fled to Cologne and thence to Saxony: he was deposed from the Imperial dignity by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and died in 1218.

§ 6. FREDERICK II.[3] (1212–1250) was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the German primate, Siegfried of Mainz, on St. James's Day, July 25, 1215; but the interest of his eventful career scarcely begins till after the death of Innocent, whose other acts meanwhile claim our attention. In the furtherance of his stedfast determination to establish the *unlimited spiritual supremacy of the Papacy* over all the governments of Western Christendom, there was scarcely a country of Europe that was not made to bow to his authority, which was everywhere represented and upheld by the presence of his Legates. The two great contests with *France* and *England*—in which, putting forth all his power up to the terrible extremity of the Interdict, he humbled Philip Augustus, deposed John, and gave him back his kingdom as the vassal of the see of Rome, and defied the Barons who had just extorted the Great Charter from

[1] Frederick had been married, in his fifteenth year (August 1209), through the arrangement of the Pope, to Constance, daughter of Peter II., King of Arragon, and widow of Emmerich, King of Hungary, who was at least ten years older than himself. [2] Bryce, p. 207.

[3] His reign is reckoned from his entrance into Germany, or even (by some) from the invitation sent to him in 1211.

their sovereign—these triumphs of Innocent in the two kingdoms most independent of the Papacy are fully related in their histories.[1]

The Christian kings of *Spain* were brought under the spiritual authority of Innocent by the censures—extending to interdict and excommunication—to which their irregular marriages laid them open. For the first time since the erection of *Arragon* into a kingdom, Peter II. came to Rome to receive the crown from the Pope, and to hold it thenceforth as the tributary vassal of the Holy See (1204); and he united with the King of *Castile*, under the encouragement of Innocent, in repelling a new Moslem invasion from Africa at the decisive battle of Navas de Tolosa (1212). The kingdom of *Portugal* was made tributary to the Pope. *Hungary* and *Dalmatia*, *Poland* and *Livonia*, *Norway* and *Scotland*, accepted him as a mediator and director. *Bulgaria* was confirmed in its allegiance to the Roman Church by his elevation of its prince to the royal dignity. But the like offer proved of no avail to shake the stedfastness of *Russia* to the Greek Church. When the Papal envoy spoke of investing the Grand Prince, Roman, with the power of St. Peter's sword, the prince laid his hand upon his own with the proud words, "Has your master a weapon like this? If so, he may dispose of kingdoms and cities; but so long as I carry this on my thigh, I need no other."[2]

In the remote East the ancient church of *Armenia* was brought, through the intercourse renewed by the Crusades, into closer communion with Rome, and the Patriarch accepted a pall from Innocent, and promised to take part in Councils summoned by the Pope. It was under Innocent, too, that the Latin Christianity of the East came to a great crisis. No Pope was ever more strongly possessed with crusading zeal; and the disasters of the Fourth Crusade only stimulated Innocent to redeem its failure. But the *Fifth Crusade*,[3] which he proclaimed near the beginning of his pontificate (1199), was joined by no sovereign of the first rank, and it was diverted from its proper object to the capture of Constantinople (1203), and the establishment of a Latin Empire in that capital for nearly 60 years (1204–1261).[4] But this passing success had no results on which it concerns us to dwell, except an increase of exasperation between the Greek and Latin Churches.[5]

[1] See the *Student's History of France*, chap. viii.; the *Student's Hume*, chap. viii.; and the *Student's English Church History*, chap. xvi.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 324.

[3] The *Fourth* of Gibbon, who passes over the Crusade of Henry VI.

[4] For the details, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xxxiv.

[5] See Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 336 f. We must be content to refer to the same historian's account of that strange outbreak of fanaticism, the *Children's Crusades* (pp. 340–1).

§ 7. There were other manifestations of the crusading spirit, into which Innocent threw himself with equal ardour. The mixture of religious zeal and chivalrous adventure, which had reached its climax in the efforts to rescue the Holy Places from the infidel Moslem, was directed against the nations which were still heathen, and against the heretics who, as ecclesiastical rebels, were deemed worthy of extirpation by the sword. Our survey of the conversion of Europe has shown how Innocent encouraged the military orders which subdued the heathens on the Baltic shores,[1] and a subsequent review of the great internal movements of the Church during this age will give the fit occasion for describing his unflinching severity in the suppression of heresy, and, in particular, the exterminating crusade against the Albigenses; as well as for the history of the champions whom he sent forth to the conflict with heresy by his encouragement of the two great non-military orders of ecclesiastical knighthood, the Dominicans and Franciscans.[2]

Meanwhile we must record, as characteristic of Innocent's pontificate, the plainer avowal than had yet been made of the two principles:—that religious error ought to be put down by persecution even to the death, a doctrine which had been repudiated so lately and by so zealous a champion of orthodoxy as St. Bernard;[3]—and that the people should *not* read the Scriptures, "every man in his own tongue wherein he was born" (Acts ii. 8). The first principle is defended by Innocent in an argument from the less to the greater; that the heretic is both a thief and a murderer, because "He that taketh away the faith stealeth the life; for the just shall live by faith."[4] This is a sample of that peculiar use of Scripture which adds a sort of irony to Innocent's hostility against its possession in the vernacular tongue by the common people, to whose presumption he applies the command—"If a beast touch the mountain it shall be stoned."[5] Almost at the beginning of his pontificate, in 1199, Innocent wrote to the bishop and faithful of Metz, in denunciation of a party of laymen and women who used French translations

[1] See Part I. Chap. XXIV. §§ 18, 19.

[2] See below, Books III. and IV.

[3] *Serm. in Cantica*, 65-6; in which he applies to heretics the text, Canticles ii. 15, as did Innocent after him; but Bernard wishes the "little foxes that spoil the vines" to be "taken *to us*"—reclaimed to the Church; while Innocent censures the Milanese for not extirpating them (*Epist.* xv. 189). It is in one of Innocent's letters that we first find the direction, which henceforth bore such a terrible meaning, that heretics should be "*delivered to the secular arm*" for punishment. Sismondi, *R. I.* ii. 72; Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 185, 345. (Comp. Chap. XXXVIII. § 2.)

[4] *Epist.* i. 94.

[5] *Epist.* ii. 141-2; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 565.

of the Scriptures, and, on the strength of their acquaintance with them, despised the clergy and their ministrations. The Pope admits that a desire to know the Scriptures is not only innocent but praiseworthy; but he censures the party at Metz for their sectarian spirit, for imagining that the mysteries of the faith are open to the unlearned, and for their behaviour towards the clergy—as to which he is careful to deprive them of such warrant as they might allege from the example of Balaam's ass rebuking the prophet. He desires the bishop to enquire into the authorship and character of the vernacular translations; and the result was the burning of all such versions that they could find.[1] From the language of Innocent it is clear that the objection to the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular, on the ground of the incompetence of the unlearned to understand them, was no abstract principle established on its own merits and for the sake of guarding the people against error, but was the offspring of alarm at the use which was made of the Scriptures against the clergy. And so throughout, the new severity against heresy, which marks this age, is the measure of the rising forces which it aimed to suppress, and the measure also of the ecclesiastical tyranny and corruption which provoked that growing opposition. And this is true also of the excesses which are charged, not altogether unjustly, upon the objects of persecution.

§ 8. In the last year of his pontificate, Innocent accomplished his long-cherished design of assembling the *Fourth Lateran Council* (the *Twelfth Œcumenical* of the Romans), the acts of which were the crown and confirmation of his whole work. Among the 77 primates and metropolitans, 412 bishops and 800 abbots, the East was represented by the titular patriarch of Jerusalem and two claimants to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople—both of whom were set aside and another appointed. There were also ambassadors from various Christian powers, and a vast number of deputies for bishops, chapters, and monasteries.[2] On St. Martin's Day (Nov. 11, 1215) Innocent opened the proceedings with a sermon from the text—perhaps with a half-prophetic consciousness—"With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer."[3] The decisions of the Council embraced most of the questions which had been dealt with by the Pope's vast energy:—the disputes with England and France; the coronation of Frederick II. as Emperor; a new Crusade, which was to be carried out in the ensuing year, and in which Innocent himself proposed to take part; the con-

[1] Innoc. *Epist.* ii. 141–2; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 344.

[2] The total number of persons entitled to attend the sittings is reckoned at 2283. Rog. Wendov. iii. 341; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 376.

[3] Luke xxii. 15; *Patrolog.* vol. ccxvii. p. 673, *seqq.*

demnation of the Albigenses and other heretics, as well as the presumption of preaching, "under the appearance of piety," without a regular mission, that is, by canonical orders. But all these sentences are insignificant in comparison with the formal establishment, for the first time, by the authority of the Western Church, of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*[1] in the Eucharist, and the obligation of *Auricular Confession.*[2]

Within eight months of this crowning scene of his success, when Innocent was still in the vigour of his age (55), he was seized with illness at Perugia, on a journey to mediate between the republics of Genoa and Pisa, and he died on the 16th of July, 1216, in the 19th year of his Papacy.

The Papacy of Innocent III. marks the culminating point of the power of the Roman See; but even in his success the light of ensuing events shows the germs of reverses, which were hastened by the attempts of his successors to raise their authority still higher. The very height at which he pitched his claims provoked a sure reaction; as especially in England, where the subjection of John created an eternal resentment against the whole authority of the Pope. Natural feeling was shocked by the cruelties perpetrated against the Albigenses; and the formal sanction given to the deadly persecution of heretics committed the Church of Rome to a contest with humanity. Even the new strength brought to the Papacy by the Dominican and Franciscan orders involved a new provocation to resistance; and their corruptions ere long offered a fresh mark for the assailants. Innocent himself appears to have had a foresight of this danger. "His sanction of the Mendicant Orders was contrary to his own first judgment, and, notwithstanding the powerful help and support which the Papacy derived from these orders, there was more than enough in their later history to justify his original distrust of them."[3] The rule of Innocent and its results showed forth the utmost strength and the certain retribution of worldly policy usurping the government of Christ's kingdom.

§ 9. His gentle successor, Cencio Savelli, HONORIUS III. (1216–1227), made it his first object to carry out the Crusade determined on by the Lateran Council; but his letters and envoys met with a feeble

[1] The doctrine is stated as follows in the 1st Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council:—"Cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, *transubstantiatis* pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate Domini." See further in Chap. XIX.

[2] The 21st Canon prescribed to every Catholic Christian the duty of confessing once a year, at least, to his own priest, and of receiving the Eucharist yearly at Easter. But, if any one wished to confess to some other priest, it was necessary to get the leave of his own pastor, or else the other would not be entitled to loose or bind. [3] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 378.

response; and the expedition which was at length made to Egypt proved a complete failure (1218–1220).[1] The Pope ascribed the disastrous issue to the hesitation of Frederick II., who had postponed the fulfilment of his vow to the object of strengthening himself in Germany, and especially of securing the succession of his son Henry, who was elected King of the Romans (April 26, 1220). To secure the support of the clergy on this occasion, Frederick renewed the promises he had made to Innocent on his own election—to renounce the long-disputed claim of the crown to the property of deceased bishops,[2] as well as to the income of vacant sees, and to allow freedom of election and appeals, besides other privileges. In the same year Frederick crossed the Alps, and was crowned Emperor by the Pope with a splendid ceremonial (Nov. 22, 1220), after all causes of dispute had been arranged, at least apparently. "Laws were enacted for the liberty of the Church and of ecclesiastical persons; for the exemption of the clergy from taxes and from secular jurisdiction; for the enforcement of ecclesiastical censures by civil penalties; for the severe punishment of heretics and of any who should show them favour or indulgence."[3]

In return for finally making over to the Holy See the long-disputed inheritance of the Countess Matilda,[4] Honorius released Frederick from the promise he had made to Innocent, not to reunite the kingdom of Sicily to the Empire. The Emperor at once proceeded to Southern Italy, where the measures which he took to enforce his authority opened a new quarrel with the Pope, who urged on Frederick the fulfilment of his vow as a Crusader; but the Emperor pleaded the urgency of his affairs at home. It was at length agreed, in a personal interview at Ferentino (March 1223), that two years should be granted for Frederick to establish order in his dominions, while fresh attempts were made to rouse the apathetic sovereigns of Europe to adequate preparations; and the Emperor was to be further pledged to the enterprise by a union with Iolanthe, the heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem.[5]

[1] For the details of this Crusade, which is variously reckoned the *Fifth* or the *Sixth*, see the *Student's Gibbon*, pp. 566–7; and Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 381–4.

[2] This *jus exuviarum* had been maintained by Frederick Barbarossa against Urban III., and had been introduced into England by William Rufus.

[3] Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 243–5; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 386.

[4] This had been one of the most constant grounds of quarrel between successive Emperors and Popes since the original bequest made by Matilda to Gregory VII. (See p. 20, note.)

[5] Iolanthe was the daughter of John de Brienne and his wife Iolanthe, who had inherited the titular kingdom of Jerusalem from her father, Conrad of Montferrat. The elder Iolanthe had died in 1212.

The marriage was celebrated in November 1225; Frederick having meanwhile bound himself by new crusading vows under the penalty of the censures of the Church. But he was again detained by fresh troubles in Germany and by a renewal of the Lombard League; and the Pope's decision for the Lombards on the appeal of both parties seemed to threaten an open quarrel, when Honorius died on the 18th of March, 1227.

§ 10. Of a very different temper was Ugolino de' Segni, Pope GREGORY IX. (1227–1241), who resembled his near relative Innocent III. in character, ability, and principles; and was still vigorous under the weight of eighty years. "Frederick himself had characterized him as a man of spotless reputation, eminent for religion and purity of life, for eloquence and learning."[1] His accession to St. Peter's chair marks the beginning of "that terrific strife, for which Emperor and Pope girded themselves up for the last time," as well as a fresh starting-point in Frederick's career, "with its romantic adventures, its sad picture of marvellous powers lost on an age not ripe for them, blasted as by a curse in the moment of victory. That conflict did indeed determine the fortunes of the German kingdom no less than of the republics of Italy; but it was upon Italian ground that it was fought out, and it is to Italian history that its details belong. So, too, of Frederick himself. Out of the long array of the Germanic successors of Charles, he is, with Otto III., the only one who comes before us with a genius and a frame of character that are not those of a Northern or a Teuton. There dwelt in him, it is true, all the energy and knightly valour of his father Henry and his grandfather Barbarossa. But along with these, and changing their direction, were other gifts, inherited perhaps from his Italian mother and fostered by his education among the orange-groves of Palermo—a love of luxury and beauty, an intellect refined, subtle, philosophical. Through the mist of calumny and fable it is but dimly that the truth of the man can be discerned, and the outlines that appear serve to quicken rather than appease the curiosity with which we regard one of the most extraordinary personages in history. A sensualist, yet also a warrior and a politician; a profound lawgiver and an impassioned poet; in his youth fired by crusading fervour, in later life persecuting heretics while himself accused of blasphemy and infidelity; of winning manners and ardently beloved by his followers, but with the stain of more than one cruel deed upon his name;—he was the marvel of his own generation,[2] and succeeding ages looked back with awe, not unmingled with pity, upon the inscrutable figure of the last Emperor

[1] Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 246 (Feb. 1221); Robertson, vol. iii. p. 389.
[2] "Stupor mundi Fridericus," he was called.

who had braved all the terrors of the Church and died beneath her ban, the last who had ruled from the sands of the ocean to the shores of the Sicilian Sea. But while they pitied they condemned. The undying hatred of the Papacy threw round his memory a lurid light; him and him alone, of all the imperial line, Dante, the worshipper of the Empire, must perforce deliver to the flames of hell."[1]

§ 11. It now appeared how fatal a bequest Barbarossa had left to his descendants by the extension of his dominions over all Italy, and especially by the acquisition of Naples and Sicily, which had been for two centuries a fief of the Holy See. Every Pope who had the smallest share of that ambition, which was now a fixed tradition of the See, felt challenged to a conflict of life and death for his temporal rights. The "eel," which Barbarossa had confessed it so hard to hold, became a serpent to bite the hand that grasped it. And it was the fate of Frederick II. to have placed himself at the Pope's mercy by his crusading vow with its acknowledged penalty. Honorarius had temporized, to win Frederick to the enterprise on which his own heart was set; but Gregory cared more to advance his power by exacting the penalty. Whether from seeing this, or from a sincere desire to perform his vow as soon as he was able, Frederick, in spite of the backwardness of all the other powers, collected his forces, and embarked from Brindisi (Sept. 8, 1227); but, after being three days at sea, he returned on the plea of his own sickness and of a pestilence among his troops. Upon this the Pope declared him excommunicate (Sept. 29), and required all his bishops to publish the sentence. Frederick's solemn declaration of his sincerity, in a letter to the Crusaders, was answered by a renewed excommunication, to which the Pope added a declaration that the Emperor had forfeited the Apulian kingdom, and pronounced an interdict on all places where he might be (Maunday Thursday, 1228).

To prove his sincerity, or at least to remove the ostensible ground of the sentence, Frederick again set sail from Brindisi at the end of June, and landed at Acre on the 7th of September. This perseverance in daring to proceed to the holy war as an excommunicated person redoubled his offence; and then was seen the strange spectacle of the chief of the Holy Roman Empire, cursed by its spiritual head and disowned by the clergy of Palestine, treating with the Sultan Kamed in a spirit of mutual friendship, as unlike

[1] *Inferno*, canto x.: "Quà entro è lo secondo Federico." Bryce (pp. 207–8), who quotes from the *Liber Augustalis*, printed among Petrarch's works, the following curious description of Frederick: "Fuit armorum strenuus, linguarum peritus, rigorosus, luxuriosus, epicurus, nihil curans vel credens nisi temporale: fuit malleus Romanæ ecclesiæ."

as possible to the zeal of Godfrey or Cœur-de-Lion. By the treaty of February 1229, Frederick obtained Jerusalem, with Nazareth, Bethlehem, Sidon, and other places; but the site of the Temple, venerated as it was by both parties, remained in Moslem custody, though open to the Christians. But the clergy and the Knights of the Temple and St. John joined in opposing Frederick's claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem on the ground of the Pope's censure and the want of an election; and when Frederick took the crown from the altar with his own hands, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, in the name of the patriarch, laid the city and the holy places under an interdict because of the pollution.

The denunciations and charges of vice and infidelity, with which the Pope pursued Frederick at Jerusalem, were accompanied by an invasion of Apulia, which brought him back to Brindisi, to the surprise and discomfiture of his enemies (June 10). It was indeed a case suited to enlist the sympathy which was excited by Frederick's vindication of his conduct. "Excommunicated by Gregory for not going to Palestine, he went, and was excommunicated for going. Having concluded an advantageous peace, he sailed for Italy, and was a third time excommunicated for returning."[1] But Gregory's obstinacy was forced to give way before the desertions of his troops and the progress of Frederick's arms; and an agreement was made at Ceperano, by which the Emperor was absolved on his submission as to all matters for which he had incurred excommunication and the payment of a large indemnity for the Pope's expenses (Aug. 1230). "Immediately after his absolution, Frederick visited the Pope at Anagni, and both parties in their letters express great satisfaction as to their intercourse on this occasion."[2]

§ 12. The ensuing few years' interval of quiet is notable for the ecclesiastical laws enacted both by the Emperor and the Pope. The 'Code of Melfi' (1231)—which Frederick promulgated for his Sicilian dominions—the work chiefly of his distinguished Chancellor, Peter delle Vigne,[3] secured the temporalities of the Church while controlling the pretensions of the hierarchy, subjecting them to taxation and the judgment of secular courts, restricting their jurisdiction to matrimonial cases, and forbidding the sale of land to the clergy, or even their holding it without providing for the feudal services. Appeals to the Pope were not allowed except in matters purely spiritual, and were altogether forbidden when the sovereign

[1] Bryce, p. 209. [2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 296.

[3] Peter delle Vigne (in Latin, *de Vineis*, like our name *Vincy*) was a native of Capua, who had risen from the humble position of a mendicant scholar to the highest place in the Emperor's confidence. Besides his learning as a jurist, he shared with his master the reputation of a poet.

and the Pope should be at variance. The provision that the King might legitimatize the children of clergymen is a proof of the still surviving resistance to clerical celibacy.

On the other hand "Gregory, who had been noted for his skill in canon law, put forth a body of Decretals, in which the principles of Hildebrand and Innocent III. were carried to their greatest height. According to this code, the clergy were to be wholly exempt from taxes and from secular judgment; all secular law was to be subordinate to the law of the Church; and the secular power was bound to carry out obediently the Church's judgment. There was, however, one subject as to which the rival systems of law were in accordance with each other. While Gregory was severe in his enactments against heresy, Frederick was no less so—declaring heresy to be worse than treason, and in this and his other legislation condemning heretics to be burnt, or, at least, to have their tongues cut out, while he denounced heavy penalties against all who should harbour or encourage them."[1] It seems not unfair to Frederick to suppose that these severities were designed partly as an answer to the imputations of heresy made against himself. It has been supposed, too, that he meant to use the new laws against the Lombard rebels, on the pretext of their being heretics; and he made the necessity of combatting heresy among the Italians an excuse for not renewing the Crusade.

§ 13. The urgent need in which Gregory stood of Frederick's aid forced him to be content with strong remonstrances against the Code of Melfi. The Pope had resided chiefly at Anagni, and, after he had returned to Rome, he had been twice driven out. Though the citizens had done this chiefly in the cause of Frederick, the Emperor restored the Pope to the city early in 1235.

At Easter, Frederick left Rome for Germany, owing to tidings (received at the end of 1234) that his son and colleague, Henry, had raised a rebellion, in league with the Lombard cities. The revolt was easily put down, and Henry was forgiven;[2] but he soon gave his father fresh provocation, and was confined in

[1] Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 244, 252, 287–9, 326, &c.; Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 397–8. Dean Milman has shown (*Lat. Christ.* v. 390) that, in the 12th, and perhaps the 11th century, heretics had been burnt in England, France, and Germany; but this seems to be the first legislative sanction of the practice. As to the cutting of tongues, it is worth while to mention the coincidence, that the Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions of Sennacherib and his successors exhibit the like punishment of blasphemers of the god Asshur.

[2] During this visit to Germany, Frederick formed an alliance with England by marrying Isabella, the sister of Henry III. His second wife, Iolanthe, had died in childbirth just as he was setting out for the Crusade.

various prisons of Southern Italy. On his way from one of these to another Henry threw himself from his horse, and died from the injuries received in his fall[1] (1242).

Meanwhile, at Vienna, which Frederick had entered as a conqueror, after repelling an attack by the Duke of Austria, he procured the election of CONRAD, his son by Iolanthe, as King of the Romans (March 1237); and, in the following November, he gained the decisive victory of *Corte Nuova* over the Lombards, who had renewed their league two years before.[2]

§ 14. All this time the Pope kept bringing charges against the Emperor, and sent repeated embassies urging him to submission. At length, having secured the support of Genoa and Venice, Gregory pronounced against Frederick the sentence of excommunication and anathema, releasing his subjects from their allegiance, on Palm Sunday, 1239. Frederick, who was keeping Easter at Pavia, held a court in full state, at which he published the Pope's bull and his own answer to the charges, with his refusal to submit because the sentence was unjust. Gregory rejoined by a most violent letter, in which he brought against Frederick those charges of infidelity and profanity, to which the Emperor gave a firm denial, and for which there seem to have been no sufficient grounds, beyond a certain laxity of religious opinion, and his freedom from fanatical hatred of the Mohammedans. In his rejoinder he asserted his orthodoxy, and distinguished between the authority of the Church and of the Pope, whose power to bind and loose was null and void, if wrongly exercised. It is not uninteresting to find the heads of the Holy Roman Empire anticipating Protestant commentators in their interpretation of Apocalyptic imagery—the Pope comparing Frederick to the beast with seven heads and ten horns, having on his heads the names of blasphemy; while the Emperor sees in Gregory the great red dragon and the Antichrist. The general feeling of Europe was on the side of Frederick, whose arms were successful in Italy; and he was for the second time threatening Rome, when Pope Gregory IX. died on August 21,

[1] Though Henry had been elected King of the Romans, he is not reckoned in the line of kings, and the title of HENRY VII. is given to the King and Emperor of the Hapsburg line (1308-1314).

[2] The details of the great and constantly renewed conflict between Frederick and the Lombards belong to civil history.

[3] See Canon Robertson's discussion of the charges and of Frederick's religious opinions (vol. iii. pp. 389–390, 401-3). The specific charge—that Frederick had spoken of three great impostors who had deluded the world, and of whom two had died in honour, but the third had been hanged on a tree—was formerly supposed to be supported by a book *De Tribus Impostoribus*, ascribed to Frederick or his chancellor Peter; but this work has been proved to be a forgery of the 16th century.

1241. His successor, CELESTINE IV., survived him only seventeen days, and died without being consecrated.

§ 15. The dissensions in the conclave prolonged the vacancy of the Holy See above a year and a half, till Frederick, to whom the delay was generally imputed, compelled them to an election at Anagni (June 25, 1243). Their choice fell on Cardinal Sinibald Fiesco, a noble Genoese, who had hitherto been an imperialist, but who soon verified the reply of Frederick, when congratulated on his election, that, instead of gaining a friendly Pope, he had only lost a friendly cardinal, for no Pope could be a Ghibelline. "By styling himself INNOCENT IV. (1243–1254), Sinibald seemed to announce a design of following the policy of the great Pope who had last borne the name of Innocent; and this design he steadily carried out. In some respects his pretensions exceeded those of any among his predecessors; he aimed at a power over the Church more despotic than anything before claimed; and the vast host of the mendicant friars, who were wholly devoted to the Papacy, enabled him to overawe any members of the hierarchy who might have been disposed to withstand his usurpations. Yet, although he was less violent than Gregory IX., his pride, his rapacity, and the bitterness of his animosity against those who opposed him, excited wide dissatisfaction; and many who were well affected to the Papacy were forced to declare that the Pope's quarrels were not necessarily the quarrels of all Christendom."[1]

§ 16. From the first, Innocent took up the charges against Frederick, against whom the fortune of war turned at the same time; and the Pope entered Rome amidst the rejoicings of the people (Nov. 15, 1243). After long negociations, Frederick submitted to hard terms of peace (March 31, 1244); but there was mutual distrust as to the execution of its terms, and the potentates were advancing to hold a personal interview, when Innocent suddenly fled to Civita Vecchia, and embarked for Genoa. Thence he crossed the Alps to Lyon, which at this time was not in France, but belonged to the kingdom of Burgundy, while in fact it was independent under its own archbishop (Dec. 2). His overtures for a reception in England, France, or Arragon, had all been rejected—so strong was the feeling that had been roused, especially by the exactions of the papal legates and collectors; but Innocent consoled himself with a remark which shows the aim of his policy: "When the great dragon is crushed or quieted, the king-snakes[2] and little serpents will soon be trodden down."

At Lyon Innocent summoned a General Council, to which

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 409.

[2] This word may be allowed to represent the double sense of *regulos*, *minor kings* or *cockatrices*. (Matt. Paris, 660, 774; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 411, note.)

Frederick was invited, but the excommunication was renewed without waiting for his answer. He nevertheless sent the Archbishop of Palermo, and other envoys, headed by an eloquent and learned jurist, Thaddeus of Sessa. The *First Council of Lyon* (the *Thirteenth Œcumenical* of the Romans),[1] was opened on St. Peter's Eve (June 28th, 1245), the East being represented by the Latin Emperor and the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. The chief subjects for consultation—which Innocent compared to the Saviour's five wounds—were the Tartar invasion of Europe, the schism of the Greeks, the prevalence of various heresies, the state of the Holy Land, and the enmity of the Emperor; but the last was the real object of the convocation. Notwithstanding offers from Frederick, which the Pope himself admitted to be fair if only he had sureties for their performance, the able defence of his master by Thaddeus (who finally appealed to a future Pope, and to a more impartial Council), and the desire of the French and English envoys that the sentence might be deferred, the synod, at its third session, decreed the deposition of Frederick. The German princes were directed to choose another King, while the Pope claimed to dispose of the kingdom of Sicily in consultation with his cardinals (July 17th).

§ 17. On receiving the sentence at Turin, Frederick declared himself released from all obedience, reverence, love, or other duty towards the Pope, whom he upbraided for his luxury, extravagance, blood-guiltiness, and neglect of his pastoral duties; and he defied Pope or Council to deprive him of his crown without a bloody struggle. A cruel war was forthwith begun in North Italy, while in Sicily a revolt was stirred up by papal emissaries, who preached a crusade against the King; but we cannot dwell on the details of the conflict, in which both parties were equally violent, while the Pope was the more obstinate in rejecting all terms or mediation.

In Germany a rival was found, with some difficulty, in HENRY, Landgrave of Thuringia, who was elected King by the great Rhenish prelates (May 22nd, 1246), but died nine months later after a defeat by Frederick's son, Conrad (Feb. 1247). His successor, WILLIAM, count of Holland, a youth of twenty, had little more than the name of royalty. Meanwhile the successful career of Frederick in Italy was rapidly turned to utter reverse by his repulse at the siege of Parma (Feb. 1248), where he lost Thaddeus and other faithful friends, and by the treason of his chancellor, Peter delle Vigne. Sick in body and mind, and with his temper exasperated to ferocious cruelty, he was at length struck with palsy, and died at Fiorentino in the Capitanata (Dec. 13, 1250).

[1] But it is not admitted by the Gallican Church.

On his death-bed he was reconciled to the Church; and his will directed that her rights should be restored, but on condition that she restored the rights of the Empire. He was buried beside his parents in the cathedral of Palermo.

§ 18. That royal and imperial tomb was all that remained of the dominion set up by Barbarossa in the south; but it belongs to civil history to relate the complicated fortunes of the Sicilian kingdom. Lombardy also was virtually severed from the Empire by Frederick's death; and even in Germany the crown lost its imperial splendour. "With Frederick fell the Empire. From the ruin that overwhelmed the greatest of its houses it emerged, living, indeed, and destined to a long life, but so shattered, crippled, and degraded, that it could never be to Europe and to Germany what it had once been."[1]

The "likeness of the kingly crown" of Hohenstaufen was indeed prolonged for four troubled years. The will of Frederick had appointed CONRAD IV. (1250–1254) the heir of all his dominions, and his illegitimate son, Manfred, to be regent in Italy and Sicily during Conrad's absence. Innocent launched a new excommunication against Conrad, and wrote to the Germans that "Herod was dead, but Archelaus reigned in the room of his father."[2] He even offered the hereditary lands of the Swabian duchy to any one who could seize them. Germany fell into complete anarchy; while Conrad crossed the Alps, and, after reducing Naples, died at the age of twenty-six (May 20, 1254), the last king of the house of Hohenstaufen.[3] He left an infant son only two years old, named also Conrad, but called commonly by the diminutive, CONRADIN.

Innocent now claimed the Sicilian kingdom, as having lapsed to its suzerain, St. Peter, and on his progress to take possession of it he was well received by the people, who were tired both of Saracen and German rule. He had reached Naples, when he received a mortal shock from the news of a victory gained by Manfred over his troops at Foggia, and he died five days later (Dec. 7, 1254). "We are told by a Guelfic chronicler that on his death-bed he often repeated the penitential words, 'Thou, Lord, with rebukes hast chastened man for sin.'[4] A story of different character is told by Matthew Paris—that, as the Pope lay on his death-bed, surrounded by his weeping relations, he roused himself to rebuke them by asking, 'Why do you cry, wretches? Have I not made you all rich?'"[5]

[1] Bryce, p. 210. We must be content to refer to Dr. Bryce's admirable sketch of the decline of the Empire, and the essential difference of its character under the Hapsburgs from what it had been under the Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen Emperors.

[2] Matt. ii. 22. [3] Conrad II. never became Emperor.

[4] *Annal. Parmens.* ap. Pertz, xviii. 77 (Ps. xxviii. 12, Vulg.).

[5] Matt. Par. 897; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 426.

Basilica of the Lateran. (San Giovanni in Laterano.)

CHAPTER VI.

END OF THE PAPAL SUPREMACY.

FROM THE ELECTION OF ALEXANDER IV. TO THE DEATHS OF BONIFACE VIII. AND BENEDICT XI. A.D. 1254—1304.

§ 1. Pope ALEXANDER IV.—Germany: RICHARD, Earl of Cornwall, and ALFONSO X. of Castile—MANFRED, King of Sicily. § 2. Pope URBAN IV. offers the crown of Sicily to CHARLES of Anjou—POPE CLEMENT IV. crowns him—Defeat and Death of Manfred—Enterprise and Execution of CONRADIN. § 3. Triumph of the Papacy and beginning of its Decline—ST. LOUIS IX. of France—His First Crusade, Captivity in Egypt, and Return. § 4. His Ecclesiastical Policy—His *Pragmatic Sanction* of 1269—His Treatment of Heretics and Jews. § 5. The Second Crusade of St. Louis—His Death at Carthage—EDWARD I. of England in Palestine—End of the Crusades and of the Christian Kingdom in Palestine. § 6. PHILIP III., King of France—Power of Charles in Italy—Papal Vacancy, and election of GREGORY X.—His devotion to the Crusades—RUDOLF I., of Hapsburg, elected King of the Romans—Change in the character of the Empire, and diminished power of the

German kingdom. § 7. Attempt to reconcile the Latin and Greek Churches—MICHAEL VIII. PALÆOLOGUS—*Second Council of Lyon*—New Rule for Papal Elections by the Cardinals in Conclave. § 8. Rudolf and the Pope—Death of Gregory X.—Rapid Succession of INNOCENT V., ADRIAN V., and JOHN XXI. § 9. NICOLAS III.—MARTIN IV.—Designs of Charles of Sicily—Insurrection: the "Sicilian Vespers"—Peter of Arragon in Sicily—HONORIUS IV.—NICOLAS IV. § 10. Papal Vacancy—Election and Abdication of CELESTINE V.—Benedict Gaetani made Pope BONIFACE VIII.—His Character and Schemes—Obstacles to his Policy. § 11. His persecution of the Colonnas—His policy in Italy and Germany—ADOLF of Nassau and ALBERT I. § 12. The Pope's contests with EDWARD I. of England, and PHILIP IV. (the Fair) of France—Taxation of the Clergy—The Bull *Clericis Laicos*—Strong Measures of Philip. §. 13. The JUBILEE of 1300. § 14. Claim of Papal suzerainty over Scotland—Reply of the English Parliament. § 15. Progress of the Quarrel with France—Bulls against the King—§ 16. The Bull *Ausculta fili* burnt by Philip—Assembly of the States-General—Papal Consistory. § 17. Council at Rome—Extreme assertion of the Pope's temporal supremacy in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. § 18. Philip cited to Rome—Mutual defiances and preparations. § 19. Consistory at Anagni—Bull prepared for the deposition of Philip—Imprisonment, release, and death, of Boniface VIII.—The turning-point of the Papal supremacy—Its power never recovered. § 20. Brief Pontificate of BENEDICT XI.

§ 1. THE new Pope, ALEXANDER IV. (1254–1261), a zealous Franciscan, and nephew of Gregory IX., had the will without the ability to carry on the system of his two predecessors; and "while he is praised for his piety and for his kindly disposition, he is said to have been the dupe of flatterers, and a tool of those who made the Roman court odious by their rapacity and extortion."[1] Under him and his two successors the chief interest of our subject centres in the sequel of the struggle between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen interest in the Sicilian kingdom. For the rest, it is enough to say that, in Germany, after the death of William of Holland (1256), the kingly power was merely nominal, during the "*Great Interregnum*" and the rivalry of RICHARD, Earl of Cornwall (brother of Henry III. of England), who was crowned but never really reigned (1257–1271), and ALFONSO X. of Castile (1257–1273), who never set foot in Germany; while in Northern Italy the fierce factions of Guelph and Ghibelline merged ecclesiastical in political conflicts. The sum of the Papal victory in the long contest with the Empire

[1] Matt. Par. 897; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 450. The Franciscan Salimbene gives the following terse description of the person and character of Alexander: "Grossus (*i.e.* corpulentus) et crassus fuit, sicut alter Eglon; benignus, clemens, pius, justus, et timoratus fuit, et Deo devotus.

was, Germany distracted, Italy dismembered, England and other states disgusted with the encroachments and exactions of Rome, and —as we shall presently see—France a helper so much too powerful, that she was soon to humble both the Papacy and the Empire.

In the Sicilian kingdom the papal power was resisted by the able and accomplished Manfred, who had thrown himself into the stronghold of Luceria, which was held by a mixed garrison of Germans and Saracens,[1] who were less hated by the people than the Germans. Manfred's reliance on his Saracen soldiers was a chief source of his strength, but the papal party made it a ground of accusation against his Christianity. The refusal by the Pope of a partition of the kingdom left him no choice but submission or war; and he had nearly regained the whole, when, on a report of Conradin's death in Germany, which his enemies accuse him of inventing, the people cried for Manfred to be king, and he was crowned at Palermo (Aug. 11, 1258). The claim of Edmund, the young second son of Henry III. of England, to whom Innocent had offered the crown, was a source of embarrassment to the English king rather than of danger to Manfred,[2] whose able administration gained him the support of the people against the censures of the Church. The Pope was fain to reopen negociations; but, when he asked for the dismissal of the Saracen troops, Manfred replied that he would fetch over as many more from Africa (1260). Soon after this the Pope, who had been driven out from Rome[3] in 1257, died at Viterbo, May 25, 1261.

§ 2. His more vigorous successor, URBAN IV. (1261–1264), a native of France,[4] finding that no more money was to be got from England, offered the crown of Sicily to Louis IX. of France for one of his sons. The pious King preferred his own sense of the prior rights of Conradin and Edmund to the assurances of the Pope; but his ambitious brother, Charles of Anjou, was troubled by no such scruples. The Pope obtained a cession of Edmund's claim in return for a renewed censure against the barons, whose contest with Henry III.

[1] There was still a considerable remnant of the old Saracen conquerors in Southern Italy; and Frederick II.—one of whose greatest offences was his favour to his Mohammedan subjects—had permitted Saracen colonies to settle in Luceria and Nocera.

[2] The sums of money raised in England for this enterprize, but wasted by the English and Roman courts, formed one chief ground of quarrel between Henry and his subjects.

[3] For the political state of Rome—where the republican party still rejected the temporal government of the Pope—and the rule and fortunes of the Senator Brancaleone, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 426–7.

[4] James Pantaleon, the son of a poor cobbler at Troyes, had risen by his skill in diplomatic missions. He was now Patriarch of Jerusalem, and, arriving at Viterbo when the Cardinals had been debating for three months on a successor to Alexander, he was elected to the vacant chair.

was near its climax;[1] and a Crusade against Manfred was preached in France (1263). The Roman people, among whom Manfred had had a strong party, now preferred Charles to him in the election of a Senator, and the prince used this advantage to make better terms with the Pope. Instead of a partition of Southern Italy, Charles was to have the whole, except the papal city of Benevento, (besides other advantages,) in return for his promise to resign the senatorship as soon as he was in possession of the kingdom.

Meanwhile Manfred had won most of the papal territory, and his advance on Rome caused the Pope's flight to Perugia, where he arrived and died on the same day (Oct. 2, 1264). He was succeeded by another Frenchman, CLEMENT IV. (1265–1268), whose name (as with many other Popes) was a satire on his character and rule.[2] He had been eminent as a lawyer, and had assisted Louis IX. in his legislation. He was fully prepared to espouse the cause of Charles; but, when the prince arrived at Rome (May 1265) with few men and no money, Clement bitterly remarked that he could do nothing for Charles except by a miracle, and for this his own merits were not sufficient. Further offence was given by the prince's arrogance and exactions, but their common interests prevailed; Charles was invested with the Sicilian kingdom on new conditions, and the Pope crowned him with his wife at St. Peter's at Epiphany (Jan. 6, 1266).[3] The crusade which the Pope proclaimed against Manfred gathered to Charles's banners a host of reckless adventurers, who were a terror to the whole country. The complaints of Clement and the want of supplies hastened the march of Charles, who won a decisive victory at Benevento (Feb. 26), where Manfred's defeat and death crushed the Ghibelline party throughout Southern Italy. But the tyranny and exactions of the new king prepared the people to welcome the gallant but rash attempt of CONRADIN, the son of Conrad IV., to recover his inheritance. This last scion of the Hohenstaufen, now a handsome and accomplished youth of fifteen, was encouraged by his grand-

[1] Urban confirmed the release which Alexander IV. had given Henry III. from his oath to observe the Provisions of Oxford. These are far from the only examples in our history of the Papal standard of good faith; and it was characteristic of Edward I., that he refused to accept the dispensation from his oath, and preferred his own maxim, *l'actum serva.*

[2] "Clemens, cujus nomen ab effectu non modice distat." Mutius of Monza, *ap.* Pertz. xvii. 517; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 458. The different dates given for his accession (Oct. 1264, and Feb. 1265), may be probably accounted for by the interval between his election and his acceptance, as he was absent on a legation in England.

[3] This was the first coronation of any sovereign at St. Peter's, except as Emperor.

father's example to disregard the cautious counsels of his mother and the threats of the Pope. We need not dwell on the details of his enterprise, which, after a bright dawn of success, ended with his defeat and capture at Tagliacozzo (Aug. 23, 1268), and his execution at Naples after the mockery of a trial (Oct. 29).[1] On that day month the Pope died at Viterbo (Nov. 29).

§ 3. The fall of the last Hohenstaufen signalized the triumph of the Papacy in Italy, so long its great field of battle with the Empire; but it had already turned the summit towards that rapid descent of humiliation, of which the chief instrument was the very power it had helped to strengthen against the Empire. We have seen, in the ninth and tenth centuries, how slowly the Frank Church yielded to the supremacy of Rome; and we have now to witness the re-assertion of the liberties of the Gallican Church by that most devout of sovereigns whom Rome herself has canonized. SAINT LOUIS, the ninth French king of that name (1226–1270), though not conspicuous for intellectual gifts or military skill, shines in history above almost every other sovereign by the purer lustre of piety and moral principle, acted out consistently through his life:—

> "Where shall the Holy Cross find rest?
> On a crown'd monarch's mailed breast:
> Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene,
> Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene."[2]

Even those who distrust the sympathy of the Christian poet may accept the testimony of Voltaire—"It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point." The King's scrupulous moderation in making use of advantages proved a gain to him, instead of a loss, as it gave confidence in his justice; and no sovereign ever exercised a more wide-spread influence over his age. The details of his career, even in ecclesiastical affairs, must be left to the special annals of France;[3] but some points of it are inseparable from the general history of the Church.

It was his peculiar distinction above other sovereigns to be the leader of two Crusades, almost without allies. In 1244, a new cry for help came from Palestine. The Latin Christians had enjoyed for fifteen years the fruit of the much-maligned

[1] The part of Clement IV. in this atrocious deed has been very differently represented. Canon Robertson (vol. iii. p. 464) adopts the statement of some authorities, that the Pope interceded for Conradin, adding, "the story that Clement, on being consulted by Charles, answered 'Vita Corradini mors Caroli; mors Corradini vita Caroli,'—although adopted by Giannone (iii. 294)—is now generally rejected," and quoting, in support of this view, Raynald, Tillemont, Schröckh, Sismondi, Von Raumer, and Milman. On the other hand, Dr. Bryce says (p. 211), "The murder of Frederick's grandson Conradin was the suggestion of Pope Clement, the deed of Charles of France."

[2] Keble's *Christian Year:* Advent Sunday.

[3] See the *Student's France*, chap. ix.

policy of Frederick II., when they were overwhelmed by the irruption of the Chorasmians (or Carizmians), a barbarous horde, who, flying from northern Persia before the Mongols, defeated the united Moslem and Frank defenders of Syria, and sacked Jerusalem. The Christian sovereigns were too much occupied with their own troubles to venture on the Crusade which was proposed at the Council of Lyon (see p. 79), and it was a tribute to the good government which Louis IX. had established, when Henry III. said, "The King of France may go, for his people may follow him."

In the same autumn, the sudden recovery of Louis from what seemed a fatal sickness, as soon as the cross was placed in his hands, bound his conscience to the expedition, on which he started for Egypt in June 1248, and which ended, after a series of disasters, in his surrender to the Saracens at Damietta (April 8th, 1250).[1] After being ransomed, he spent some time in Palestine, strengthening the places still held by the Christians, and attempting the harder task of reconciling them to one other; and he returned home in 1254, after an absence of six years. Innocent IV. had proved the warm sympathy, which he expressed for the captive King, by diverting much of the money raised for his ransom to his own crusade against Frederick and Conrad; but the retribution followed quickly, for the struggle of the Popes to make Italy their own left them powerless to resist the national policy of Louis.

§ 4. A chronicler testifies that the King's conversation after his first Crusade was better than before, as gold is better than silver.[2] His opposition to the assumptions of Rome was the fruit of his piety, rather than a contrast to it, since it sprang from his deep sense of law and justice. The knowledge that his firmness was based on a pure conscience of right and wrong often silenced clerical resistance and encroachments; and "thus the saintly reputation of the King enabled him to assert with success, and almost without question, principles which would have drawn on any ordinary sovereign the charge of impiety and hostility to the Church."[3] With consummate prudence he refrained from invading the immunities of the clergy by his own authority; "but he gained the substantial acknowledgment of the rights of the state by prevailing on Alexander IV. to allow that the King's officials should not be liable to excommunication for arresting criminal clerks in flagrant delict, provided that they held them at the disposal of the ecclesiastical courts."[4] To the persistent claim of Hildebrand and his successors,

[1] For the details of this *Sixth* (or *Seventh*) *Crusade*, see the *Student's Gibbon*, p. 568, the *Student's France*, chap. ix. § 6, Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 443–9; and Milman, who draws a striking contrast between Frederick II. and St. Louis (*Lat. Christ.*, Bk. XI. c. 1).

[2] W. Nang. *ap.* Bouq. xx 392, quoted by Robertson, vol. iii. p. 464.

[3] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 465. [4] Ibid.

that all earthly crowns were held by the gift of the Vicar of Christ, Louis opposed the declaration, that "the King of France holdeth of no one save God and himself."[1] The crowning act of his ecclesiastical legislation was the *Pragmatic Sanction*,[2] put forth in 1269, which is justly regarded as the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican Church, though its provisions were often invaded both by Popes and kings. It was, in fact, a protest against crying abuses, which time and strength were still required to extinguish. The edict provided that no tax or pecuniary exaction should be levied by the Pope without consent of the king and the national Church; that churches should possess their rights to the election of bishops, and other patronage, free from papal interference; and that all prelates and other patrons should enjoy their full rights as to the collation of benefices according to the Canons.[3] Like most declarations of right that have been fruitful of results, the Pragmatic Sanction is remarkable for its unrevolutionary moderation. As Sismondi observes, it introduces no new right, changes nothing in the ecclesiastical organization, and, with the exception of the article concerning the levy of money by the Roman court, it contains nothing which that court itself might not have published.

The moderation of St. Louis tempered even his abhorrence of heresy and heretics, whose repression by the sword he rather held as a principle than practised it with the cruelty which disgraced the age. "No one," he said, "ought to dispute with Jews unless he be a very good clerk; but the layman, when he heareth the Christian law spoken against, ought not to defend it save with the sword, which he should thrust as far as it will go into the unbeliever's belly." But the pious Louis practised no such severities as the latitudinarian Frederick; the cruel deeds in Languedoc were committed without his consent, and it seems due to him that the inquisition was never established elsewhere in France.[4] He deserves credit for the rare consistency of proving his horror of the Jews by refusing to make use of their property; and he ordered them to forsake usury or to leave his kingdom, in spite of the plea of his counsellors that, when they were driven out, Christians proved still worse usurers.

[1] In his "Establishments," Liv. i. c. 78, in *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, i. 169; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 465.

[2] The term *pragmatic* was derived from the Byzantine Empire, signifying an ordinance issued by the sovereign after deliberation (πρᾶγμα, πραγματεία) with his counsellors.

[3] As to the genuineness and provisions of this edict see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 214 (ed. 1872), with the additional notes.

[4] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 441; Milman, *l.c.* Languedoc was no part of Louis' territories; nor was Champagne, where 104 alleged Manicheans were burnt alive in 1239. On these matters see Chaps. XXXVII, XXXVIII.

§ 5. The cherished purpose of his last years was to fulfil the vow which he regarded as only postponed by his failure in Egypt. In 1267 Louis solemnly took the cross, with his three sons and many of his nobles, and the example was followed by the heir of England, Edward, who had just restored peace to his father's kingdom. The zeal of Louis was quickened by the fall of Antioch (May 1268); and, though too ill to bear his armour, he set out on what proved the last of the Crusades,[1] in March 1270. On arriving at Sardinia, the expedition was carried over to Africa, probably to enforce the claim of Charles of Sicily for tribute from the Sultan of Tunis, for whose conversion Louis thought he had grounds to hope. Arriving in sight of Tunis on July 17, the Crusaders disembarked next day on the famous peninsula where Carthage had once stood; and while they lay inactive for a month, waiting the arrival of Charles from Sicily, the African sun and the vapours of the lagoon bred a pestilence in the camp. Among the earliest victims was the King's younger son, John Tristan; and the enfeebled frame of Louis himself succumbed after a sickness of twenty days, spent in devotion and wise counsels to his son and successor, Philip. At last he caused himself to be laid on a bed of ashes, and—uttering the words "I will enter into thy house, O Lord, I will worship in thy holy tabernacle,"—he expired at the age of fifty-six years, of which he had reigned forty-four (Aug. 25, 1270). ST. LOUIS was canonized by a Bull of Pope Boniface VIII. (Aug. 11, 1297).

Charles arrived just too late to see his brother alive, and found the new King, PHILIP III., surnamed the Bold (*le Hardi*, 1270–1285), seemingly at the point of death. His military skill won two sanguinary battles, and extorted from the Sultan an advantageous peace, including a yearly tribute to the Sicilian crown. The survivors returned to France, professing the intention to recruit their forces for resuming the Crusade; but it was only carried on by Edward of England, who reached Tunis after the departure of Philip, and, though his force numbered only 1200 lances, he sailed in the spring from Sicily to Acre, now the only place left to the Latin Christians in Palestine. Edward signalized his chivalrous courage and improved his great military talents in the defence of Acre, the capture of Nazareth, and other daring exploits; but his small army could, of course, effect nothing of any permanent importance, and his truce with the Sultan Bibars for 10 years, 10 months, and 10 days, marks the epoch of the *End of the Crusades* (Aug. 1272). Within twenty years the capture of Acre by the Sultan Khalid destroyed the last remnant of the Latin Christian kingdom of Palestine (see § 9).

[1] This last Crusade is variously reckoned the *Seventh* or the *Eighth*. As to the details, see the works referred to for the preceding Crusade.

§ 6. While Edward was still at Acre, the news arrived that one of his companions in the Crusade, Theobald, formerly archdeacon of Liège, had been elected Pope (Sept. 1, 1271). The Papal Chair had been kept vacant for three years through the factions in the Sacred College and the intrigues of Charles of Sicily, who took advantage of the interregnum to make himself the arbiter of Italy. His bold ambition, and the weakness of his nephew Philip III., caused Charles to be looked up to as the virtual head of the French interest, which now began to have weight in the papal elections. But the choice of Theobald was made by a compromise between the two parties among the Cardinals; as, though he was of the Visconti of Piacenza, his life had been passed remote from the strife of Italian factions. After his consecration at St. Peter's, as GREGORY X. (1271–6), he took up his residence at Viterbo.

The chief desire of Gregory's heart had been expressed in the words with which he departed from Acre—"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning!"[1]—and his first object, as Pope, was to reunite the Christian powers, both of the the East and West, in a great effort for the recovery of the Holy Land. The cause seemed hopeless while Europe was divided by varied interests, the Empire virtually in abeyance, and the ambition of Charles reaching to Constantinople and Jerusalem.[2] The one remedy which Gregory saw was the revival of the Empire: he pressed the Germans to choose a king from among themselves, and went so far as threaten that, if the electors failed to do their duty, he with his cardinals would appoint an Emperor. The choice—made not only by the seven Electors, but by an assembly of the princes, and by the cities, which had promised to obey the sovereign who might be elected—fell on RUDOLF, Count of Hapsburg in the Aargau[3] (1273–1291), whose descendants—direct, and in the female line of Hapsburg-Lorraine[4]—held the royal crown and the imperial

[1] Psalm cxxxvii. 5.

[2] Charles had married one of his sons to a daughter of Baldwin II., the dispossessed Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and he had obtained the semblance of a title to the crown of Jerusalem by cession from a daughter of John of Brienne.

[3] The traveller who enters Switzerland by the high road from Basle to Zurich, looking down from the descent of the Jura on the confluence of the three rivers which form the Aar, once the site of the Roman Vindonissa, sees on a slight eminence the ruins of the castle (*Habbisburg*, the "Hawk's-fort") that cradled the imperial house which still rules over the Austrian Empire. "Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa (says Gibbon) the castle of Hapsburg, the abbey of Königsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquests, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom. If he be truly a philosopher, he will applaud the merit and happiness of his own time."

[4] For the few exceptions see the Table of Emperors.

dignity,[1] till the Holy Roman Empire ended with the abdication of Francis II. (1806). "Rudolf was a petty independent prince, fifty-five years of age, who had been recommended by his valour, his frankness, ability, honesty, and other popular qualities, while he was not so powerful as to give cause for apprehension that he might revive the authority which Emperors in former days had exercised."[2] He was crowned King of the Romans by Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, at Aix-la-Chapelle (Oct. 24, 1273).

Rudolf was chosen with the intention that he should be a real Emperor—though it happened that he was never crowned—but it was a complete mistake to suppose that the Empire of Charles the Great, of the Othos and Henries, had been, or could be, revived.[3] What the election of Rudolph really did, was to give Germany a new and vigorous German king, and to restore the fabric of law and order—which had almost gone to pieces during the Great Interregnum—in the only form then possible, under its recognized feudal head. But even as a king that head was weak, in comparison with other kings, especially in France and England, where political union had advanced, while in Germany it had grown feebler and the princes had become more and more independent. The restored Empire, therefore, was no longer an effective centre for that united action of Europe which Gregory sought to secure.

§ 7. The Pope's second great object, the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches—both for its own sake and as a means to his more cherished purpose, the Crusade—was favoured by the political necessities of the Emperor MICHAEL VIII. (the first of the PALÆOLOGI). Having recovered Constantinople from the Latins, in 1261, he was eager both to make peace with the Pope, who had espoused the cause of the deposed Emperor Baldwin II., and to strengthen himself at home against the party of the deprived patriarch Arsenius,[4] and still more against the ambitious schemes of Charles

[1] This distinction is important, as very few sovereigns of the Hapsburg line were crowned as Emperors at Rome. Rudolph himself was not, and only five of his successors were so crowned, one of these being only a rival to the acknowledged sovereign. The last imperial coronation at Rome was that of Frederick III. (1452), the only full Emperor since that time being Charles V., who was crowned at Bologna (1530). To the end of the fifteenth century those not crowned at Rome were "Kings of the Romans;" but in 1508 Maximilian I., being refused a passage to Rome by the Venetians, obtained authority by a Bull of Julius II. to call himself "Emperor-elect" (*Imperator electus, erwählter Kaiser*), and this title, perpetuated by his successors, became by courtesy "Emperor."

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 472.

[3] We must content ourselves with referring to Dr. Bryce's admirable sketch of the changed character of the Empire (pp. 214 f.).

[4] Arsenius had been deposed in consequence of his excommunicating Michael for his treachery in deposing and blinding his ward, John Lascaris, the last of the Emperors who reigned at Nicæa during the Latin occupation

of Sicily. With these powerful motives, the Eastern Emperor got rid of the hitherto insuperable difficulties of creed and patriarchal supremacy, by the simple plan of forcing his clergy, on the pain of treason, to yield everything to the Church of Rome.

As the fit means of establishing a general reconciliation and peace among the Christian states, and with the view of their union in a decisive Crusade, Gregory had, at his first Easter, summoned a General Council, which, in order to secure a full attendance from the Transalpine states, met at Lyon on the 7th of May, 1274. This *Second Council of Lyon* (the *Fourteenth Œcumenical* of the Romans) was the most numerous that had ever yet assembled; being attended by the Latin Patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople, and by more than 500 bishops and a thousand of the inferior clergy. Three chief subjects were laid before it by the Pope:—a subsidy for the recovery of the Holy Land;—the reconciliation of the Greeks;—and the reformation of morals. The first was as easily voted as it was soon afterwards lightly abandoned. As to the second, the ambassadors from Michael, being received with great honour, agreed to the Latin doctrines and usages, confessed the primacy of the Roman see, and joined in chanting the Nicene Creed with special emphasis on the article of the Double Procession, which they sang thrice "with solemnity and devotion." But there was no reality in the agreement, and the efforts of Michael to enforce it only made the schism more flagrant and bitter after his death (Dec. 1282).

The third topic was urged by the Pope, at the sixth and final session, in a strong invective against the vices of prelates, and an earnest exhortation to reform their manners (July 17). But the most permanent fruit of this Council was the new rule for Papal elections, established by its Second Canon, with a view to prevent the long strife of parties among the Cardinals, and consequent vacancies of the Papal See. On the lapse of ten days from the death of a Pope—to give time for absent members of the college to assemble—the Cardinals were to be shut up in one room (*conclave*),[1] without partitions (each attended by a single clerk or lay domestic), and to hold no communication with the outer world, till they should agree on a successor. If the election should not be made within three days, their food was to be diminished, and, after five days more, reduced to bread, wine, and water.

§ 8. The Council was attended by envoys from Rudolf, who re-

of Constantinople. (For the general outline of this period of Byzantine history, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chaps. xxxiv., xxxv.)

[1] Hence the Cardinals assembled for a papal election are called the *Conclave*. The Latin word *conclave* properly means a room under lock and key (*clavis*), or that can be closed with a key. (Festus, *s.v.*: "conclavia dicuntur loca, quæ una clave clanduntur.") In practice, however, the Cardinals are confined to a number of rooms in the Vatican.

quested the Pope to confirm his election, and renewed all the engagements made by Frederick II., or by any other Emperor, in favour of the Papacy and the Church. Gregory confirmed Rudolf's election, but in words which by their ambiguity were intended to insinuate a claim to the right of nominating the King of the Romans (Sept. 1275). A month later he met Rudolf at Lausanne, to receive his vow as a Crusader, and to arrange for his imperial coronation; Rudolf confirming all the engagements of his envoys, giving up all claim to the territories long disputed between the Empire and the Pope,[1] and promising to help the Pope in recovering all the possessions that he claimed. "Thus Gregory had gained from the Empire more than any of his predecessors. . . . All the forged or doubtful privileges in favour of the Papal See, from the time of Louis the Pious downwards, were acknowledged as valid and binding; and the Pope was owned as temporal lord of all the territories which had formerly been subjects of contention."[2]

But at this *acmé* of his success, and while preparing for the Crusade, the Pope died at Arezzo (Jan. 10, 1276), and most of his work and hopes died with him. Within the same year, the Papal Chair fell to the lot of three successive Popes, INNOCENT V. (Jan.–June); ADRIAN V., who did not live to be consecrated; and JOHN XXI. (Sept. 1276–May 1277), who disliked the monks and cultivated science, which procured him the reputation of being an astrologer.[3]

§ 9. The cardinals now rebelled against the "Conclave," and announced its suspension by the authority of the late Pope. But after six months the people of Viterbo made a Conclave of their town-hall, shutting up there seven Cardinals, who elected NICOLAS III. (1277–1280), a member of the house of the Orsini and of the Franciscan order, who had acted as an inquisitor into heresy. His high accomplishments were disgraced by nepotism, simony, and the corruption of his court, which he transferred from Viterbo to Rome, where he began the splendid palace on the Vatican. By an artful policy, and chiefly by playing off Rudolf and Charles against each other, Nicolas obtained fresh concessions from both; and he re-established the Papal government in Rome. But his sudden death from a stroke of palsy (Aug. 22, 1280) was the signal for fresh tumults in the city, and for a violent attempt of Charles to secure a Pope favourable to himself.

The Canon of Lyon was set aside, and six months passed before

[1] Namely, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, Ancona and Spoleto, and the inheritance (once more) of the Countess Matilda.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 479.

[3] Some call him John XX., but the recognized lists omit this number (XX.), though for what reason is doubtful.

the election of a Frenchman, who took the title of MARTIN IV. (1281–1285), in honour of St. Martin of Tours, where he had been a canon. He hated the Germans, and proved himself a mere tool of Charles, in favour of whose designs on Constantinople he helped on the new rupture (already mentioned) between the Churches. But the design of Charles was frustrated by the insurrection long prepared against his tyranny in Sicily, which broke out in the great massacre of the French, known as the *Sicilian Vespers* (Easter, 1282), and was followed by the invasion of Sicily by Peter of Arragon, as the avenger of Conradin. Leaving the details to civil history,[1] we need only record the deaths of Charles, in January 1285, and of Pope Martin in the ensuing March.

His aged successor, HONORIUS IV. (1285–7), confirmed the Crusade which Martin had proclaimed against the King of Arragon, under the sanction of which Philip III. invaded Spain, with all the cruel outrages common to wars waged on the pretext of religion, and died at Perpignan on his retreat (Oct. 1285). The King of Arragon died the month after, and Pope Honorius died in April 1287.

The cardinals wasted nearly a year in disputes, at the expense of six lives out of sixteen from the malaria at Rome, where the conclave was held on the Aventine, before they elected Jerome of Ascoli, General of the Franciscans, who took the name of NICOLAS IV. (1288–1292). This Pope also was an undisguised partisan of the French interest, and he gave another example of the dishonest use of spiritual authority for political ends, by releasing Charles II. of Naples from an inconvenient oath to Alfonso of Arragon.[2] In his time the final fall of the Christian kingdom of Palestine by the capture of Acre, in 1291, marks an epoch in the West as well as the East; for it gave a new blow to the papal supremacy. "The association of nations was at an end, and the spell, which for 200 years had given the Popes so great a power of control over them, had lost its efficacy."[3]

§ 10. On the death of Nicolas (April 1292), the Lyonnese Canon was again set aside, and the disputes of the French and Italian parties prolonged the vacancy for two years and a quarter. At length the difficulty seemed evaded by the suggestion of the name of Peter Murrone, a simple hermit of extraordinary sanctity, seventy-two years old, who was made Pope CELESTINE V. (1294). But he proved a mere tool in the hands of the King of Naples and the French party, the monks and the lawyers of the Curia; and in other respects his utter incapacity became manifest. The able and

[1] They are related also by Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 488–493.
[2] The progress of the contest for Sicily does not belong to our subject.
[3] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 496.

ambitious Cardinal Benedict Gaetani obtained a complete ascendancy over "the hermit pope," and persuaded him to resign the Papacy (Dec. 13). Ten days later a conclave held at Naples, under the influence of King Charles II., elected Gaetani, who took the title of BONIFACE VIII. (1294–1303).

This last of the great Popes who trod in the steps of Hildebrand and the Innocents was a native of Anagni, the birthplace of Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Alexander IV., and he was grand-nephew of the last-named pontiff. He had discharged important missions and offices under successive Popes, and was eminently learned in Scripture and ecclesiastical law. But the consciousness of his abilities made him arrogant and scornful, and he is charged with "making no conscience of gain." At the age of seventy-seven he preserved full mental vigour, which he applied to the work of restoring the Papacy to its highest supremacy. "But in thinking to renew the triumphs of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., he overlooked the adverse circumstances which had arisen since their time—the increase of the royal power in France; the English impatience of Roman rule and aspirations after civil and spiritual liberty; the growth of independent thought in the Universities; above all, the great influence of the civil lawyers who had been trained in the principles of the old imperial jurisprudence of Rome, and opposed to the pretensions of the hierarchy a rival system, supported by a rival learning, and grounded on a rival authority."[1] Not the least cause, however, of his final failure, was the passionate, imperious, and reckless violence, that now overmastered the prudence for which he had been famous.

§ 11. Abandoning the Ghibelline politics of his family, Boniface became at once a bitter enemy of that party. At Rome he had a personal quarrel with the great Ghibelline family of Colonna, who protested against the abdication of Celestine V. He deposed and excommunicated the two Cardinals Colonna, launched violent bulls against the whole family, confiscated their property, destroyed their palaces in Rome, and sent his army to reduce their fortresses, till the last of them, Palestrina, was gained by treacherous offers, the Pope acting without scruple on the advice to "promise much, but perform little." The spoils of the exiled family enabled the Pope to establish his nephews as princes.

With equal violence he mingled in the feuds of the Italian cities; but of this great crisis in their history we must be content to mention the part taken by Boniface in calling in Charles of Anjou as the pacificator of Tuscany (1301), which at Florence caused the exile of DANTE, with the Guelphic party, and earned for Boniface

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 505. Comp. below, Book V.

himself a prospective place in the poet's Hell.[1] In Germany he attempted to assert his authority by denying the right of the princes to depose ADOLF OF NASSAU, who had been elected in opposition to Albert, the son of Rudolf (1292); and though Adolf was killed in battle just after the election of ALBERT in his place (1298), the Pope continued to denounce Albert as a usurper till, at a later period, the need of his help led to a reconciliation.[2]

§ 12. But by far the most important exhibitions of this Pope's spirit and policy are his conflicts with the two great kings who now filled the thrones of England and France, EDWARD I. (1272–1307), and PHILIP IV., surnamed the FAIR (1285–1314). It was more especially the great struggle in which Boniface engaged with the kingdom of France, which had now become more powerful than ever, that finally broke the power of the Papacy, and prepared its way into the "Babylonian Exile." The details of both contests form such essential parts of English and French history, that a broad outline will suffice here.

In both countries the sovereigns insisted, with the strong will which was a quality common to Edward and Philip, that the clergy should contribute to the expenses of the state; and the demand was sternly urged by both, owing to the necessities of the wars between France and England. Philip had also offended the Pope by scornfully refusing his mediation; and he had excluded the clergy from all share in the administration of the laws, substituting for their judicial authority the strict principles of the civil law.

On the 24th of February, 1296, Boniface VIII. issued the famous Bull, *Clericis Laicos*,[3] which excommunicated all clergymen who had paid or promised to pay any part of their revenues to laymen, and all sovereigns who had imposed or received such payments. The two kings, who were plainly indicated, though not named, defied the sentence by insisting on their demands; while Philip stopped all the supplies which the Pope and the Italian churchmen derived from various sources of revenue in France, by forbidding the exportation of the precious metals and jewels, as well as of horses and munitions of war. A controversy ensued, which Boniface did not yet feel

[1] Dante represents Nicolas III. as expecting Boniface in Hell (*Inferno*, canto xix. 53). Dante lived from 1265 to 1321.

[2] Albert's marriage with Elizabeth, a descendant of the Hohenstaufen through her mother, made him especially obnoxious to Boniface, who declared that he should not be king "while that Jezebel lived."

[3] The student is reminded that Papal Bulls are generally identified by their initial words, which are of course unmeaning till read with their context. Thus the Bull now mentioned begins with the proposition, "Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradit antiquitas:"—a strange result of thirteen centuries of teaching and pastoral care!

strong enough to carry to extremities. He conciliated Philip by canonizing Louis IX.; and his mediation was accepted by both kings, not however as Pope, but as a private person, "Master Benedict Gaetani" (1298). But both the substance of the award, and its form as a Bull, gave vehement offence to Philip and his nobles.

§ 13. To satisfy a prevalent expectation that the close of another century ought to be marked by some extraordinary spiritual privileges, and especially to gratify the craving for indulgences which had been excited by the Crusades, Boniface published a Bull, promising very full indulgences to all who should visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul with penitence and devotion for a specified number of days during the current year; and directing that, in future, the Jubilee should be celebrated in the last year of every century (Feb. 1300).[1] But the Pope's idea of a Jubilee was not to "loose *every* yoke:" he excluded from its benefits the enemies of the Church—Frederick of Sicily and the Colonnas by name, and Philip of France by implication, as among their protectors. Nor did Boniface miss the opportunity of solemnly asserting for himself the power of "the two swords." "The Pope was now at the height of his greatness. Although some of his pretensions had not passed without question, he had never yet been foiled in any considerable matter; and, while the enthusiasm of the Jubilee filled his treasury, the veneration of the congregated multitudes waited on him as uniting the highest spiritual and temporal dominion."[2]

§ 14. We leave to British history the details of Boniface's attempt to act as sovereign arbiter between England and the Scots, by reviving an old legend—already made use of by former Popes, and especially by Alexander III.—that Scotland, as an ancient Catholic country, was subject directly to the Holy See. When Edward claimed the homage of the Scots, after the overthrow of Wallace at Falkirk (1298), the regency appealed to the Pope as their suzerain; and Boniface addressed a Bull to the King of England, asserting the above claim, denying that the English sovereign had any feudal rights over Scotland, and requiring him to set free all Scottish eccle-

[1] The desire for the indulgences and other benefits of the Jubilee led to the shortening of the interval to every 50th year by Clement VI. (1343), to every 33rd year by Urban VI. (1389), and to every 25th year by Paul II. (1470); and this interval has been ever since observed.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 524. The two greatest names in the dawn of modern poetry and art are connected with this Jubilee. The multitudes passing to and from St. Peter's over the bridge of S. Angelo supplied DANTE with a simile; and the painting of Boniface VIII. proclaiming the Jubilee from the balcony of S. John Lateran is the sole remnant of the frescoes with which GIOTTO adorned the walls of that Basilica.

siastics whom he held as prisoners, but permitting him to submit his claim to the judgment of the Pope (1299). The result was the solemn declaration of a Parliament assembled at Lincoln (Jan. 1301), which was sent to the Pope, subscribed by above a hundred English barons, to the following effect:—"It is our common and unanimous resolution (and by the grace of God it shall continue so) that our Lord the King shall not plead before you, nor submit in any manner to your judgment with respect to his rights as to his kingdom of Scotland, or as to any other his temporal rights: nor shall he suffer his said rights to be treated as questionable by any discussion as to the same. To do so would be to betray the rights of the crown of England, the constitution of the State, and the liberties, laws, and customs, which we have inherited from our fathers. These are rights which we have sworn to maintain, and, by God's help, we are prepared to defend them with all our might. *We do not permit, we ought not to permit, our Lord the King to do the things demanded of him, and even if he were minded to do so, we would not allow him to do them or to make the attempt.*" We call special attention to the last sentence, as once for all asserting the independence of the English crown of all Papal claims, on the broad basis of the rights of the English people, even against the accidental disturbance of the constitution by a king's will. In accordance with this principle, Edward had refused to pay the tribute which John had promised to the Pope, and the vassalage confessed by that wretched tyrant, after being stedfastly ignored by successive kings and parliaments, was finally abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1367.

§ 15. On the present occasion Boniface was fain to abandon the Scots, lest he should add the enmity of Edward to his growing difficulties with France. We cannot dwell on the details of the new quarrel,[1] which led to the Pope's issue of four Bulls against Philip on the same day (Dec 5, 1301). The first was a demand to release the Legate who, as a French bishop, had been tried and condemned for treason. The second summoned a Council of French ecclesiastics to meet at Rome, to consider the grievances of the Church of France. The third, known as *Salvator Mundi*, suspended all privileges which the Popes had granted to the French kings. The fourth, beginning *Ausculta fili* ("Hearken, my son"), was a long letter in a tone scarcely consistent with the precept, "fathers, provoke not your children," mingling paternal solicitude with accusation, reproof, and admonition, and with the proudest assertion of the authority given to the Pope by God over kings and kingdoms, "to pluck down, destroy, scatter, rebuild, or plant."[2] It concludes with inviting

[1] For the affair of the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Pamiers, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 527-9.

[2] Jeremiah i. 10.

the apostolical tribunal at Rome; and Philip was thus summoned to answer for having burnt the Bull *Ausculta fili.* Negociations proved fruitless; and both parties prepared for a decisive conflict: Philip by making peace with Edward and abandoning the Scots; Boniface by acknowledging Frederick of Arragon as King of Sicily, and above all by flattering Albert and exalting the imperial dignity—which he compared to a secular papacy—as the power in which he trusted to overthrow France. Almost at the same time the Pope excommunicated Philip (April 13, 1303), and the King in a great assembly declared "Benedict Gaetani" an usurper of the Papal See, as a heretic and simoniac "such as none ever was from the beginning of the world," and demanded his suspension and trial before a Council," which Philip claimed the power to summon (March 12). Meanwhile he convened a second meeting of the States-General to consider the Pope's offences; and this Assembly resolved to make an appeal to a General Council (June).

§ 19. Boniface, who had retired for the summer to Anagni, held a consistory, in which he purged himself by oath from the charge of heresy, and declaring his intention of issuing a Bull deposing Philip and absolving his subjects from their allegiance. Its solemn promulgation had been announced for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Sunday, September 8); but, on the day before, a body of armed men, raised by the French Chancellor[1] and one of the Colonnas, marched into Anagni under the French flag, with cries of "Death to Boniface! Long live the King of France!" They demanded the Pope's resignation; and, after a parley, in which Boniface bore himself with calm dignity, he was dragged from his throne, and carried to prison with insults and contumely. But he was so carelessly guarded, that he was delivered by the people of Anagni, and was escorted by his friends to Rome. But the old man's sufferings and agitation had affected his mind as well as body, and he died on the 11th of October, 1303, at the age of 86.[2] His career as Pope was summed up in the epigram:—"He got in like a fox, played the Pontiff like a lion, departed like a dog;"—

> "Vulpes intravit, tanquam leo pontificavit,
> Exiit ut canis, de divite factus inanis."

"Such was the description of Boniface's career, uttered no doubt after the event, but soon popularly changed into the form of a prophecy, which Celestine was supposed to have spoken when visited in his confinement at Fumone by his supplanter and persecutor.

[1] William of Nogaret, who was on a mission to Italy, and was the bearer of the documents drawn up by the States-General.

[2] For the various statements and conjectures concerning the manner of his death, see Robertson, vol. iii. p. 542.

The circumstances of his death produced a general horror, which was felt even by those who abhorred the man, while they revered the office which had been so atrociously outraged in him;[1] and tales of judgments denounced by him on his enemies, and of terrible fulfilments of his curses, were eagerly circulated and believed. But the end of Boniface involved far more than his own ruin. He had attempted to strain the Papal power too far, and after his failure it never recovered the ascendancy which he had rashly hazarded in the endeavour to gain a yet more absolute dominion."[2]

§ 20. The brief pontificate of his successor marks the mere sequel and end of the conflict in which Boniface succumbed. Eleven days after his death (Nov. 23), the conclave at Perugia, in which the Orsini party had full power, elected Nicolas Boccassini, bishop of Ostia, a native of Trevisa, of humble origin, who had been general of the Dominican order, and a firm adherent of Boniface down to the fatal scenes at Anagni.

Benedict XI.[3] (1303–4) proved his will to maintain the pretensions of the Papacy by a Bull rebuking Frederick of Arragon for dating his regnal years from his assumption of the crown of Trinacria, instead of from the confirmation of his title by the Pope. Something of the same spirit was shown by the *manner* in which he made the concessions, which were dictated by prudence, to the King of France. As if to assert perfect free will in the matter,[4] and to place Philip in a position to hold intercourse with the Holy See, the Pope anticipated the King's embassy of congratulation by an act of absolution, published at Paris, which revoked or suspended all the measures of his predecessor against France. The ambassadors who brought the King's flattering congratulations to the Pope on his elevation were cordially received, and all the privileges claimed by the Gallican church were restored.

But all this policy of concession barely covered the longing for revenge on both sides. Benedict refused to include William of Nogaret in the amnesty for the outrage at Anagni, and Philip demanded a formal condemnation of the late Pope by a General Council. To avoid (as he said) the summer heats of Rome, but doubtless also for greater security from the power of the Colonnas,

[1] See, for example, Dante, *Purgat.* xx. 86–91.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 542.

[3] He was at first styled the Xth of the name, as Benedict X. (1058–9) was regarded as an Antipope (see Chap. II. § 1, p. 11).

[4] The Pope stated in a letter that the King was absolved *absente et non petente.* No embassy could be received by the Holy See from a prince under sentence of excommunication. The tone taken by Benedict towards Philip was that of a shepherd compelling the noblest sheep of his flock to return to the fold even against his will (*Epist.* ap. Dupuy, III. p. 207).

Benedict retired to Perugia, whence he fulminated a Bull of excommunication against the sacrilegious perpetrators of the outrage upon Boniface, citing William of Nogaret and fourteen others to appear at the approaching feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. This Bull was issued on the 9th of June; the citation was for the 29th; but on the 27th Benedict died after a few days' illness, brought on by eating freely of figs sent to him as a present from the abbess of St. Petronilla at Perugia. The passion of the age, which best knew its own propensities in the mode of disposing of an enemy, ascribed his death to poison;[1] but there is no clear evidence of the fact. Benedict's death ended the resistance to France; and he was the last Pope seen at Rome, or even in Italy, for that period of more than seventy years (1304–1378) which is called the *Babylonian Captivity*.

[1] As to the different forms of the accusation, and the persons charged with the crime, see Robertson, vol. iv. p. 5.

The Lord with SS. Peter and Paul.
An ancient Glass Medallion, found in the Catacombs, and preserved in the Vatican.
(From *Roma Sotterranea*.)

Avignon; with the Broken Bridge over the Rhone.

BOOK II.

THE DEGRADATION AND OUTWARD REVIVAL OF THE PAPACY.

CENTURIES XIV.-XVI.

CHAPTER VII.

THE "BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY."—PART I. CLEMENT V. AND JOHN XXII.

A.D. 1305—1334.

§ 1. DANTE on the overbuilt edifice of Rome—New Influences against the Papacy. § 2. Election of CLEMENT V.—The Papal Court at Avignon—Results of the Removal. § 3. Relations of Clement to Philip IV. of France—The Emperor HENRY VII. § 4. The *Council of Vienne*—Condemnation of the Templars—Memory of Boniface VIII.—Proposed Crusade frustrated by the Pope—Durantis of Mende on Reformation in "Head and Members." § 5. Death of Clement V.—Character of JOHN XXII.—Persecution of Magicians, Lepers, and Jews—Crusade of the *Pastoureaux*. § 6. Death of Henry VII.—Double election of LOUIS IV. of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria—League of John XXII. with Robert of Naples—The Visconti of Milan. § 7. The Pope's claim to the vicariate of the Empire—Victory of Louis IV. at Mühldorf—His Contest with John on the Imperial Authority—Men of Learning on

both sides—The *Defensor Pacis.* § 8. Papal Interdict against Louis—Union of Germany. § 9. Anti-papal Assembly at Trent—Louis IV. in Italy. § 10. His Coronation at Rome—Sentence of deprivation against John—The Antipope Nicolas V.—Unpopularity and departure of the Emperor and Antipope—The Assembly at Pisa—Nicolas submits to John. § 11. PHILIP VI. of Valois proposes a Crusade against Louis. § 12. The Pope charged with heresy about the *Beatific Vision*—Decision of the Sorbonne—Death of John XXII.

§ 1. THE pontificate of Boniface VIII. marks a decisive turning-point in the fortunes of the Papacy. As is the common law in human affairs, the crisis of humiliation, provoked by his extreme pretensions, had been prepared by the predecessors by whom those same pretensions had been most successfully asserted. The victory over the Empire was also the fatal triumph of the Pope's secular over his spiritual authority. The lofty fabric of the Papacy had overbuilt itself; and its tottering state was clearly discerned by Dante:[1]

"To Rome, which taught the ancient world good deeds,
Two suns were wont to point the twofold way,
That of the world, and that to God which leads.
The one hath quencht the other: with the crook
The sword is joined; and scarce it need be told
How ill the twain such combination brook,
Since one no longer doth the other curb.

* * * * *

Know then, Rome's Church, oppressed by too much weight,
Confounding the two governments, hath brought
Herself into the mire, with all her freight."

Such noble strains of vernacular literature were an organ of the free spirit that was rebelling against the claim to one supreme authority over temporal as well as spiritual affairs. That claim, with the exactions which it brought into constant and irritating exercise, was an especial means of advancing the *growth of nationalities*—a power fatal to papal supremacy, as was proved by the victory of Philip the Fair over Boniface, and afterwards by the legislation of Edward III. and his grandson against papal aggressions and exactions.[2] The claims and humiliation of Boniface are justly marked by Archbishop Trench[3] as a decisive epoch in the History of the Church, "having in view the manner in which all subsequent

[1] These lines of the *Purgatorio* (canto xvi. v. 97, Wright's translation) are part of a passage in which he contrasts the happy state of Northern Italy before the overthrow of Frederick II. with its later lawlessness. The date is 1300.

[2] See further on these points, Trench, *Medieval Church History*, Lect. xix. pp. 279, f.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 286.

humiliations of the Papacy are connected with this first humiliation, and links in the same chain. With it, as we shall presently see, is immediately connected the transfer of the seat of the Papacy to Avignon; from this ill-omened transfer springs the Great Schism of the West; from the Schism, and with a view to its healing, the Three Councils, also of the West; while all these events effectually work together for the hastening forward of the Reformation."

§ 2. The brief episode of Benedict XI.'s pontificate was followed by a whole year's contest of intrigue between the Italian and French parties in the reduced conclave of nineteen members; till the Dominican cardinal of Prato made the insidious proposal, that the Italians should name three Ultramontane candidates, from whom the French party should select the future Pope. The result was the choice of Bertrand d'Agoust or Du Got,[1] archbishop of Bordeaux, by birth a noble Gascon, who, besides being a subject of the King of England, had made himself obnoxious to Philip the Fair and his brother Charles of Valois, and had been a partisan of Boniface. These presumptions against his siding with France seem to have been relied on by the Italians; but they were outweighed by his vanity and ambition, and his election was secured by a secret compact, which bound him to the interests of Philip.[2] Elected on the 5th of June, 1305, the new Pope, who took the name of CLEMENT V., replied to the request of the Italian cardinals that he should go to Rome, by summoning them to attend his coronation at Lyon. "Matthew Orsini, the senior of the college, is said to have told the Cardinal of Prato that, since he had succeeded in bringing the Papal Court beyond the mountains, it would be long before it would return; *for*, he added, *I know the character of the Gascons.*"[3]

The Cardinal's foresight was justified by that long sojourn of the

[1] His surname was taken from Le Got, a village near Bordeaux. The chief contemporary authorities for this period are Ferreti Vicentini (ab. 1328), *Hist. Suorum Temporum*, in Muratori, ix. 1014; and Giovanni Villani (*ob.* 1348), *Hist. Florent.*, in Muratori, xiii. 415, f.

[2] Villani specifies five conditions, besides a sixth secret article, as agreed on at a personal interview between the Archbishop and the King in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely. It seems to be proved that no such meeting could have taken place; but the fact of an agreement appears certain, and the details may have been inferred from the subsequent conduct of the Pope. By the five alleged articles the Pope is said to have bound himself to the complete reconciliation of Philip and his agents with the Church, the condemnation of the memory of Boniface, the restoration of the Colonnas to the cardinalate and the promotion of certain friends of the King to that dignity, together with the substantial gain of a tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues in France for five years towards the expenses of the Flemish war. [3] Villani, viii. 81; Robertson, vol. iv. p. 7.

Papal Court at Avignon,[1] to which the Italians gave the name of the *Babylonian Captivity*, not only from its seventy years' duration[2] and the subjection of the Holy See to the policy of France, but with an evident allusion to the likeness of the apocalyptic Babylon in the greed, rapacity, and profligacy of the Popes and ecclesiastics during that period.[3] "It is not hard to perceive"—says Archbishop Trench[4]—"the manifold ways in which such a self-chosen estrangement from its Italian home must have wrought injuriously for the Papacy. It was no light matter for this to be thus torn away from those roots which during the course of ages it had stricken in the Italian soil,—dissociated from the reminiscences and traditions, patent still, of the imperial city. Then, too, the Popes could no longer make plausible claims to be regarded as independent umpires and arbiters in the affairs of Christendom; for it was manifest that they had no choice but to set forward the interests and to fulfil the behests of the monarch who sheltered them; and who, as no other, could work for them harm or good. At the same time, feeling comparatively safe in that ignoble shelter, they allowed themselves in insolences and aggressions on the rights of other princes of Christendom, upon which they would not otherwise have ventured; they advanced claims to an universal monarchy, which stood in ridiculous contrast with their own absolute dependence on the Court of France, a dependence so abject that there were times when a Pope did not venture to give away the smallest preferment without permission first obtained from the French king. . . . It was altogether an unlovely time, as unlovely morally as is materially that ugly fortress-prison, called a palace, which the Popes have left behind them on the banks of the Rhone. The morals of the Court of Rome may not have always been very edifying; but those of the Court of Avignon were immeasurably worse.

[1] After being compelled to retire from Lyon to Bordeaux through the exasperation of the citizens at the profligacy and exactions of his court, Clement moved from city to city in the south of France, till he fixed his residence at Avignon in Provence, on the left bank of the Rhone, which, with its territory (the small county of Venaissin), a part of the old Burgundian kingdom of Arles, belonged to Robert of Anjou, who was also the Pope's vassal for the kingdom of Naples.

[2] The exact period of foreign residence was 71½ years from the election of Clement XV. to the return of Gregory XI. in Jan. 1377. It is a further coincidence with apocalyptic numbers, that there were seven Popes in the seventy years.

[3] Thus Petrarch, in advocating the claims of Rome to have the Papacy restored to it, denounces the corruptions of the court at Avignon, which he calls the *third Babylon* and *l'empia Babilonia*. We shall see later how familiar that age had become with denunciations by sound Catholics of the Papacy as the mystic Babylon.

[4] *Medieval Church History*, p. 287.

Petrarch, who formed one of a deputation from the city of Rome beseeching Clement VI. to return (1342), . . . gives in his *Letters* a revolting picture of the place, and of the things which were perpetrated there."

§ 3. The politics of Avignon are summed up by one writer in the words, "The whole court was governed by Gascons and Frenchmen."[1] Whatever may be the truth as to the secret agreement with Philip, its alleged five articles exactly represent the concessions made by Clement soon after his accession. He even consented to absolve William of Nogaret for his share in the violence done to Boniface VIII.; but Philip's urgency for the condemnation of the late Pope's memory was evaded by reserving the question for a general council. His subserviency to the King was crowned by the part he took in the condemnation of the Templars, after sufficient hesitation to betray his consciousness of its iniquity.[2] But in another matter of the greatest moment the cunning policy of Clement contrived to disappoint the King of France. On the murder of the Emperor, Albert of Austria (May 1, 1308), Philip urged the Pope, who was then at Poitiers, to support the candidature of his brother, Charles of Valois. Clement could not but be alarmed at such an addition to the power of his royal patron, whose family already possessed, besides France and Navarre, the thrones of Naples and Hungary, and through agents at Florence and Rome had supreme influence in Central Italy; while the establishment of a rival power in Germany and Northern Italy might secure another protector in future contingencies. So, while he gratified Philip by writing to the electors in favour of Charles, he took secret measures in favour of Henry of Luxemburg, who was elected as HENRY VII. (Nov. 27th, 1308). "The Pope, in ratifying the election, exacted from Henry an engagement that he would confirm the grants of former emperors to the Church, that he would exterminate heresies and heretics, that he would never intermarry or ally himself with Saracens, heathens, or schismatics, and that he would secure to the Roman Church the lands which had been mentioned in former compacts."[3]

[1] St. Antoninus of Florence, iii. 269; Robertson, vol. iv. p. 10. For the new forms of exaction devised to support the court at Avignon, see Chap. XVI.

[2] See below, Chap. XXI.

[3] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 42. Henry's march into Italy to claim the imperial crown—a duty which Dante had censured his predecessors, Rudolf and Albert, for neglecting; his contest with the Guelph factions headed by Robert of Naples, for supremacy in the peninsula, and for the possession of Rome; his coronation by three cardinals, as commissioner, for the Pope, at St. John Lateran (the Vatican quarter, and St. Peter's being in the hands of John and the Orsini); his quarrel with the Pope, who interfered on behalf of the French king's kinsman Robert; and

§ 4. It may have been from a knowledge or suspicion of Clement's conduct in this affair, that Philip revived the question of the condemnation of Pope Boniface; and, after long discussions and intrigues, a special Bull was issued (April 1311) annulling the acts of the late Pope against France, except the Bulls *Unam Sanctam* and *Rem non novam*, which were explained in a qualified and inoffensive sense. On the 16th of October, in the same year, the promised council (the *Fifteenth Œcumenical*, in the Roman reckoning) was assembled at *Vienne*, a city not belonging to the King of France; and the Pope opened it with the announcement of three subjects for consideration, the case of the Templars, a Crusade, and the reform of the Church. After long consideration of the evidence against the order, and the appearance of Philip in arms before Vienne, "to make the cause of Christ triumphant," a compromise was found by the ingenuity of Durantis, bishop of Mende; and, at the second general session of the council (April 3rd, 1312), the abolition of the order was decreed on the ground of expediency, "by the way of provision or apostolical ordination, not by way of definitive sentence" on the evidence in support of the process. "Thus the very instrument by which the abolition of the Order was determined left the question of its guilt or innocence open, and has left it to perplex later ages, without even such assistance towards the solution of it as might have been derived from a papal judgment."[1] At the same session the Council decided the long vexed question of the memory of Pope Boniface by declaring that he had always been a Catholic, thus leaving Philip to be content with the practical concessions of the late Bull. The third session (May 3rd) granted a tenth for six years for a new Crusade; the cross was taken by King Philip, his son Louis of Navarre, Edward II. of England, and other princes; and thousands of Crusaders are said to have presented themselves at the gates of Avignon. But Clement absolved them from their vow and sent them back to their homes; "and thus" (says a chronicler of the

his sudden death, which was ascribed by the suspicions of that age to poison given in the Eucharistic cup by his Dominican confessor (Aug. 24, 1313);—all this belongs rather to civil than ecclesiastical history. The interest of Henry's career is enhanced by Dante's assertion of imperial rights against the Papacy in his famous treatise "*Of Monarchy*," which Mr. Bryce justly calls the epitaph of the Empire in Italy, rather than a prophecy of its revival.

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 49:—"A writer who lived near the time, and who professes to have special authority for his statement, reports Clement as having said that the Order could not be destroyed in the way of justice, but that it must be destroyed by the way of expediency, *lest our dear son the King of France should be offended.* (Albert de Rosate, *Dictionarium Juris*, Venet. 1573, *s. v. Templarii*, quoted by Baluz, *Vitae Pap. Aven.*, i. 590)." See the account of the order, Chap. XXI.

time) "their labours and very great expenses became like a mockery, and had no effect."[1]

Though for the proposed reformation of the Church nothing was effected beyond some constitutions for the regulation of the clergy and certain points of discipline, the Council marks a real epoch by the Pope's admission of the need for a reform, and still more by the bold and comprehensive scheme proposed by Durantis, bishop of Mende.[2] The tract is doubly interesting as a witness to existing corruptions, and an indication how far a most orthodox bishop and learned canonist was prepared to go in reversing the existing system. He urges a thorough reform of the Church, from the head downwards through all its members—a phrase which became the watchword of reform; an exact definition of the Pope's primacy, who ought no longer to be styled universal bishop, in contradiction to the prohibition of Gregory the Great; a limitation of the pretensions of the Roman see; a remedy for the abuses of the conclave, especially in keeping the Papacy long vacant. On the great question between Pope and Councils, he declares for the legislative power of General Councils alone, and proposes their convocation every ten years. While urging the restoration of those episcopal rights, which had been invaded by the Roman Curia and by the privileges and exemptions granted to monks and friars, he insists on the need of a reform throughout all orders of the clergy; especially denouncing simony, pluralities, the system of granting monastic and other benefices to cardinals *in commendam*, the employment of bishops and clergy in secular affairs, improper promotions, the pride, luxury, and ignorance of the clergy, the want of decent ornaments and vestures in churches, defects in the performance of the services, and the profanation of Sundays and holydays by giving them up to unseemly merriment. He proposed to deal with the gross scandals arising from clerical celibacy and concubinage, partly by special measures, and in general by conforming the Western discipline as to the marriage of the clergy to that of the Eastern Church. It will be seen that the scheme does not even touch the *doctrines* about which the later Reformation centred.

[1] *Annal. Altah.* A.D. 1311; Robertson, vol. iv. p. 48.

[2] See Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 46–7:—"The tract, *De Modo Generalis Concilii celebrandi*, which was one among various proposals written by bishops for consideration at the Council of Vienne, was published, with other pieces of a reforming tendency, at Paris, 1671, and has been since reprinted. The editor makes the mistake of ascribing it to *the elder Durantis*, the author of the *Speculum Juris* and of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, whereas it was really written by his nephew, who had succeeded him in the see of Mende."

§ 5. The death of Clement V. (April 20, 1314) was followed by a long vacancy of the pontificate, during which two kings of France also died, Philip the Fair (Nov. 29th, 1314), and his son Louis X. (July 5th, 1316).[1] The struggle between the Italian and French parties, in which the Gascon populace interposed by force, was at length ended by the influence of Napoleon Orsini, who supposed he had found a Gascon friendly to the Italians in James d'Euse or Duèse, a native of Cahors, cardinal of Porto, who was elected by the conclave at Lyon (Aug. 7th, 1316), and took the name of JOHN XXII. (1316–1334); by some called John XXI. (see p. 92).

The new Pope had been a firm adherent of his predecessor, from whom he was honourably distinguished by his simple personal habits, but he was of a vehement and bitter temper. He was distinguished for his acuteness, his eloquence, and learning; and his pride in these qualities formed a mixture of strength and rashness.[2] Towards his virtual sovereigns, the kings of France, who were men of far less vigour than Philip the Fair, he assumed the air of a superior, and invaded their privileges in ecclesiastical affairs.[3]

The bigotry, which was a strong element in John's pride of religious learning, must share with popular prejudice and the cruel zeal of the French king the blame of the persecution of three classes so different as persons accused of magic, lepers, and Jews. The Inquisition was active in searching out the magical practices which were commonly charged against the Albigenses. There may have been an element of personal vengeance in the fate of Hugh Geraldi, the bishop of John's native city, who, convicted of compassing the Pope's death by magical arts, was flayed alive, torn asunder by horses, and his remains burnt at the place of execution (1317). The lepers, who had formerly been objects of compassion and the special

[1] The French throne remained vacant for six months, as Louis X. had left his wife with child; but the son born on Nov. 15th lived only six days, and on June 9th, 1317, the regent Philip, brother of Philip the Fair and Louis X., caused himself to be crowned at Rheims as Philip V. (surnamed the Tall, *le Long*). The claim of Jeanne, the daughter of Louis X. by his first marriage, preferred by her uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, was set aside by the States-General on a pretext derived from the old laws of the Salian Franks (the "Salic Law"), and this unjust decision thenceforth established the rule by which females were excluded from the succession to the crown. (Comp. the *Student's History of France*, chap. ix. § 22.) Philip, who had been deputed by his brother Louis to manage the papal election, shut up the conclave at Lyon, and left them there when the death of Louis called him to Paris.

[2] Archbishop Trench characterizes him as "John XXII., that 'man of blood,' as some named him, than whom there may have been worse and wickeder men in the Papal Chair, but scarcely one who more repels every sympathy."—*Medieval Church History*, p. 290.

[3] For the details see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 65–6.

care of the Franciscans, fell under the popular suspicion of a plot, instigated by Jews and Mohammedans, to poison the wells and infect all Christians with their own loathsome disease. Many of them were shut up and burnt in their houses by excited mobs; and many more were sentenced indiscriminately by the judges, at the King's express order, to a more formal death by fire. The like fate was now inflicted on many of the Jews, whom St. Louis had allowed to return to France; and, while the King obtained their confiscated property, the Pope ordered the bishops to destroy all copies of the Talmud, as being the chief support of their perversity.[1]

The popular hatred of the Jews showed itself, in combination with a wild remnant of the old crusading zeal, in a fanatical movement, which was provoked by the exactions made under the pretence of a crusade. In 1320, there appeared in the north of France a body of peasants, chiefly boys, who took the name of the *Pastoureaux*, which had before denoted a similar movement in the reign of St. Louis.[2] Their leaders were a priest, who had been deprived of his parish for misconduct, and an apostate Benedictine monk. They professed to set out on pilgrimage for the Holy Land, marching in silence with a cross borne before them, and seeking support in alms. But the band was soon swollen by lawless ruffians, and their begging became plunder. Their zeal was chiefly displayed in massacring and pillaging the Jews; but they spread a general terror as they advanced southwards, and at Avignon they were anathematized by the Pope. Their numbers had swollen to 40,000 when they reached Languedoc, where they proposed to embark at Aigues Mortes; but, shut out from that town by the governor, and hemmed in by a cordon of troops, most of them perished from famine, exposure, and fever; and of the remnant thus weakened, numbers were hanged on trees and gibbets.

§ 6. The contest for the imperial crown, which ensued on the

[1] "Bernard Guidonis, as inquisitor of Toulouse, threw two cartloads of Talmuds into the fire on the 29th Dec., 1319 (*Hist. Lang.* iv. 181). Many Jews threw their children into the fire in order to rescue them from being forcibly baptized." Robertson, vol. iv. p. 67.

[2] These earlier *Pastoureaux* were a body of shepherds and other peasants, who banded themselves together in 1251, with the professed object of obtaining the release of Louis IX., who had been taken prisoner at Damietta. Their leader was a mysterious personage, called the Master of Hungary—a title which suggests a connection with the Manicheans about the Danube—of whom the most marvellous and inconsistent stories were told. They were at first encouraged by the queen-mother; but, as they advanced from Paris to the south, they committed excesses both against the clergy and the Jews, and at last their leader and many of his followers were hanged, and the rest dispersed.

death of Henry VII., gave John XXII. an opportunity of renewing the pretensions which his predecessors had asserted against the Hohenstaufen. While the Papacy was still vacant after the death of Clement V., two parties among the electors had made a double election at Frankfort to the dignity of King of the Romans; one party choosing Frederick of Austria, a son of Henry's predecessor, Albert; while the partisans of the late Emperor, headed by Peter Aichspalter, archbishop of Mainz, chose Louis of Bavaria, a grandson of Rudolf of Hapsburg through female descent (Oct. 19 and 20, 1314). The latter prince, besides the majority of three unquestionable votes over the two given for Frederick, had possession of the city of Frankfort, where he was solemnly inaugurated, and he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle as LOUIS IV. by the Archbishop of Mainz (Nov. 26); the Archbishop of Cologne having crowned Frederick at Bonn on the preceding day.

The contest between the rivals had lasted nearly two years, when John was elected to the Papacy; and he assumed the appearance of neutrality in order to establish his own right to dispose of the imperial crown; avowing, as we are told, the principle that "when kings and princes quarrel, then the Pope is truly Pope." His predecessor Clement had, immediately on the death of Henry VII., claimed the administration of the empire in Italy as an ancient right of the Papacy, and had appointed the Angevine prince, Robert of Naples, as imperial vicar in that country. John went further still; declaring by a Bull that all the authority held in Italy under grants of the late Emperor was at an end, and forbidding all officials to exercise such authority without fresh commissions from himself. These assumptions, and the well-founded apprehension of a scheme for subjecting all Italy to Robert of Anjou, as the ally and agent of the Pope, provoked a spirit which strengthened the anti-papal party, especially among the tyrants who had now usurped the rule of most of the Italian republics. Among these, the most conspicuous chief of the Ghibelline party was Matthew Visconti, of Milan, who, though he laid down the title of Imperial Vicar, procured his election as captain-general of the republic (1313), and founded, in spite of all the interdicts and even the proclamation of a Crusade against him by John, the hereditary power which was afterwards (1395) converted by the Emperor Wenceslaus into the duchy of Milan.[1]

[1] Hallam (*Mid. Ages*, vol. i. p. 411) says of the Visconti: "That family, the object of every league formed in Italy for more than fifty years, in constant hostility to the Church, and well inured to interdicts and excommunications, producing no one man of military talents, but fertile of tyrants detested for their perfidiousness and cruelty, was nevertheless enabled, with almost uninterrupted success, to add city after city

§ 7. Even in Germany, John set up the pretension to a vicariate during the vacancy of the imperial throne,[1]—a vacancy which he held to exist till he himself should decide between the rival emperors-elect; nor did he show any disposition to end the strife which was exhausting both parties to his ultimate profit. He addressed both rivals as King of the Romans, and desired them to settle their quarrel and report the result to him. This policy was brought to an end by the decisive victory which Louis the Bavarian won at Mühldorf, taking Frederick and his brother Henry prisoners (Sept. 28, 1322). The victorious prince was soon required to submit his title to the Pope's decision; and a long interchange of manifestoes and arguments ended in his excommunication by John, from which sentence he appealed to a general council, and to a true and lawful future pope (1324). The controversy is especially memorable for the bold principles of imperial authority in the civil relations of the Church, and condemnation of papal usurpations, which were set forth in elaborate arguments by the literary champions of Louis, the English Franciscan, William of Ockham, and the two great lights of the University of Paris, John of Jandun, and Marsilius Raimondini of Padua, a physician, who had also studied law at Orleans.[2] To the two latter is ascribed the joint authorship of the famous tract against the Pope, under the ironical title of *Defensor Pacis*[3]—as he ought to have been, instead of the fomenter of war. Starting from the principles of civil government laid down in Aristotle's *Politics*,

to the dominion of Milan, till it absorbed all the north of Italy"—meaning Lombardy, but not Piedmont or the territory of Venice.

[1] By the Bull *Si fratrum* of 1316, John distinctly asserted the vicariate of the Pope during a vacancy of the Empire; and the same claim had already been made by Boniface VIII., when he refused to recognize Albert I. But this pretension of the Popes was never admitted by the Germans. "Still their place was now generally felt to be higher than that of the monarch, and their control over the three spiritual electors and the whole body of the clergy was far more effective than his. A spark of national feeling was at length kindled by the exactions and shameless subservience to France of the Court of Avignon; and the infant democracy of industry and intelligence, represented by the cities and by the English Franciscan Occam, supported Louis IV. in his conflict with John XXII., till even the princes who had risen by the help of the Pope were obliged to oppose him." (Bryce. p. 219, 220.)

[2] We have to speak fully of Ockham, and his famous contributions to the controversy, among the Schoolmen (Chap. XXXII.). John of Jandun (whose surname, *de Jandano*, from his birthplace in Champagne, is sometimes corrupted into *de Gandavo*, of Ghent) wrote a tract, *De Nullitate Processuum Papæ Johannis contra Ludovicum Imperatorem*, printed in Goldast, i. 18–21.

[3] In Goldast, ii. 154–312; for a fuller account of its contents, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 79, 80.

and regarding them as best fulfilled in the elective Empire, the work assails the whole theory, not only of the temporal sovereignty, but of the spiritual supremacy, of the Roman See. In civil power, the Pope ought to be subject to the Emperor, and to be elected and, on sufficient cause, deposed, by him and the people: in Church government and doctrine, the ultimate authority belongs to a General Council: the precedence of one Apostle and church over the rest, and the need of an earthly head of the Church, are plainly denied. But perhaps even these bold assaults on the very foundations upon which the Papal power had grown up, had less effect on the people than the extravagance with which John's champions[1] revived all the most extreme claims, supported by all the falsifications of history, from the donation of Constantine to the pretensions of Hildebrand, Innocent, and Boniface.

§ 8. The loyalty of the German people to Louis was confirmed by the intrigues of the Pope, in interviews at Avignon, with Charles IV. of France, Robert of Naples, and King John of Bohemia, to hand over the imperial crown to the King of France; in pursuance of which scheme John pronounced a ban against Louis (March 31, 1324), and laid Germany under an interdict (July 11).[2] The Austrian party, however, not only refused to concur in this scheme, but Leopold formally sent the imperial insignia to Louis, who released Frederick from captivity on his renouncing his claim to the Empire and making an alliance with him against all enemies, especially "against him who styles himself Pope" (March 1325). Frederick not only kept his word, in spite of the Pope's dispensation and injunctions to the contrary, but placed himself entirely in the hands of Louis, and lived with him like a brother; and his own brother, Leopold, the real leader of the Austrian party, died suddenly about a year later (Feb. 1326).

§ 9. Louis now deemed himself strong enough to maintain his cause in Italy in person, whither he was invited by his Ghibelline partisans, and to receive the imperial crown at Rome. But in a diet

[1] The chief papal advocates were Augustinus Triumphus (*Triomfi*), an Augustinian friar of Ancona (*ob.* 1328), who wrote a *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica ad Joh. XXII. P.* (first printed at Augsburg, 1473; Romæ, 1582); and the Spanish Franciscan, Alvarus Pelagius (Alvar Pelajo), whose *De Planctu Ecclesiæ Libri II.* was written at Avignon in 1330, and revised ten years later by the author, then bishop of Silves in Portugal (printed at Ulm, 1474; Venet. 1560). For a summary of the contents of both works, see Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 31–34. As to the latter, "it is remarkable how the writer combines with his extravagant papalism an unsparing exposure of the corruptions which existed in the Church, and had their real source in the system of the Pope and his court (see *Janus*, 247–8)." Robertson, vol. iv. p. 80.

[2] For the sufferings caused by this "Long Interdict," see Chap. XXXIII. § 6.

at Spires the expedition was strongly opposed, especially by the ecclesiastical princes; and most of the great feudatories refused their bounden service to a sovereign who was excommunicated. In February, 1327, Louis crossed the Alps with a train which a chronicler likens to a mere hunting party; but his adherents gathered round him at Trent, not only from the Ghibelline party of Italy, but many bishops, the grand master of the Teutonic order, and a multitude of Franciscans, Dominicans, and others, whom John had alienated from their natural loyalty to the Papacy. Marsilius and John of Jandun enlarged on the misdeeds of "Priest John," which were set forth in 18 articles, as the grounds on which the assembly declared him a heretic and unworthy of the Papacy. The charge of heresy had been brought against the Pope by the "spiritual" Franciscans, whom his enmity was now driving more and more decidedly into the Ghibelline ranks.[1] On receiving the report of this meeting, John issued his "fifth process," pronouncing Louis deprived of all the fiefs held by him both from the Church and the Empire, and specially the duchy of Bavaria; absolving all his subjects from their allegiance, and declaring that he had incurred the penalties of heresy by his persistent favouring of heretics since his excommunication (April 3, 1327).[2] At Milan, whence the archbishop had fled, Louis received the iron crown from three bishops who had been deprived of their sees by the Guelphic party; but here too he began to learn how Italy had finally escaped from any real exercise of the imperial authority. By deposing and imprisoning Galeazzo Visconti, as an act of justice, he alarmed the Ghibelline tyrants of the Lombard and Tuscan cities; but yet he was received by all Northern Italy from hatred of the Pope.

§ 10. Louis marched on to Rome. The city was in that social and political disorder, which was its normal state during the Middle Ages, and now aggravated by the absence of the Pope.[3] A republic in form, without an element of popular government; with an idle and turbulent populace, destitute of manufacturing and commercial industry; and without the prosperous and powerful middle-class which had risen up in the other cities of Northern Italy; it was kept in commotion by the feuds of the powerful families—the

[1] Respecting the quarrel between John and the Franciscans, see further in Chap. XXV. § 7.

[2] For the text, see Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 37. About the same time (April 9th) several of the adherents of Louis were excommunicated by name, especially Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun; and these two were afterwards expressly declared heretics and outlaws (Oct. 23, 1328).

[3] See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, c. xvi., for an admirable description of the state of Rome during the Middle Ages.

papalist Orsini, the Ghibelline Colonna[1] and Savelli—who became in turn the supporters or masters of the Papal Legate, or of a foreign prince, as at this time of Robert of Naples. The people, incensed against John by his evasive answer to an invitation to return, and by the attempt of a papal Genoese force to surprise the city, received Louis with enthusiasm. His consecration as Emperor in St. Peter's was performed by excommunicated bishops, and the imperial crown was placed on his head by Sciarra Colonna, as captain of the city (Jan. 17, 1328). To the Pope's denunciation of both coronations and proclamation of a Crusade against the usurper, Louis replied by presiding as Emperor at a vast assembly in the Place of St. Peter's, where some Franciscans and others denounced the misdeeds of "priest James of Cahors, who styled himself John XXII.;" he was pronounced to be deprived of the Papacy; and the Emperor declared it to be his duty, after the example of Otho the Great, to provide a fit successor to the apostolic see (April 18th). This revival of the claim to the election of the Pope by the Roman people, on the nomination of their Emperor, was carried out in another assembly on Ascension Day (May 12th), when Peter Rainalucci, of Corbaria, was invested with the nominal dignity of Pope Nicolas V.[2] Hitherto a rigid Franciscan, he exchanged his strict poverty for the luxury and ostentation which seemed now inseparable from the Papacy, and supported it by the traditional expedients of selling offices and preferments. He obtained little support even from the imperialists of Rome, where the party of John grew stronger, and Louis offended the Ghibellines by his impolitic measures. The people, who had welcomed the Emperor as a deliverer, found themselves burdened by new taxes to supply his wants, and plundered by the German soldiers; while their provisions were cut short by the enterprize of Robert of Naples, who took Ostia and sent his galleys up the Tiber. Instead of a bold advance, to establish his power by wresting Southern Italy from the Angevin, Louis found his position untenable at Rome. His retreat, on the 4th of August, was attended by curses and derision, mingled with acclamations for "Holy Church;" and the populace even pelted his men with stones and killed some of them. The privileges granted to the city by the

[1] At the time now in question the Colonna were divided into two factions, under the brothers Stephen and Sciarra, the former adhering to the Pope, the latter to the Empire; and Sciarra, elected by the Romans as their captain, drove Stephen out of the city.

[2] He is only reckoned as an *Antipope*, and the title of Nicolas V. was afterwards borne by a lawful Pope, Thomas de Sarzana (1447–1455). See Chapter XIII.

Emperor and the Antipope were contemptuously burnt in the Place of the Capitol.

At Pisa Louis was joined by the Franciscan leaders who had escaped from Avignon—Michael of Cesena, Bonagratia, and William of Ockham; and he held an assembly, in which Pope John was again pronounced a heretic and sentenced to deposition (Dec. 13); while John, at Avignon, renewed his condemnation of the Emperor and the Antipope, who had joined Louis at Pisa. Meanwhile the growing discontent of the Italians had pronounced a stronger practical sentence of failure on the expedition of Louis, whose retreat across the Alps marked the final end of the imperial authority in the peninsula (Jan. 1330). The Romans again swore fealty to the Pope; and his forgiveness was sued for by cities that had taken part with the Emperor. The Antipope Nicolas, left behind at Pisa, was given up to the Pope's urgent demand next year by his protector, Count Boniface of Donoratico, on condition that his life should be spared; and, after an abject submission at the feet of John, he received the kiss of peace, and passed the remaining three years of his life in honourable but strict seclusion in the palace at Avignon.

§ 11. The death of Frederick of Austria, in January 1330, had no effect in mitigating the Pope's animosity towards Louis, which was inflamed by Naples and France. PHILIP VI. of VALOIS, who had succeeded to the French crown in 1328, followed St. Louis in maintaining the Gallican liberties against Rome. But it was in a spirit far less pure than his sainted ancestor's that he proposed a Crusade, with the twofold object of aspiring to the imperial crown, as the head of united Christendom, and of obtaining concessions from the Pope, who granted for the enterprize a tithe of all ecclesiastical benefices for six years. In a diet at Spires, Louis denounced the collection of this tithe in the empire as illegal without his authority, and expressed a doubt of its being spent for its avowed object. He declared himself ready to lead a Crusade if peace were re-established in the distracted Empire, adding that he should have lived long enough if he might but see a Pope who cared for his soul's good. When his repeated missions to Avignon failed to conciliate John, he proposed even to abdicate as the price of his restoration to the Church, but this plan was frustrated through the fault of his intended successor (1333).

§ 12. At this crisis the Pope incurred a new suspicion of heresy on the part of his own supporters. The doctrine of an intermediate state of departed spirits between death and the resurrection, interesting as it is to believers in general, is evidently of vital consequence to Roman Catholic Theology for its bearing on the intercession of

glorified saints. The earliest Fathers had taught that the souls of those who have died in grace do not see the essence of God nor are perfectly blessed, till after their resurrection in the body; but this opinion appears to have been abandoned, and it was condemned by the University of Paris in 1240. But in Advent, 1331, John XXII. preached it publicly; and he was reported to have said that even the Blessed Virgin only beheld the humanity of the Son, not His Divinity, till the final consummation. At the court of Avignon an English Dominican alone opposed the Pope's teaching; but his old enemies among the spiritual Franciscans denounced it as heresy; and at Paris it was vehemently resisted, especially by the Dominicans. The King, who saw the opportunity of forcing the Pope to further concessions, referred the question to the theological faculty of Paris; and their decision was that, from the time when the Saviour, descending into hell (*ad inferos*, the abode of departed spirits), led the souls of the redeemed out of limbo, the souls of the faithful dead (whether those needing no purgation, or on their release from purgatory), are caught up to the "*beatific vision*" of the Divine Essence and the Blessed Trinity, and perfectly enjoy the Blessed Deity. But, as a door of escape for the Pope, they assumed that he had taught the contrary only as citing an opinion, not as giving a decision. The King sent this declaration to the Pope, desiring him to correct those about him who taught the contrary; and John replied in a tone curiously contrasting with other papal utterances, treating it as a party question between the doctors of the two courts; asking his beloved son to regard what was said, not who said it; recommending the King to study the proofs he had collected from the Fathers; and hinting that the whole was a trap to catch him in a charge of heresy. The Italian cardinals and the Franciscan zealots urged the Emperor to summon a council for the condemnation of the heresy, when the Pope died at the age of ninety (Dec. 4th, 1334). The recantation, which his successor published as having been signed by John the day before his death, was suspected even by his contemporaries. He left an immense treasure, amassed partly under the pretext of a Crusade, but chiefly by his unscrupulous manipulation of ecclesiastical patronage. "Yet although his long pontificate was chiefly remarkable for the unrelenting hostility with which he pursued the Emperor Louis, and for the extortions and corruptions by which he so largely profited, it must in justice be added that he is described as temperate in his habits, regular in the observation of devotion, and unostentatious in his manner of life."[1]

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 94, 95.

Palace of the Popes at Avignon.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.—PART II.

FROM BENEDICT XII. TO GREGORY XI. A.D. 1334—1378. INCLUDING THE TRIBUNESHIP OF RIENZI AT ROME.

§ 1. BENEDICT XII. a reforming Pope—He resists Philip VI.—His relations with Rome and Italy. § 2. Efforts of Louis IV. for a reconciliation frustrated by France—Spirit of Germany—Diet at Frankfort—First *Electoral Union* at Rhense—Louis IV. and Edward III.—Question of the Emperor's matrimonial jurisdiction. § 3. Character and politics of CLEMENT VI.—His profligate administration—Refusal to return to Rome—PETRARCH. § 4. Clement's animosity to Louis IV.—Discontent in Germany—New quarrel about Naples—Queen Joanna and Andrew of Hungary—Charles of Moravia elected as rival Emperor—Death of Louis IV.—Succession of CHARLES IV. § 5. Joanna of Naples sells Avignon to the Papacy. § 6. Republican spirit at Rome—Retrospect from Arnold of Brescia to RIENZI—Petrarch's coronation in the Capitol—Rienzi's early life—His visit to Avignon—Career as Roman Tribune—His faults and fall: imprisonment at Avignon. § 7. The *Black Death*: its social and religious effects—A profligate Pope's testimony to the virtues of the Friars—The fanatical Flagellants. § 8. Jubilee of 1350—INNOCENT VI. a vigorous reformer—Anarchy in Italy—The Legate Giles Albornoz—Return and death of RIENZI. § 9. Coronation of CHARLES IV.—His *Golden Bull*: its results on the Empire and Germany. § 10. URBAN V. another reforming Pope—His buildings and institutions—The Free Companies and Bernabo Visconti. § 11. The

Pope goes to Rome—Visit and reconciliation of the Eastern Emperor, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS I.—Urban's return to Avignon, and death—Prophecies of St. Bridget and Peter of Arragon. § 12. GREGORY XI. and St. Catherine of Siena—Disorders of Italy—The Pope's return to Rome, and death—End of the Babylonian Captivity.

§ 1. AN unforeseen turn in the intrigues of the conclave, which was interpreted as a divine inspiration, brought about the election of the cardinal James Fournier, a native of the country of Foix, as POPE BENEDICT XII. (Dec. 20, 1334—April 25th, 1342). His judgment on his own election—"You have chosen an ass"—was belied by his sense and judgment, as well as his learning. The colours in which his personal character is drawn by no less an authority than Petrarch,[1] are so dark as scarcely to admit of deepening by the animosity of the monks and friars whom he strove to reform. He reversed his predecessor's corrupt methods of dealing with church patronage, and even eschewed the papal vice of nepotism, telling his relations that, as James Fournier, he had known them, but as Pope he had no kindred. He made an effort to break the bondage of the Papacy to France; refusing the King's demand for the late Pope's treasures and a continuance of the ecclesiastical tithe, ostensibly for the Crusade, but really for the war with England;[2] and, when Philip went in person to Avignon, to urge his claim with regard to the Crusade, Benedict told him that, if he had two souls he would gladly sacrifice one for the King, but, as he had only one, he must endeavour to save it (1336). He refused Philip's request for investment with the vicariate of Italy. But his courage and power fell short of shaking off the control of France over his two great objects of policy, a return to Rome and a reconciliation with the Emperor. He accepted his election by the Romans to the office of Senator; appointed vicars in Italy under the Apostolic See; endeavoured to check party spirit by forbidding the use of the names Guelph and Ghibelline; and spent large sums in repairing St. Peter's and other Roman churches and palaces: but the design of returning to Rome, or at least to Bologna,

[1] In a confidential letter written immediately after Benedict's death (*Epist.* 1 *sine titulo:* comp. Sade's *Petrarque* ii. 13, *n.*), the poet describes the Pope as addicted to fierce anger, indolence, and sensuality; and his habitual drunkenness is said to have originated the proverb *Bibamus papaliter.*

[2] The reader is reminded that Philip of Valois provoked the hostility of England by his aid to the Scotch (1336), and it was in 1337 that Edward III. advanced his public claim to the crown of France. The war that ensued tended, of course, to hamper Philip in his dealings both with the Pope and the Emperor.

where a palace was begun for him by the legate, was frustrated by a display of anti-papal spirit in Italy, and by other difficulties. So he stayed at Avignon, and began the vast papal palace there.

§ 2. Benedict was sincerely desirous to restore the peace of Christendom by a reconciliation with Louis; and he even replied to the charges made by the Kings of France and Naples against the Emperor as the enemy of the Church:—"Rather it is we that have sinned against him. He would, if he might have been allowed, have come with a staff in his hand to our predecessor's feet; but he has been in a manner challenged to act as he has done." But the influence of Philip forbad his returning an answer to a fifth and sixth embassy which Louis sent to Avignon, offering the most humiliating terms of submission and obedience, even to laying down the imperial title, to receive it again from the Pope (1336). When his envoys returned, weary of waiting for an answer, Louis made an alliance with the King of England, who was preparing to invade France. A last effort was made by a mission to Avignon from a council of the Archbishop of Mainz and his suffragans at Spires; and the Pope is said to have wept as he told the envoys that Philip had threatened him with a worse fate than that of Boniface VIII., if he should absolve the Bavarian against the will of the King of France.[1]

The spirit of Germany was now roused to resist the claim of the Pope to control the election of the Emperor at the bidding of the French king. On Rogation Sunday, 1338, Louis laid his whole case before a great diet of princes and nobles, deputies from the cities and cathedral chapters; and, after an argument by canonists and lawyers, in which the Franciscan Bonagratia took a leading part, the assembly decided that the papal censures against the Emperor were wrongful and of none effect, that the interdict ought not to be observed, and that any of the clergy who wished to obey it should be compelled to perform their office. This decision was followed by a meeting of the electors (except the King of Bohemia, who acted throughout with France and Naples), at Rhense on the Rhine,[2] which is celebrated as

[1] Albertus Argent., p. 127, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 48.

[2] This famous spot, in the midst of the finest scenery of the Rhine, between Coblenz and Boppart, is distinctly mentioned as the place of meeting for the electors on the occasion of the election of Henry VII. (1308). It lay within the territory of the Archbishop of Cologne, conveniently near the frontiers of the Archbishops of Mainz and Treves and the Elector Palatine. The Gothic chapel called *Königstuhl* (king's chair), in which the electors met and the chosen king was enthroned, was built by the Emperor Charles IV. in 1376, and restored (after its ruin by the French) in 1844. (See the Illustration to Chap. XXXII.)

the First Electoral Union (*Churverein*, July 15th, 1338). They made a solemn declaration that the King of the Romans[1] received his rank and power solely from the choice of the Electors, and needed no confirmation of the Pope; and they swore to defend the ancient rights, liberties, and customs of the Empire, and their own, against every human command, *without exception*, nor to avail themselves of any dispensation, absolution, or relaxation, of this their oath.[2] They sent this declaration to the Pope, with a denial of his authority to appoint a sovereign or confer sovereign rights over the Empire. Another diet at Frankfort (Aug. 8th) confirmed the resolutions of these two assemblies as laws of the Empire, and Louis issued edicts to enforce them; while the war of argument was renewed between his literary supporters, headed by William of Ockham,[3] and the partisans of the Pope, who published his denunciations of the Emperor. The German priests, banished for obedience to the interdict, resorted to Avignon; but, obtaining no compensation for their losses, they returned and submitted to Louis. The contest had become thoroughly national, when the Emperor's vacillation and rashness lost him the advantages he had thus gained.

Edward III. had crossed to Flanders, and Louis met him at Coblenz (September). Their alliance against Philip was solemnly confirmed, and the King of England was appointed imperial vicar over the territory west of Cologne. But, in spite of his oath and the subsidies he received from Edward, Louis allowed himself to be enticed by his mother-in-law, who was Philip's sister, into an alliance with France (1339–40). But his hope of obtaining absolution, through the mediation which Philip only affected to use, was frustrated by the Pope's demand for unconditional submission. While things were in this state, the Emperor did his cause irreparable harm by invading the Papal jurisdiction in matrimonial cases. In order to obtain the Tyrol for his own family, he dissolved the marriage of its heiress, Margaret, with a son of the King of Bohemia, and granted a dispensation for her marriage with his own son, Louis, whom he had made Marquis of Brandenburg (1341). In this assumption he was again supported by Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, who argued that the imperial jurisdiction in such cases was handed down from the old Roman emperors, and, though it was for ecclesiastics to decide on the grounds which justify a divorce, their application

[1] On the title, see note, pp. 89–90.

[2] See the original in Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 49.

[3] *Compendium errorum Papæ Joannis XXII.*, published during the papacy of Benedict XII.

belongs to the secular judge; that "it is for the human lawgiver to order that to be done which is established by the divine law."[1] Both politically and ecclesiastically, these steps gave wide offence, at the very time when a far more decided opponent ascended the papal chair.

§ 3. On the death of Benedict XII. (April 25th, 1342), the election fell (May 7th) on a thorough partisan of France, Cardinal Peter Roger, of a noble family in the Limousin, who had been a Benedictine monk and chancellor to King Philip, and was now Archbishop of Rouen. Pope CLEMENT VI. (1342–1352) "was noted for his learning, for his eloquence, and for an extraordinary power of memory; his manners were agreeable, and he is described as free from malice and resentment. His morals were never of any rigid correctness; and, while he was Pope, a countess of France, if not absolutely his mistress, is said to have exercised an absolute influence over him. He was a lover of splendour and luxury. The great palace of Avignon was growing under his care, and the princely houses of the cardinals rose around it; the court of the successor of St. Peter was, perhaps, the gayest and most festive in Europe. Under Clement the vice of the papal city became open and scandalous. Petrarch, who himself cannot be described as a model of rigid and intolerant virtue, expressed in the strongest terms his horror at the abominations which filled the new 'Babylon of the West,' and withdrew in disgust from the papal city to the solitudes of Vaucluse."[2] The ecclesiastical government of Clement was in keeping with his personal character, and his shameless bestowal of benefices, in defiance of the rights of sovereigns and chapters, on the gay and dissolute young men who won his favour, as well as on his relations, was made a boast of in his answer to a remonstrance, "Our predecessors did not know how to be Pope."

Such a father of the faithful, and "servant of the servants of God," was not likely to exchange the luxurious ease of Avignon for the cares of government at Rome. Two missions, composed of different classes (1342–3), invited his return, which was urged by Petrarch, who was one of the deputies, in a poetical epistle, describing the attractions of the city.[3] Clement replied that his presence beyond the Alps was necessary to mediate between France and England; but he promised to visit Rome when those troubles were composed, and meanwhile he accepted the dignity of Senator, but only as a private person, not in his character of Pope.

§ 4. In his relations with the Emperor Louis, personal animosity and papal ambition prevailed completely over the easy good-nature

[1] Marsilius and Ockham, *ap.* Gieseler, iv. 52; Robertson, iv. 103.
[2] Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 104–5. [3] Petrarch, *Epist.* ii. p. 1346.

of Clement's usual character. He had already taken a bitter part against the "Bavarian" or "boor" (*baurum*), as he called him in a sermon; and now the urgent overtures of Louis to the new Pope were met by demands for unlimited submission, followed up by a new Bull, recounting all his offences, and calling on him to lay down the imperial dignity within three months (April 12th, 1343). Clement wrote to the German princes, desiring them to prepare for a new election, and threatening, if they hesitated, that he would appoint a new Emperor by the same authority by which Pope Leo had transferred the crown of the West from the Greeks to the Germans. That extreme course was averted for the present by Louis's appearance before the electors at Rhense, offering to be guided by their judgment; but his acceptance of all the Pope's terms was met by new demands of absolute submission, not only as Emperor, but as King of Germany. This fresh usurpation was rejected by an imperial diet at Frankfort with an indignation in which the Emperor was involved for his vacillation, and he was charged with making his personal interests the only obstacle to peace. Another meeting of electors at Rhense rejected the Emperor's offer to resign in favour of his son Louis; and a new candidate was set up, Charles, Marquis of Moravia, the son of Louis's constant enemy, John, King of Bohemia.[1] Charles had been a pupil of Pope Clement, when the latter was Abbot of Fécamp.

A new cause of quarrel now arose out of the affairs of Italy. Charles, the only son of Robert, King of Naples, had died in 1328, leaving two infant daughters, Joanna and Maria. In order, as it seems, to compensate the elder branch of his family for their exclusion from the kingdom,[2] he had arranged a marriage between his

[1] The name of John, who fell blind about this time, is familiar to English readers for his fate at Crecy, where his crest and motto, "Ich dien," became the prize of the Prince of Wales.

[2] Charles II., the second King of Naples of the line of Anjou, had married a sister of Ladislaus IV., King of Hungary, on whose death, in 1290, Pope Nicolas IV. decided for Charles Martel as King of Hungary in preference to Andrew III., the son of Ladislaus. Charles Martel was defeated at Zagrab in 1292, and died in 1295, and Andrew III. died in 1301, ending the line of Arpad. The claim of Charles Robert (or Charobert) son of Charles Martel, had already been advanced, and, after a contest, he became Charles I., King of Hungary. He was, of course, the direct heir to the Kingdom of Naples; but, on the death of Charles II. (1309), the high qualities shown by Robert, his third son, caused him to be preferred to his nephew, Charles of Hungary, by the decision of Pope Clement V.; and, in his reign of thirty-four years, "Robert the Wise" fully justified his choice, and remained the mainstay of the Guelphic party in Italy. John Villani says that for 500 years there had been no such sovereign, either for abilities or acquired knowledge.

heiress, Joanna, and Andrew, the second son of his nephew Charles Robert (or Charobert), King of Hungary (1333). The bridegroom, who was seven years old (the bride being six), was educated at Naples, but grew up a rude and headstrong youth. When Joanna succeeded to the crown on her grandfather's death (1343), an Hungarian faction was formed at Naples; Andrew claimed to be crowned in his own right, as heir of Charles II., and talked imprudently of the vengeance he would take on his opponents. He suspected the young queen of infidelity, and the quarrel was fomented by the rival parties in the court. After two years, Andrew was strangled on the night of September 18th, 1345, by a conspiracy, to which Joanna was suspected of being privy. On the death of her child, the posthumous son of Andrew, Louis King of Hungary claimed the crown of both Sicilies, and invaded Apulia to avenge his brother's murder. The Emperor Louis supported him as a means of regaining influence in Italy; and Clement, while refusing an audience to the envoys of the King of Hungary because of his connection with the excommunicated Bavarian, fulminated against the latter another most violent anathema, and called on the electors to choose a new king (April 13th, 1346). Charles of Moravia, who had gone with his father to urge his claim at Avignon, bound himself to an absolute submission to the papal see. Clement deposed Louis's chief supporter, Henry of Virneburg, archbishop of Mainz, the official president of the electors, replacing him by Count Gerlach of Nassau, a youth of twenty, who summoned the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, with the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Saxony, to Rhense.[1] These five electors proceeded to declare the empire vacant. They chose Charles of Moravia King of the Romans, and enthroned him on the Königstuhl, as Frankfort was held by Louis (July 11th, 1346).

But Germany with one accord rejected "the priest's emperor;" a diet at Spires under Louis declared the election null, and denied the Pope's right to depose an emperor; and Charles was fain to withdraw with his father to France. Both followed Philip to the field against Edward III.; and, while the blind King of Bohemia died like a knight of romance at Crecy, the Emperor elect saved himself by flight (August 26th, 1346). A civil war was imminent; and even the death of Louis IV., by a fall from his horse (October 11th, 1347), did not end the dispute. The Bavarian party, headed by Henry of Virneburg, who was still generally recognized as Archbishop of

[1] The Emperor's son, Louis of Brandenburg, was excluded from the electoral college by the Pope, on the ground that his appointment by his father to the marquisate had been illegal.

Mainz, offered the crown to Edward III., who declined it by the advice of his parliament (1348). They then chose Gunther, Count of Schwarzburg in Thuringia, who was enthroned at Frankfort (January, 1349); but he met with little support, and, being hopelessly ill, he resigned his pretensions for a sum of money, and died in June. Charles made terms with the Bavarian party, undertaking to obtain the Pope's sanction to the marriage of Louis of Brandenburg with Margaret of the Tyrol. Whether or not he submitted to a new election (as some authorities state), CHARLES IV., now King of Bohemia, was recognized without dispute as King of the Romans. His reign lasted till 1378.

§ 5. When Louis of Hungary invaded Apulia, Joanna of Naples, who had married her cousin and alleged paramour and accomplice in her husband's murder, Louis of Tarentum, fled with her husband to her county of Provence, and was received with great honour at Avignon. After the form of an enquiry by three cardinals into the charges brought against her by the King of Hungary, the Pope granted a dispensation for her marriage. When Louis retired from Italy, after punishing many of his brother's alleged assassins, Joanna was invited to return. To meet the expenses of the journey and the defence of her kingdom, she sold Avignon to Clement (January 1348); and the territory was a papal possession till the great French Revolution.[1]

§ 6. Rome was at this time the scene of one of the most striking episodes in her medieval annals, which has been related in brilliant passages of history and romance.[2] While some forms of the old Republic remained as lifeless names amidst the corruption and decay of the city, the memory of its freedom and glories was cherished in bitter contrast with the haughty rule of the Teutonic emperors, and in jealousy of the sacerdotal authority. This feeling had obtained a more definite direction in the twelfth century, under the impulse of the revived study of Roman law and the example of the republics of Northern Italy; and it was wakened into a paroxysm of seeming life by Arnold of Brescia. "But practically the scheme was absurd, and could not maintain itself against any serious opposition. As a modern historian aptly expresses it, 'they were setting up ruins;' they might as well have raised the broken columns that strew the Forum, and hoped to rear out of them a strong and stately temple. The reverence which the men of the Middle Ages felt for Rome was given altogether to the name and place, nowise to the people. As for power, they had none: so

[1] It was annexed by the Republic in 1791, and was incorporated with France by the treaties of 1815 and 1816.

[2] Gibbon, c. lxx.; and Lord Lytton's *Rienzi*.

far from holding Italy in subjection, they could scarcely maintain themselves against the hostility of Tusculum. But it would have been worth the while of the Teutonic emperors to have made the Romans their allies, and bridled by their help the temporal ambition of the Popes. The offer was actually made to them, first to Conrad III., who seems to have taken no notice of it; and afterwards to Frederick I., who repelled in the most contumelious fashion the envoys of the Senate. Hating and fearing the Pope, he always respected him: towards the Romans he felt all the contempt of a feudal king for burghers, and of a German warrior for Italians. At the demand of Pope Hadrian, who prudently thought no heresy so dangerous as one which threatened the authority of the clergy, Arnold of Brescia was seized by the imperial prefect, put to death, and his ashes cast into the Tiber, lest the people should treasure them up as relics. But the martyrdom of their leader did not quench the hopes of his followers. The republican constitution continued to exist, and rose from time to time, during the weakness or the absence of the Popes, into a brief and fitful activity. Once awakened, the idea, seductive at once to the imagination of the scholar and the vanity of the Roman citizen, could not wholly disappear, and two centuries after Arnold's time it found a more brilliant, if less disinterested exponent, in the tribune Rienzi." [1]

Since the retirement of the Papal Court to Avignon, the anarchy at Rome and the factions of the noble houses had become more intolerable than ever. The last attempts of Henry VII. and Louis IV. to restore the imperial authority had ended in the final alienation of the Romans from their German sovereigns, long since only such in name. But one hope seemed left,—the restitution of the Republic, sanctioned and dignified by the return of the spiritual sovereign, whose presence would mark Rome as still the capital of the world. This feeling found fervid expression both in the poetry and prose of PETRARCH, whose youth shared the exile at Avignon.[2] Of his feeling towards Rome one utterance may be chosen from a letter to his friend, John Colonna:—"Thinkest thou not that I long to see that city, to which there has never been any like nor ever shall be; which even an enemy called a city of kings; of whose people it hath been written, 'Great is the valour of the Roman people, great and terrible their name;' concerning whose unexampled glory and incomparable Empire, which was, and is,

[1] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 278, 279.

[2] Francesco Petrarca was born in 1304 at Arezzo, in Tuscany (*Arretium*, the native town of Mæcenas), whence his father (a friend of Dante) removed to Avignon. He died at Arqua, July 18th, 1374.

and is to be divine, prophets have sung; where are the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, and the bodies of so many thousands of the saints of Christ?"

Amidst the solemnities of Easter Day, 1341, Petrarch was crowned with laurel in the Capitol,—as the prince both of Italian intellect and Roman patriotism. Probably among the enthusiastic spectators of his triumph was NICHOLAS RIENZI,[1] then a young man of twenty-seven, whose indignation had already been roused by a cruel bereavement through the anarchy which prevailed at Rome. Born about 1314, Rienzi sprang from among the lowest ranks of the people in the Transteverine region, where his father kept a tavern and his mother was a washerwoman and water-carrier; though the morbid vanity, which marred his career in the hour of success, claimed the Emperor Henry VII. as his father. His low birth did not debar him from a good education, with a view to his becoming a notary: he delighted in the study of the Roman classics, and acquired a remarkable skill in deciphering and interpreting ancient inscriptions. This converse with the great minds and great deeds of the old Republic had inspired him with the vision of being a chosen instrument to revive the glories of Rome, when an accident added the impulse of a personal motive. Just when he was of full age, his young and dearly loved brother fell an innocent victim to one of the faction fights which the nobles waged daily in the streets; and the failure to obtain redress embittered his disgust at the state of Rome (1334–5).

In 1342–3, Rienzi went to Avignon with the deputation sent (as we have seen) to invite the new Pope, Clement VI., to return to Rome. His eloquence is said to have been admired by the Pope, as it certainly was by Petrarch, who conceived hopes from the enthusiasm which he afterwards found to be wanting in stedfastness.[2] Returning to Rome invested with the office of papal notary,

[1] This famous name was not that of his family, but a corrupted patronymic from Lorenzo, his father's name; the *o* being changed to the plural *i* of family names. By the popular abridgment of his Christian name, he was called *Cola di Rienzo* or *Rienzi*. The original records say nothing of the family name *Gabrini*, given by some writers. The leading authority for Rienzi's life is a chronicle entitled *Historiæ Romanæ Fragmenta* in Muratori's *Antiquities*, vol. iii., and re-edited by Zephyrino Ré, Florence, 1828 and 1854. The most important modern work, compiled chiefly from unprinted sources, is *Cola di Rienzo und seine Zeit, von* Dr. F. Papencordt, Hamburg and Gotha, 1841. Canon Robertson refers also to Lord Broughton's *Italy*, vol. ii. pp. 512, *f*.

[2] Writing after Rienzi's fall, and drawing an argument from his temporary success for the possibility of renovating Rome, Petrarch describes him as follows:—"Vir unus obscurissimæ originis et nullarum opum, atque, ut ratio docuit, plus animi habens quam constantiæ, reipublicæ imbecillos humeros subjicere ausus est, et tutelam labentis

which he had solicited as a protection from the enmity of the nobles, he set to work to rouse the popular feeling of patriotism. He expounded ancient inscriptions recording the glories of old Rome, and placed the present forlorn state of the Republic vividly before the people's eyes in a great picture which, in the midst of many other symbols, displayed Rome under the figure of a majestic matron, clothed in tattered garments, with dishevelled hair, weeping eyes, and hands crossed on her breast, kneeling on the deck of a ship which was without mast or sail, and appeared about to sink.[1] On Whitsunday, May 20th, 1347, Rienzi proclaimed at the Capitol that the time was come for the Romans to return to "their ancient good estate," and he assumed the venerable and popular title of Tribune, with the papal Legate, Raymond, bishop of Orvieto, as his colleague in the government. His measures to restore order were signally successful. The streets and roads became safe, for the first time since many years; the fortresses of the nobles were demolished, both in the city and the Campagna, and they themselves were compelled to go through a solemn form of reconciliation, at the bidding of the Tribune. The cities of Italy received his invitations to union with seeming favour; and marks of the respect of foreign powers for the new government of Rome were received, even, it is said, from the Soldan of Babylon. Petrarch's poetic and patriotic enthusiasm congratulated the Tribune and the people on having thrown off the yoke; but more clear-sighted observers pronounced the Tribune's enterprize a fantastic work, which could not last. It had in fact the fatal defect of a mere revival of forms, the substance of which had long since passed away; and the last hope of success was extinguished by the faults and weaknesses of Rienzi's character. Like all dictators raised up by a revolution—save but one or two in the whole course of history—he yielded to the temptation to glorify and indulge himself; and together with offensive arrogance he stooped to vulgar and sensual luxury. To the nobles, whose hostility demanded the union of consummate prudence with firmness, he showed an irritating mixture of weakness and provocation. Having treacherously seized some of the chief nobles, whom he accused of conspiracy and condemned to death, he humiliated them by a contemptuous pardon at the intercession of the citizens; and then loaded them with offices and honours. A victory, which he gained under the walls

imperii profiteri."—*Apol. c. Galli Calumnias*, p. 1181, *ap.* Robertson, vol. iv. p. 117.

[1] *Fragm.* 401; Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 117–8. Mr. Bryce (p. 279) points out the mistake of those who suppose Rienzi "to have been possessed of profound political insight, a republican on modern principles."

of Rome, over the Colonna and their adherents, was abused by his insults to the slain, and left unimproved through his incompetence. By adding the title of *Augustus* to that of Tribune, he seemed to claim succession to those foreign Emperors, from whose yoke he had freed the Republic; and he even summoned the electors and the rival claimants to submit to his arbitration.[1]

Towards the Pope himself, by whose authority he professed to govern, Rienzi assumed the tone of command in calling him to return to Rome; while he gave the jealous spiritual power a handle for the fatal charge of heresy by claiming divine inspiration and even comparing himself with the Saviour. The Legate not only broke off from him as a colleague, but pronounced the papal anathema against him; and when Count Pipin, a banished Neapolitan noble and leader of mercenaries, answered the tribune's summons for his crimes by an armed attack, the people fell away from Rienzi in disgust. Thus, within a year of his first elevation, he fled in abject terror, leaving Rome to fall back into worse anarchy than before. (Jan. 1348.) He found shelter among the fanatical Fraticelli of the Apennines; and two years later he appeared at Prague, professing a divine commission, revealed to him by a hermit, to unite with Charles IV. in reforming the world. But the Emperor regarded him as a fanatic, and placed him in the custody of the Archbishop of Prague, who afterwards, at the Pope's desire, sent Rienzi to Avignon (1352), where he was kept in a comparatively lenient captivity for two years,[2] till the time came for his new and last attempt to realize his dreams.

§ 7. The year of Rienzi's first government at Rome was marked by a terrible pestilence, which affected the social and ecclesiastical state of Europe. The *Black Death* of 1347–8 shares the celebrity of the Plague of Athens, in B.C. 430, and of the Plague of London, in A.D. 1665, not only for its great mortality and its remarkable moral effects, but also for its fame in literature, through the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, beside the historic record of Thucydides and the vivid picture of Defoe. Invading Europe from the East—like all other great pestilences, down to the cholera of our own times—it spread from Constantinople to Ireland, and even to Greenland; destroying about a quarter of the population. The distress which it caused

[1] Though this claim was left unnoticed, the Emperor Louis solicited Rienzi's mediation with the Pope; and both Louis of Hungary and Joanna of Naples sought his support in their quarrel.

[2] It was chiefly through Petrarch's intercession that his life was spared, and the charge of heresy was dropped. He was bound with a single chain, and was allowed the use of books, particularly the Scriptures and Livy.

inflamed the growing discontent of the people with existing institutions in Church as well as State. Decimating the ranks of the lower clergy, it at first enabled the survivors to insist on higher emoluments, which attracted unqualified laymen, especially those who had lost their wives by the plague, till its further ravages among the people again reduced the clergy, thus demoralized, to greater poverty than before. The corruption of the religious orders was increased by the loss of many of the older and more experienced monks, followed by a general relaxation of discipline.[1]

It was in such times of suffering and terror that the Mendicant orders showed at their best.[2] But the courage with which they supplied the "lack of service" of the priests, who fled from their stricken parishes, was no longer crowned with the virtue of consistent poverty in refusing the reward of their self-denial, especially in the form of large bequests from persons who had lost their heirs. The secular clergy, supported by the cardinals, complained to the Pope of the intrusion of the Mendicants, and asked for their suppression. But the answer of Clement (according to a writer who himself belonged to the Mendicant brotherhood of Carmelites) was a severe rebuke of the accusers. "He asked them what they themselves would preach if the monks were silent. He told them that if they were to preach humility, poverty, and chastity, their exhortations would be vitiated by the glaring contrast of their avarice and greed, and the notorious laxity of their lives. He reproached them for closing their doors against the Mendicants, while they opened them to panders and buffoons. If, he said, the Mendicants had got some benefit from those whose death-beds they had attended, it was a reward of the zeal and courage they had shown when the secular clergy fled from their posts. If they had erected buildings with the money, it was better spent so than in worldly and sensual pleasures; and he declared the opposition to the friars to be merely the result of envy. The rebuke carried weight from its truth, if not from the character of the Pope who uttered it."[3]

It was doubtless from a mixture of religious laxity with good sense, which was so little understood as to be imputed to bribery, that the Pope endeavoured to protect the Jews, against whom the pestilence roused renewed superstitious charges and persecutions.

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 123.

[2] This is the account of a favourable authority, himself a Carmelite friar (W. Nang. contin. 110), but the annalist of Parma (*ap.* Muratori, xii. 746) says that the sick were abandoned by the friars, as well as by servants, doctors, and notaries, so that they could neither make their wills nor obtain absolution before they died.

[3] W. Nang. cont. 112; Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 125–6.

The excitement found vent also in another outbreak of the sect of the *Flagellants*, who had first appeared in Hungary and Germany during the preceding century. Professing to have received from an angel a written revelation of the Lord's wrath at the prevalent sins, they went about in procession stript to the waist, and scourging themselves while they sang. They regarded their blood as a sacrifice mingled with the Saviour's, and superseding the need of the sacraments. Such fanatical movements have always been found to grow into dangerous societies: thus the Flagellants had "masters," to whom they were bound by an oath of obedience; and they showed a hostile spirit towards the clergy. When they went from Germany into France, their practice was pronounced a "vain superstition" by the University of Paris, at whose instance it was condemned by the Pope and forbidden by the King. Passing from the Low Countries into England, they were there rejected by popular feeling and branded as heretics by the Church.

§ 8. The impression produced by the pestilence may have been a chief cause of the zeal, celebrated by Petrarch, with which about two millions of pilgrims flocked to Rome to keep the jubilee of 1350, and to obtain the indulgences for its observance; though a chronicler of the time says that many came back worse than they had been before.[1] Two years later, Clement VI. died suddenly (Dec. 6, 1352). One of his last acts was to mitigate the rules for the seclusion of the Conclave. The new election, hastened in order to anticipate the interference of the French King,[2] fell on Stephen Aubert, bishop of Ostia, a native of the Limousin, who took the name of INNOCENT VI. (1352–1362). He is described as "a good, sincere, and just man," learned in civil and canon law. He at once repudiated the "capitulations" sworn to by the members of the Conclave, which would have made the Pope the mere tool of the cardinals, availing himself of the saving clause, "provided that these laws be agreeable to right." Left more free to act as he wished by the disasters of the French monarchy in the war with England, Innocent applied himself to the work of reformation, retrenching the luxury of his court and of the cardinals, compelling the bishops to return from Avignon to their dioceses, discouraging pluralities, and making a good use of his own patronage.

To put an end to the anarchy of Rome, he sent an army under Cardinal Giles Albornoz, a Spaniard, who had been a distinguished soldier before he became Archbishop of Toledo, and whose military talents reconquered the States of the Church (1353). With him, as

[1] Limb. Chron. *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 207.

[2] The unfortunate JOHN II., who was taken prisoner at Poitiers (1356), and died in England (1364), had succeeded to the crown in 1350.

Legate, was associated Rienzi, released from prison, and appointed Senator of Rome. But the enthusiasm with which he was received by the people was soon turned into disgust by his renewed and aggravated exhibition of the arrogance and sensuality into which he had fallen before, and he was cut to pieces in a popular tumult (October 8, 1354).[1]

§ 9. In the same year the Emperor Charles IV. went to Italy, to receive the crowns of Lombardy and Rome; having engaged with the Pope to make no attempt to assert real authority. Attended by an escort so small as to disarm suspicion, he was welcomed everywhere with respect, even by the Guelphs of Florence. Having received the iron crown at Milan at Epiphany, 1355, he was crowned, with his empress, at St. Peter's, on Easter Day, by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. His departure from Rome on the same day, according to his agreement with the Pope, was a bitter disappointment to Petrarch, who had urged him to revive the glories of the Empire. But preferring to such a doubtful enterprize the acknowledgment of his dignity by the Italian cities and the substantial gain of the contributions he had levied on them, Charles, in a diet at Nuremburg, commemorated his coronation by the famous "Golden Bull," which settled the rules for future elections to the Empire (Jan. 1356). In this new fundamental law of the Empire "the claim of the Pope to interfere with the election was not mentioned at all; and it was assumed that in Germany, at least, the King or Emperor had full power from the time of his election. The 'priests' Emperor' had secured the crown against the pretensions of the Papacy; and Innocent was greatly annoyed at the result."[2]

The new imperial constitution was, in effect, a final abandonment of Italy by the Empire, while in Germany it "confessed and legalized the independence of the Electors and the powerlessness of the Crown."[3] Charles now sacrificed what was left of German unity under the Empire to the aggrandizement of the house of Bohemia, and gave a decisive impulse to that rapid decline, by which the "Holy Roman Empire" became (as Voltaire said) neither *Holy*, nor *Roman*, nor an *Empire*.

§ 10. On the death of Innocent VI. (Sept. 12, 1362), the cardinals, being unable to settle their respective claims, elected William de Grimoard, the Benedictine abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, a man of sixty, of high repute for holiness and learning, as URBAN V. (1362–1370). The new Pope retained his monastic dress and simplicity of life, and was even a more stedfast reformer than his

[1] The details belong to civil history. [2] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 138.
[3] See the results described by Bryce, pp. 225, 237–8.

predecessor. The frugality of his court was happily contrasted by his free expenditure on the restoration of the churches and palaces of Rome, and for purposes of learning as well as religion. He built and endowed a monastery and college at Montpellier, and maintained a thousand students at the Universities.

Urban inherited from his predecessor two great sources of trouble, both in France and in Italy. The military adventurers, who had been trained in the Anglo-French wars, especially when thrown loose by the peace of Bretigny (1360), formed disorderly bands under the name of *Free Companies*. It was against them that Innocent VI. fortified the palace and city of Avignon. Urban V. put them down in the south of France; but they continued to infest Italy, both as independent bands and as mercenaries of the princes and cities. Even more audacious was the defiance both of Pope and Emperor by Bernabo Visconti, of Milan, against whom crusades were proclaimed both by Innocent and Urban. He continued, however, to withstand the martial cardinal legate, Giles Albornoz, till Urban was fain to conclude a peace with him, by which Bologna was secured to the papal territory (1364).

§ 11. The way seemed now clear for that return to Rome, which Urban had advocated before his elevation; and the renewed invitation of the people, adorned by the eloquence of Petrarch, was supported by the Emperor, who visited Avignon (May 1365), to arrange a solemn meeting of the Pope and himself at Rome. Embarking with the reluctant cardinals, five of whom refused to leave Avignon (April 30, 1367), Urban, on landing at Corneto, was received by Giles Albornoz; but the victorious legate died next month, while the Pope was staying at Viterbo. The Romans welcomed his entrance with enthusiasm (Oct.); and, in the following year, he received the personal homage, not only of Charles, but of John Palæologus I., the eastern emperor, who, in his eagerness for that aid against the Turks which he failed to obtain, professed to acknowledge all the claims of the Latin Church and the see of Rome. After three years, however, the influence of the French cardinals prevailed on the Pope to return to Avignon, where he died only three months after his arrival (Dec. 19, 1370). The disappointed Italians recognized the fulfilment of the warnings given to Urban by St. Bridget of Sweden,[1] and by Peter of Arragon (who

[1] St. Bridget, a widowed princess of Sweden, lived a life of ascetic devotion and charity, chiefly at Rome, from the jubilee of 1350 to her death in 1373. She founded an order, both of monks and nuns, at Wadstena, in Sweden, which spread far and wide. Her oracles, which had a great influence on her age, were approved by Gregory XI. and later Popes; and she was canonized by Boniface IX. (1391).

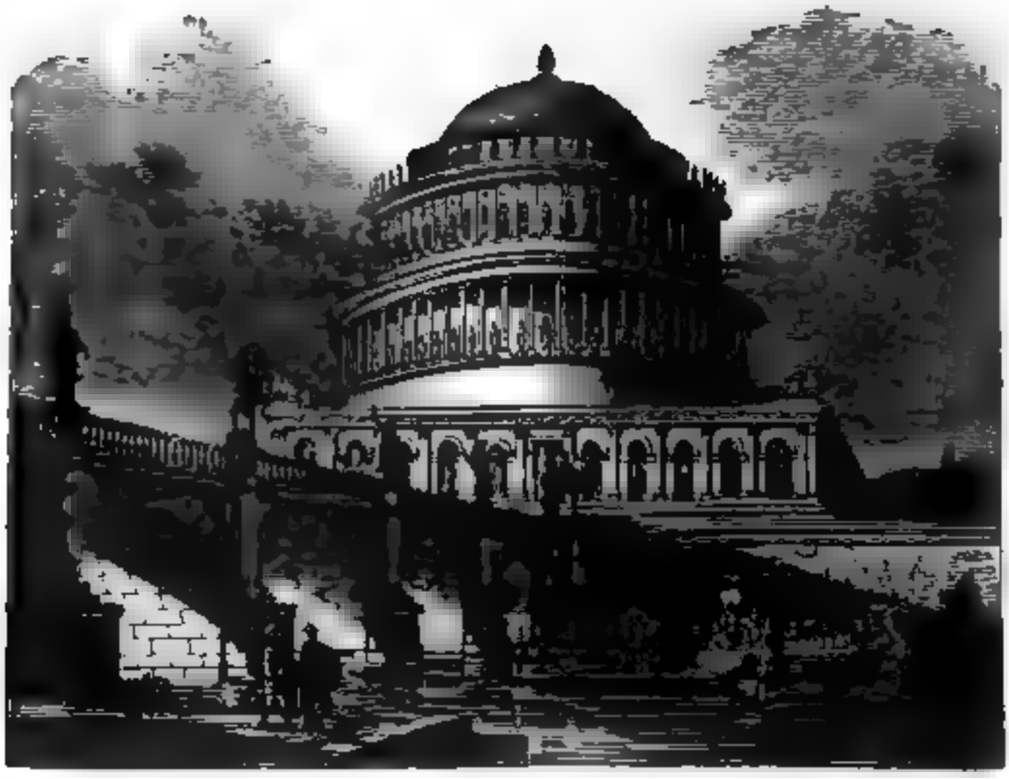
from a prince had become a Franciscan friar), that, if he returned to Avignon, it would be only to die.

§ 12. The like influences of enthusiasm, in which St. Catherine of Sweden, the daughter of St. Bridget, united with the more powerful pleading of her namesake of Siena,[1] in prevailing on the new Pope, GREGORY XI.[2] (1370–1378) to take the step by which alone it seemed possible to save the temporal power of the Holy See in Italy. The persistent contumacy of Bernabo Visconti and his brother Galeazzo caused the proclamation of another crusade against them (1372). Eighty towns of the Papal States rose in rebellion, and the people suffered terribly from the licence of the mercenaries led against them by the legate Robert, Cardinal of Geneva. In the treacherous massacre with which he punished the rising of Cesena, 1000 women were saved, not by the legate's mercy, but by the compassion of his ally, Sir John Hawkwood, the most famous captain of Free Companies. The people of Bologna drove out the legate and papal officials. The Florentines, having formed a league against the papal authority, were placed under a ban and interdict, by which they were allowed to be made slaves (1376). It was at their request for her mediation, that Catherine of Siena went to Avignon to urge the Pope's return to Rome; and Gregory announced his resolution, though opposed by the French King and most of the cardinals, of whom six remained at Avignon.

The seventy years' "Babylonian Captivity" was ended by the Pope's entrance into Rome, amidst demonstrations of joy, in January 1377; but he had been able to do little towards composing the troubles of Italy, when his health, always feeble, broke down, and he died at the early age of 47 (March 27, 1378).

[1] This most famous of the female mystical enthusiasts was born in 1347, the daughter of a dyer. In her sixth year she began to see visions, and in her seventh she devoted herself, by a vow to the Blessed Virgin, as the bride of the Saviour, whose mystic marriage with her was afterwards celebrated by a ring visible on her finger to herself alone. Like St. Francis, she received the *stigmata*, but with a difference which may help to suggest an explanation; the marks were invisible, but she felt the pain of the wounds. She even imagined that the Saviour had exchanged her heart for His own, as was witnessed by a scar in her side. She became a sister of penitence of the order of St. Dominic, and led a life of extraordinary asceticism, abstaining from food to a degree of which even her biographer says, "non video quod sit possibile per naturam." Catherine died in 1380, and was canonized by Pius II. in 1461. (Hase, *Caterina von Siena*, Leipzig, 1864.)

[2] Cardinal Peter Roger, a Provençal, and nephew of Clement VI. He was highly esteemed for his learning and prudence, modesty and generosity.



The Castle of St. Angelo (Mausoleum of Hadrian).[1]

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT PAPAL SCHISM.—PART I.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PISA AND THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER V. A.D. 1378—1410.

§ 1. Elections of URBAN VI. at Rome and Clement VII. at Avignon—Their characters and adherents. National character of the Schism—Forces at work for a reformation. § 2. Urban's visit to Naples; his detention and escape—His violent acts and death. § 3. Exactions of Clement; resisted by France and England—Statute of *Præmunire*. § 4. BONIFACE IX. at Rome—His exactions and two jubilees (1390 and 1400). § 5. Effort at Paris to end the Schism — Death of Clement VII. and election of Benedict XIII. at Avignon—Attempts to make both Popes resign—France withdraws from and returns to Benedict. § 6. Death of Boniface IX. — Succession of INNOCENT VII. and GREGORY XII. at Rome—Vain overtures of Pope and Antipope. § 7. France rejects Benedict—A General Council proposed. § 8. GERSON

[1] The architectural decorations, though only an imaginary restoration, may serve to give some idea of the state of the edifice before its ruin at this epoch. (See p. 139, note.)

on Popes and Councils—Question of the Imperial Power. § 9. The *Council of Pisa* deposes both Popes. § 10. Declaration for reform "in head and members"—Election of the Franciscan ALEXANDER V.—He dissolves the Council—The Schism not healed: the Church with three husbands — Weakness and profusion of Alexander—His Bull for the Friars, resisted by the University of Paris—His capture of Rome, and death—Balthasar Cossa, JOHN XXIII.

§ 1. THE death of Gregory XI. gave the signal for another prolonged crisis, the *Great Papal Schism* of forty years (1378–1417), "which next to the long residence at Avignon, tended more than other agencies to shake the empire of the Popes, and stimulate a reformation of the Church."[1] The late Pope, foreseeing the struggle of parties in the Conclave, had decreed that an election by the majority of the cardinals, whether at Rome or elsewhere, should be valid, even if the usual formalities were not observed. The Roman populace, resolved to prevent another return to Avignon, forced their way into the Vatican, clamouring for the election of an Italian; their favourite candidate being the oldest member of the sacred college, Tibaldeschi, archpriest of St. Peter's. Of the sixteen cardinals at Rome, eleven were Frenchmen; but they were divided among themselves, and it was as a compromise as well as under the popular compulsion, that they chose one who was not a cardinal, but at once an Italian and a native subject of the Queen of Naples—Bartholomew of Prignani, archbishop of Bari, who took the title of URBAN VI. (April 9th, 1378–Oct. 15th, 1389).

To remove all doubts of the validity of the election, it was announced to Europe and to their brethren at Avignon by the cardinals themselves (instead of by the new Pope, as usual) as their unanimous choice, under the direction of the Holy Ghost. Urban, a man of humble birth and of ascetic life, learned in Church law and devoted to the study of Holy Scripture, had the reputation of humility, compassion, and disinterested equity. But he bore his elevation badly, at once announcing violent and impolitic reforms, and provoking the cardinals by his harsh mandates and his arrogant behaviour. He alienated a powerful ally in his late sovereign,

[1] Hardwick (*Ch. Hist. Mid. Age*, p. 328), who cites the remarkable testimony of Henry of Hesse (1381): "Hanc tribulationem a Deo non gratis permissam, sed *in necessariam opportunamque Ecclesiæ reformationem* finaliter convertendam." (*Consilium Pacis*, in Von der Hardt's *Consil. Constant.* ii. 1, *seq.*) Hardwick also points out that "the long duration of the schism could not fail to give an impulse, hitherto unknown, in calling up the nationality of many a western state, in satisfying it that papal rule was not essential to its welfare, and in thereby adding strength to local jurisdictions."

Joanna of Naples, by his rude reception of her husband,[1] who brought him the Queen's congratulations.

The majority of the cardinals, leaving the city one by one, assembled at Anagni, where they denounced the election of Urban as having been extorted from them by fear of death, and then, having removed to Fondi, in the Neapolitan territory, they made a new election of Cardinal Robert of Geneva, bishop of Cambray, as Pope Clement VII. (Sept. 20, 1378). The Antipope,[2] who was connected by birth with the chief princes of Europe, was 36 years old, of an enterprizing spirit, which we have already seen displayed in the Italian wars in the guise rather of a captain of mercenaries than of a Christian prelate. He proceeded to visit Joanna, with whose concurrence the election had been made; but the people of Naples, zealous for Urban as their countryman, raised the cry of "Death to the Antipope and the Queen," and Clement retired to Avignon, to become the dependent of the King of France. The University of Paris, after a contest between its "nations," pronounced in his favour (1379): Scotland, the ally of France, took the same side; while England declared for Urban, as did also Germany and Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Portugal, as well as all Italy, except Naples. Castile and Arragon, after some delay, declared for Clement.

The contest assumed very much of a national character, and an English writer of the time remarks that, but for the quarrels of nations, the schism would neither have been so lightly begun, nor kept up so long.[3] The evil was aggravated by the want of any master-mind among the sovereigns of Europe; for at this very crisis the crowns of England, France, and Germany, passed from able and experienced rulers to young and feeble successors.[4] But far deeper than these outward influences was the working of those internal forces, which had already come to a head in the open

[1] Otho, duke of Brunswick, was Joanna's fourth husband.

[2] Antipope, that is to say, according to the Roman authorities; but the legitimacy of the Popes at Avignon (Clement VII. and Benedict XIII.) is maintained by the Gallican divines, and no decision was given by the Councils held for the express purpose of healing the schism. The Pope appointed by the Council of Pisa, Alexander V., obtained a sort of acknowledgment by the fact that the next Pope of that name was numbered as Alexander VI., while, on the other hand, the names of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. have been borne by later Popes.

[3] Richard of Ulverstone, *ap.* Von der Hardt, i. 1170.

[4] In England, Edward III. was succeeded by Richard II. in 1377; in Germany and Bohemia, Charles IV. was followed by his son Wenzel or Wenceslaus, a weak debauchee (1378); in France, the able King Charles V. was replaced (1380) by his son Charles VI., a boy of fourteen, whose imbecility left the realm a prey to factions and an English conquest.

demands for a thorough reformation in England[1] and Bohemia, when the schism bore its own witness against the claims of either pontiff to universal authority. To all these movements the stimulus of practical grievances was added by the gross exactions begun by Avignon and soon outstripped by Rome. It was in vain that the University of Paris, feeling the national disgrace of Clement's proceedings, proposed that the dispute should be decided by a General Council. Both Popes professed their readiness to accept the judgment of a Council, but each demanded the submission of his rival as a prior condition.

§ 2. Urban VI. succeeded in re-establishing his authority in the Papal States by the aid of a native mercenary force, which broke up the Breton and Gascon free companies.[2] To avenge himself on the Queen of Naples, he used all his temporal and spiritual power in aid of her kinsman, Charles of Durazzo, by whom Joanna was dethroned (1381), and, as was believed, murdered in her prison (1382). As Charles was slow in complying with the Pope's extravagant claims, Urban went to Naples, against the advice of his cardinals, on whose company he insisted with a fury that raised doubts of his sanity (1383). Charles received him with high honour, but kept a strict guard on his movements; and, when Urban proceeded to more and more arbitrary acts of authority, he found himself a prisoner at Nocera (1384). Here his self-will and violence became so intolerable, even to the cardinals of his own creation, that they framed a design for putting him in charge of curators. The plot was betrayed, and a confession was extracted by torture from six cardinals, who were half starved in a narrow loathsome dungeon. At length Urban was aided to escape, and sailed to Genoa, where five of the six captive cardinals were secretly put to death.[3] Having quarrelled with his protector, the Doge,

[1] The epoch of Wyclif's appearance as a reformer may be dated from his establishment in the rectory of Lutterworth in 1375; and it was in the year which ended the Babylonian Captivity that he was summoned before the Archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's (1377). See Chap. XXXIX., and for Hus and Bohemia, Chap. XL.

[2] An incident of this campaign was the ruin of Hadrian's splendid Mausoleum on the Tiber, which had been turned into the chief fortress of Rome, and named the *Castle of St. Angelo*. Being held by the party of the cardinals, it was now first assailed with cannon; and, after its capture by the papal forces, it was stripped of its marble facings and ornaments. (See the vignette on p. 136.)

[3] On the murder of Charles in Hungary (1386), whither he had gone to secure the crown on the death of Louis, Urban refused to invest his son Ladislaus in the kingdom of Naples; thus playing into the hands of his rival Clement, who supported the claim of Louis of Anjou. Naples fell into anarchy, till Boniface IX. recognized Ladislaus (1389). In

Urban removed to Lucca (1386), and thence to Perugia; and, compelled to leave that city by his nephew's infamous licence, he returned to Rome in August, 1388. His cold reception by the people, and the need of replenishing his coffers, suggested the popular expedient of a Jubilee; and from his tender regard for those who found the interval of fifty years too long, Urban discovered a more sacred precedent in the thirty-three years of our Saviour's life on earth. But the appointed date of 1390 was anticipated by his own death (Oct. 15th, 1389). The cardinals at Rome elected Cardinal Peter Tomacelli as BONIFACE IX. (1389–1404), a man in the prime of life, who is described as possessed of some showy personal qualities, but wanting in learning and knowledge of affairs.

§ 3. Urban had the one merit of abstaining from the gross exactions and simony which his rival carried to an outrageous length. Europe had now to support two papal courts, and the burthen fell most oppressively on the West, where Clement surrounded himself with no less than 36 cardinals. The papal claim to present to all benefices was enforced wherever it was possible, and a new extension of it was devised by the *Gratiæ exspectativæ*, conferring the reversion of a benefice. The utmost use was made of existing forms of exaction, such as the tithes of vacant benefices, the *annates* and *jus exuviarum*, and all kinds of dispensations. The sale of appointments to the most unfit persons, in the schools as well as the Church, was ruinous alike to religion and learning, and the University of Paris was deserted by its students. The resources thus raised were partly expended in purchasing the support of princes and nobles. The King of France endeavoured to check these abuses by a royal edict (1385) and by new taxation of the clergy; and in England they provoked the famous statutes of *Præmunire*, imposing the penalties of outlawry on any who should bring in papal bulls or instruments for the translation of bishops and the like purposes (1389 and 1393).[1]

§ 4. At Rome the influence of the elder cardinals restrained Boni-

Northern Italy, the weakness of the Roman court threw the chief power into the hands of the politic and unscrupulous John Galeazzo Visconti, who had poisoned his uncle Bernabo (1383).

[1] 13 Ric. II. st. ii. c. 2, 3; 16 Ric. II. c. 5. The latter, which is usually called the Statute of Præmunire, was enrolled at the desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. The former statute was especially directed against the bringing in of excommunications against those who enforced the equally famous *Statute of Provisors* (25 Edw. III. st. 6, 1351), which made it penal to secure any presentation to benefices from the court of Rome. (Comp. Chap. XVI. § 7.) Another statute (27 Edw. III. c. 1) visited the carrying appeals to Rome with outlawry.

face from the like practices during his first seven years, after which he far outstript even Clement in unblushing simony and multiplied exactions.[1] In 1390 Boniface held the Jubilee proclaimed by Urban, and, after an absence caused by dissensions with the citizens, he returned to Rome, at their request, to celebrate the greater jubilee of the end of the century (1400). Both festivals were well attended, and even the French flocked to the second, in spite of the King's prohibition. The great profits drawn from these multitudes were increased by the indulgences granted in lieu of the pilgrimage. Besides what was retained for the Pope's use, means were thus provided for restoring the churches and fortifications of Rome, and for recovering portions of the papal territory, so that Boniface was more powerful than any of his predecessors for a considerable time.

§ 5. While Boniface, thus strengthened, endeavoured by repeated letters to detach the King of France from Clement, the University of Paris made a vigorous effort to end the schism. Having, at the beginning of 1394, obtained permission[2] to declare their opinion, and having collected the opinions of the academic body, they drew up a judgment suggesting three ways of settlement: either, that both Popes should abdicate; or, that they should agree on the choice of a council of arbitration; or, that the question should be referred to a General Council. This judgment, drawn up by Nicolas of Clamenges, who was styled the Cicero of his age, assisted by the eminent doctors, Peter d'Ailly, Chancellor of Paris, and Giles Deschamps, was submitted to the King, who had now recovered (June 1394); but the party of Clement, and chiefly the Cardinal Peter de Luna, persuaded Charles to postpone his decision. Most of the cardinals at Avignon, however, were disposed to agree with the University; and, on learning this, Clement was so enraged that he died in a few days (Sept. 16, 1394).

The letters of Charles, desiring the cardinals not to make a hasty

[1] For the details, see Robertson (vol. iv. pp. 169 f.), and especially the extracts in Gieseler (iv. 100 f.) from the very important treatise, *De Ruina Ecclesiæ* or *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu* (A.D. 1401), commonly, though very questionably, ascribed to Nicolas of Clamenges (printed in Hardt, *Conc. Const.* I. pt. iii.). This writer gives another example of the use of apocalyptic imagery in tracing all the evils resulting from the schism to the Popes and their courts: "Sed me præterire non decet, quantam et quam abominabilem fornicationem Papa et hi sui fratres cum sæculi principibus inierint." Ample evidence to the same corruptions is borne by the works of another contemporary, Theodoric of Niem, *De Schismate*, and *Nomus Unionis* (printed at Strassburg, 1629).

[2] From the Duke of Berri, who was in power during one of the King's attacks of derangement. Above 10,000 papers are said to have been thrown into the chest which was placed to receive the opinions of the members of the University.

election, found them just assembling in conclave. On this pretext the King's letters were left unopened, and the Cardinal di Luna was elected as Benedict XIII. (Sept. 28, 1394). This able and obstinate Spaniard had been from the first most active in the cause of Clement, and had won over Castile to his side. Still he had professed a desire to heal the schism; and he was now under an oath, which all the cardinals had taken before the election, to do his utmost for that object, even by resigning if the college required it. But he had taken the precaution to declare that the oath could not bind the Pope, except so far as every Catholic was bound by right and conscience;[1] and his real purpose was afterwards expressed by the pithy phrase, that "he would rather be flayed alive than resign." It was in this temper that he received a mission, headed by the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Orleans, conveying to him the judgment of a great national council of the prelates, monastic orders, and Universities, that both Popes should resign (June 1395).[2] The sovereigns and Universities of Europe were called on for their opinions. Germany leaned to the side of Boniface. In England, Oxford declared for a Council; but King Richard wrote to both Popes, advising their resignation. At a meeting at Reims, Charles V. and Wenceslaus agreed to enforce that measure, each on the Pope he had before supported; but, in answer to this resolution, each Pope required the other to resign first.

At length another national council at Paris decided, by 247 votes out of 300, to withdraw support from Benedict (July 1398). A royal edict forbad obedience to him, and he was besieged at Avignon by the marshal of France, from April 1399 to March 1403, when he made his escape down the Rhone into Provence, the territory of Louis of Sicily. Meanwhile events had changed in his favour. The deposition of Richard II. (1399)[3] was followed by that of Wenceslaus (1400) and the election of RUPERT, Count Palatine of the Rhine, as King of the Romans, which was confirmed by

[1] "Whatsoever promises might be made [at elections], the Pope could never be bound by the oaths of the Cardinal." (Gibbon, vi. 397.)

[2] Adopted by 87 votes to 22, and approved by the King. The cause of Benedict was espoused by the Dominicans, who had been excluded from the University of Paris for their rejection of the Immaculate Conception, and also by the University of Toulouse. When Benedict deprived his opponents at Paris of their preferments, the University appealed to "a future, sole, and real, pope; and when he declared appeals from the Pope to be unlawful, it repeated the act, asserting that schismatical and heretical popes were subject in life to the judgment of general councils, and after death to that of their own successors." (Robertson, vol. iv. p. 176.)

[3] In England, the schism strengthened the nationality of the Church, and Henry IV. detained the papal revenues till the dispute should be decided.

Boniface in a tone worthy of Hildebrand. In the factions at the French Court, the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, espoused the cause of Benedict; and the great leaders of the University—Peter d'Ailly, Nicolas of Clamenges,[1] and John Gerson—went over to his side. Another national assembly resolved, and the King confirmed the decision by a public solemnity, to return to the obedience of Benedict, on condition that he should resign in case of Boniface's resignation or death, and that he would speedily call a General Council and abide by its judgment (May 1403).

§ 6. The contingency speedily occurred to test his good faith. In the following year he sent a mission to his rival, proposing a personal conference; but Boniface scouted all idea of equality, and ordered Benedict's envoys to leave Rome. Provoked by this insolence, they replied, "At least our master is not a simoniac;" and Boniface, stung mortally by the taunt, fell ill and died in three days (Oct. 1, 1404). The Roman cardinals now asked the envoys if they had authority to declare the resignation of Benedict; and, on receiving a negative reply, they elected the Neapolitan Cardinal Cosmato Migliorati as INNOCENT VII. (Oct. 17, 1404); every cardinal having first taken an oath that, if elected, he would labour to heal the schism, and resign if required. This mild old man, opposed to simony and rapacity, found his attempts to reform the morals of his court overborne by the ambition and vices of his kinsmen; and his brief pontificate was one scene of trouble from the factions of Rome and the intrigues of Ladislaus of Naples.[2] He died Nov. 6, 1406.

Cardinal Angelo Corario, titular patriarch of Constantinople, a man of seventy, respected for his piety, learning, and prudence, was now elected as GREGORY XII. (1406–1409), under so binding a promise to heal the schism, by resignation if necessary, that he was said to be chosen rather as a proctor for resigning the Papacy than as a Pope.[3] It was on his proposal that the cardinals took this oath, which he renewed after his election; but Theodoric of Niem, who held an office at his court, calls him a wolf in sheep's clothing. In a letter to Benedict he likened himself to the Hebrew mother, who would rather give up her child than see it cut in twain; and he only feared not to live long enough to fulfil his purpose. But, in fact, there were more immediate obstacles in the cupidity of his nephews

[1] Nicolas became Benedict's private secretary. "It was with reluctance that he consented, and he expresses joy at being released from the service, although he speaks with gratitude of the Pope's considerate behaviour towards him. The tone of the papal court, he says, was better than that of secular courts." (*Epist.* 14, 54. Robertson, vol. iv. p. 179.)

[2] For the details, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 181–2.

[3] Leonardus Arretinus, 925; Robertson, vol. iv. p. 182.

and the ambition of Ladislaus of Naples. Benedict responded by proposing a personal interview, for which both set out, but with such delays as to provoke a comparison to a land and sea animal proposing to meet, but each refusing to leave its own element.

§ 7. Meanwhile the French had again lost patience with Benedict, who was deprived of his chief friend by the murder of the Duke of Orleans (Nov. 1407); and he gave fresh provocation by two Bulls against his opponents (April 1408). Another great national assembly burnt the Bulls, and declared "Peter de Luna" guilty of heresy and schism, and he only escaped imprisonment by a flight to Perpignan (May). At this same time Gregory, at Lucca, quarrelled with his cardinals, who withdrew to Pisa, and proceeded to meet Benedict's cardinals at Leghorn. The two parties agreed to summon a Council to meet at Pisa in the following year, and the design was approved by the Universities of Paris, Bologna, and Florence. In their letters to the princes and universities, the cardinals of each party drew the most odious character of the Pope they had hitherto supported; but, as Milman observes,[1] "the mutual fear and mistrust of the rival Popes was their severest condemnation. These grey-headed Prelates, each claiming to be the representative of Christ upon earth, did not attempt to disguise from the world, that neither had the least reliance on the truth, honour, justice, religion, of the other." While refusing to abdicate their high dignity, they stripped it of all respect in the eyes of Christendom, at the very crisis of a wide-spread and growing demand for a thorough reform of the Church "in head and members." All this strengthened the conviction that the time had come to fall back on the ancient mode of taking the judgment of the Church in a General Council.

§ 8. This course was advocated with great effect by a doctor whose name now becomes conspicuous, JOHN CHARLIER, surnamed GERSON, from the village in Champagne where he was born (1363). Having studied at Paris under Peter d'Ailly and Giles Deschamps, he succeeded the former as Chancellor and professor of theology in 1395. The counsel he now gave was the more weighty from his former adhesion to Benedict and his unpopular opposition to the extreme course taken by the national council in 1406. In the works[2] which he contributed towards the closing of the schism,

[1] *Latin Christianity*, vol. viii. p. 108.

[2] Especially his *Considerationes de Pace*, a sermon preached before Benedict XIII. (Jan. 1, 1404), and his tracts, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* (1409), and *De Auferibilitate Papæ*. See the copious extracts in Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 116–121). Though Gerson thus helped to pave the way for the Council, he was not present at that of Pisa; but he was a chief leader in

Gerson fell back on the original idea of the Church, maintaining that its authority resided in *the Catholic body*, and, practically, in a General Council as its representative. "He supposed that, although the power of convoking General Councils had in later times been exercised by the Popes alone, the Church might resume it in certain circumstances; that this might be properly done in the case of a division between rival Popes; and that, in such a case, a Council might be summoned, not only by the cardinals, but by *faithful laymen*. He held that, in case of necessity, the Church could subsist for a time without a visible head; he greatly mitigated the pretensions which had been set up on behalf of the Papacy; and, on the whole he expressed, far more distinctly than any one who had written since the appearance of the False Decretals, that theory of the Church to which the name of Gallican has been given in later times."[1] Others found the root of the whole evil in the discord between the Empire and the Papacy, and regretted the time when the Emperor could convene a General Council, so as to strangle a schism in its birth.[2] But now, strange to say, the only appeal to that lost power was made by Gregory XII. to Rupert,[3] who had promised to support him, but who found himself unable to refuse sending representatives to Pisa, though chiefly to oppose the proceedings. It was in vain that each Pope made a futile attempt to anticipate the Council by one of his own,[4]—called, with deserved contempt, *Conciliabules*. The only sovereigns who refused to send

that of Constance. Of his theology we have to speak further in connection with the Mystics (see Chap. XXXIII.).

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 189.

[2] Theod. a Niem, *de Schismate*, iii. 7, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 117–8.

[3] Rupert's claim to the Empire was still contested by the partisans of Wenceslaus, and when Rupert's envoys withdrew from the Council, after a vain effort for its adjournment, the Council recognised Wenceslaus, but without any practical effect.

[4] Benedict's "hasty, but somewhat imposing assembly" at Perpignan, composed of bishops from Spain, Savoy, Lorraine, and a few from France (Nov. 1408–March 1409), dissolved in discord, and the small remnant advised him to abdicate and send envoys to Pisa, but their final decisions are a very obscure question. Benedict is said to have treated the bishops with contemptuous harshness. "He certainly retired to the strong fortress of Peñiscola, and there in sullen dignity awaited the event." (Milman, viii. p. 112.) Gregory was unable even to obtain a place for his assembly till after the meeting of the Council of Pisa, when the authorities of Venice, his native state, allowed his Council to be held in a remote corner of their territory, at Ciudad or Cividale, in the Friuli (June–Sept. 1409). It was scantily attended, and without any result. Florence, the state in which Pisa was situated, held a Council of its own, which condemned both Popes. Pisa had been sold by its Doge to its old enemies, the Florentines, three years before.

representatives to Pisa were the Kings of Castile and Arragon, as adherents of Benedict, and Ladislaus of Naples, who supported Boniface as the instrument of his own ambition, and from enmity to Florence.

§ 9. On the appointed Lady Day, 1409, the Council[1] met in the splendid Italian cathedral of PISA.[2] "Among those who took part in it (although many of them did not arrive until later) were twenty-two cardinals and four titular patriarchs, with archbishops, bishops, abbots (including the heads of the chief religious orders), envoys of many sovereign princes, representatives of cathedral chapters, and a host of masters and doctors, who represented the powerful influence of the Universities."[3] The choice of Cardinal Peter Philargi, archbishop of Milan, to preach the opening sermon, proved a presage of the chief act of the Council. The rival Popes were summoned, and pronounced contumacious for non-attendance. The charges against them were stated, and the evidence examined by a commission; and, after a recital of the judgments of Universities[4] in favour of the course proposed, both were declared notorious schismatics and heretics, guilty of perjury and incorrigible obstinacy, rejected of God and cut off from the Church, and by their enormous iniquities and excesses unworthy of all honour and dignity, especially of the Supreme Pontificate, which was accordingly pronounced vacant, and all Christians were absolved from obedience to them (June 5).

§ 10. A leading principle of the Council was the full admission of the need of reform "in head and members;" and, before proceeding to a new election, each of the Cardinals pledged himself that, should he be chosen, he would continue the Council till it effected "a due, seasonable, and sufficient reformation."[5] Balthasar Cossa, who had taken an active part in the Council, might have secured the tiara,

[1] Sometimes called the 16th Œcumenical Council, but Roman Catholic divines are not unanimous as to its authority and the legitimacy of Alexander V. Bellarmine pronounces the council *nec approbatum nec reprobatum.* The best recent authorities reject it as not convened by a Pope.

[2] See Milman's vivid description of the scene, and full enumeration of the members of the Council (*Latin Christianity*, viii. 113–115). The four *titular* patriarchs were those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Grado; but it should be remembered that the three imposing eastern titles, as well as that of Constantinople, were borne by Latin bishops. Of the English representatives, the most distinguished and active was Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, who declared that he had authority from Henry IV. to consent to whatever the Council might determine for promoting unity.

[3] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 190.

[4] Namely, of Paris, Angers, Orleans, Toulouse, Bologna, and Florence.

[5] It seems not superfluous to point out the use by the Roman Catholic Church itself of a word afterwards regarded as so hateful, and, what is much more, the recognition of the idea which that word embodies.

but he preferred that it should be worn, *for a time*, by one who was his tool. The election was duly conducted by the twenty-two cardinals present, who, after being eleven days in conclave, elected Cardinal Peter Philargi as ALEXANDER V. (June 26). He was a Greek, born in Candia, but had never known his parents or any other relation. The child, found by a Franciscan friar begging his bread, was received into the order, and educated at Paris and Oxford. Having become tutor to the sons of John Galeazzo Visconti, he was made through his influence Bishop of Vicenza and Novara, and Archbishop of Milan. He was now above 70 years old; of high repute for theological learning. But he had faults which soon disappointed the hopes which he was called to fulfil. The advice, which Gerson addressed to him on the duties of his office, was disregarded; and, instead of at once proceeding with the promised reformation, he postponed it for another Council, to be held three years later, and dissolved the Council of Pisa on the 7th of August, 1409. Its great result had been to strike a mortal blow at the foundations of the papal authority, by the deposition of two Popes on other grounds than invalid election, and by setting a General Council above the Holy See.[1] "Each party of the Cardinals had concurred in the election of one or other of the Popes; they could not take that ground without impugning their own authority. If the Schism imperceptibly undermined the Papal power in public estimation, the General Council might seem to shake it to its base."[2] Nor had the main purpose of healing the Schism been yet accomplished. Both Benedict, from his fastness at Peñiscola, and Gregory from the refuge he had found with Ladislaus,[3] refused submission and anathematized the Council; the former was still recognized by France and Scotland, the latter by some of the German bishops and the lesser states of Italy, while the King of Naples gave him armed support. Hence, in a work of the time, the Church was made to complain that the Council had only exchanged her bigamy for three husbands.[4]

[1] Gieseler (vol. iv. p. 119) points out that, after the Council of Pisa, "the Canonists vied with each other in demonstrating this new opinion, so injurious to the Papacy, of the superiority of General Councils to the Pope, and thus the papal system of the last century seemed to be threatened with total overthrow."

[2] Milman, viii. 120.

[3] After holding his council, Gregory had repaired to Gaëta, in the territory of Ladislaus, to whom he is said to have sold his rights of sovereignty in Rome and the Papal States.

[4] "Bivira fueram et triviram fecerunt." A dialogue between Christ and the Church, in imitation of Boëthius *de Consol.*, by Th. de Vrie, printed in Hardt's *Hist. Conc. Const.* i. 148. Others likened the Church to a three-headed Cerberus.

He might have said, a multitude, for the easy disposition of Alexander made him a tool in the hands of his order. The Franciscans filled all places at his court, and in order to provide for the vast number of applicants, he multiplied offices till they fell into contempt. Thus the order supplied that want of kindred which kept him free from nepotism; and, being equally free from avarice and too good-natured to refuse, he lavished gifts till he said of himself that, having been rich as a bishop, and poor as a cardinal, he was a beggar as Pope. His first act of authority was to throw down a new apple of discord by granting the four orders of Mendicant Friars the privilege most obnoxious to the secular clergy, of hearing confessions, giving absolution, and administering the sacraments everywhere, independently of bishops and parish priests; to whose injury was added the insult of requiring them to read the Bull in their churches on pain of excommunication.[1] Even the Dominicans and Carmelites refused the privileges, which were accepted by the Franciscans and Augustinians. The University of Paris, led by Gerson, replied by expelling these two orders,[2] and obtained from the King an edict, forbidding the parochial clergy to allow the Mendicants to hear confessions or to preach in their churches.

While Alexander remained at Pisa, Ladislaus took possession of Rome in the name of Gregory. Louis of Anjou, the rival of Ladislaus, and his enemies the Florentines, aided Cardinal Balthasar Cossa, legate of Bologna, to retake the city for Alexander, to whom the Romans sent their keys. But the Pope, who was under the control of Balthasar Cossa, joined him at Bologna, where he died, not without suspicion of poison,[3] on the 3rd of May 1410; and on the 16th a conclave of seventeen cardinals elected Cossa as Pope: "a man," says Archbishop Trench, "than whom it would have been difficult to select an abler or a worse. He took the name of John XXIII.[4]

[1] This Bull, "Regnans in excelsis," overruled no less than seven edicts of former Popes. It likewise authorized the Mendicants to receive tithes. It was revoked by his successor, John XXIII. Respecting the whole question, see the subsequent account of the Franciscans (Chap. XXV.).

[2] Affecting to doubt its genuineness, they sent a mission to Rome, to require a sight of the Bull itself, which was disavowed to the envoys by the Cardinals, by whose advice it professed to have been issued.

[3] One of the Articles preferred against John XXIII. at Constance alleged the murder of his predecessor by his machinations as a thing asserted, reputed, and believed.

[4] Some call him John XXII. See p. 92. The legitimacy both of Alexander V. and John XXIII. is involved in that of the Council; and the most consistent opinion holds that Gregory XII. was the true Pope from 1406 to his resignation in 1415.

Hall of the Kaufhaus, in which the Council of Constance was held.

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT PAPAL SCHISM.—PART II.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND END OF THE SCHISM. A.D. 1410 TO 1418.

§ 1. Character and Career of JOHN XXIII. § 2. His first acts as Pope—Contest with Ladislaus of Naples—A Council at Rome condemns Wyclif—John driven from the City. § 3. The Emperor SIGISMUND—His Character. § 4. He resolves to call a Council—The Pope consents—Place of meeting at *Constance*. § 5. Death of Ladislaus—John and Frederick of Austria—Arrival of the Pope and JOHN HUS at Constance. § 6. Assembling of the Council—Its numbers and motley attendants. § 7. The leaders: Zabarella; Peter d'Ailly; John Gerson; Robert Hallam—*Reform in Head and Members*—Character and Limits of this demand. § 8. The *Sixteenth (Latin) Œcumenical Council*—The last that can claim the title—Its Opening, and threefold purpose—Policy of the Pope: to deal first with Heresy—Hus committed to custody. § 9. Arrival of the Emperor—Cardinal d'Ailly's Sermon: the Sun, Moon, and Stars. § 10. Sigismund's first acts—He gives up Hus—Doctrine of *No Faith with Heretics*. § 11. The Pope's scheme frustrated—Mode of voting—The *Four Nations*. § 12. Proceedings against the Pope—His Flight and Return—The 70 charges—Deposition of John XXIII.—Resignation of Gregory XII.—Resistance and deposition

of Benedict XIII.—End of the Forty Years' Schism. § 13. Divisions in the Council—Henry (afterwards Cardinal) Beaufort—Election of Pope MARTIN V. § 14. His Character and first acts—Abuses restored—The *Concordats* instead of a general reform. § 15. Affair of Jean Petit and tyrannicide—His condemnation annulled by Martin V.—The *three Johns* dealt with by the Council—Exile and end of Gerson. § 16. Decrees in place of Reformation—The Emperor and Pope—End and failure of the Council.

§ 1. JOHN XXIII. (1410–1416) is characterized by Milman[1] as "another of those Popes the record of whose life, by its contradictions, moral anomalies, almost impossibilities, perplexes and baffles the just and candid historian. That such, even in those times, should be the life even of an Italian Churchman, and that after such a life he should ascend to the Papacy, shocks belief; yet the record of that life not merely rests on the concurrent testimony of all the historians of the time, two of them secretaries to the Roman Courts,[2] but is avouched by the deliberate sanction of the Council of Constance to articles which contained all the darkest charges of the historians, and to some of which John himself had pleaded guilty."

Born of a noble Neapolitan family, his early clerical profession did not restrain him from taking part in the piratical warfare between the Hungarian and Provençal fleets about Naples;[3] and he then acquired the habit of sleeping in the day and keeping awake during the night. While studying, or affecting to study, the Canon Law at Bologna, he obtained the favour of Gregory IX., who made him archdeacon of that city, and afterwards the papal chamberlain at Rome. For his own profit, as well as the Pope's, he became the unscrupulous agent of Gregory's simony and extortion, of which he

[1] *Latin Christianity*, viii. pp. 128–9.

[2] These two chief authorities are: Leonardus Arretinus, private secretary to Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXIII., and afterwards Chancellor of Florence (*ob.* 1444), *Rerum suo tempore in Italia gestarum Commentarius ab anno* 1378 *usque ad annum* 1440 (in Muratori, xix. p. 909 f.); and Theodoricus a Niem, secretary to John XXIII., in his work *De Schismate*, his *Vita Johannis XXIII.*, and *Invectiva in diffugientem a Const. Concil.* (in Meibomius, *Rerum German. Script.*, and Von der Hardt, *Concil. Const.*) Niem is bitterly hostile to John; but most of his charges are confirmed by the Acts of the Council of Constance, for which see Mansi, vol. xxvii., D'Achery, i. p. 828 f., and Von der Hardt: also Jacques Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pisa, et de ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable depuis ce Concile jusqu'au Concile de Constance*, Amst. 1724.

[3] The condemnation of his two brothers to death by Ladislaus, as pirates, though they were saved by the intercession of Boniface IX., embittered his hatred of the King.

devised new and ingenious methods. To him is ascribed the enormous development of the public sale of Indulgences by priests and friars throughout Europe;[1] and a case is recorded of his plundering one of these papal merchants of the proceeds of his traffic.[2] Returning to Bologna as Cardinal and Legate, he ruled the city for nearly nineteen years "with as absolute and unlimited dominion as the tyrant of any other of the Lombard or Romagnese commonwealths. Balthasar Cossa, if hardly surpassed in extortion and cruelty by the famous Eccelino, by his debaucheries might have put to shame the most shameless of the Viscontis." He took an active part in the Council of Pisa, and was one of those named for the Papacy, but he found it more convenient to use the respectable Franciscan as his tool; till the time came to "remove" Alexander and secure his own election by his power over the conclave held at Bologna. "The pirate, tyrant, adulterer, violator of nuns, became the successor of St. Peter, the Vicegerent of Christ upon earth."[3]

§ 2. The first acts of John XXIII. confirmed the worst corruptions that were prevalent,[4] and anathematized his two rivals and the King of Naples. The Crusade which he proclaimed against Ladislaus was supported by the arms of Louis of Anjou, who gained a great victory at Rocca Secca (May 17th, 1411), but, failing to force the passes of the Apennines, retired to Provence, leaving the Pope to deal alone with Naples. John had meanwhile entered Rome, where he celebrated the victory with insults against Ladislaus, and soon made the people repent of the welcome they had given him. He now found it necessary to purchase peace with a large sum of money, besides disallowing the claims of Louis to Naples and of Peter of Arragon to Sicily, and making Ladislaus standard-bearer of Rome[5] (June 1412). In affected compliance with the promises given at Pisa, the Pope now summoned at St. Peter's the mere

[1] "On their arrival at a city, they exhibited a banner with the Papal arms, the keys of St. Peter, from the windows of their inn. They entered the principal church, took their seats before the altar, the floor strewed with rich carpets, and, under awnings of silk to keep off the flies, exhibited to the wondering people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Priests and Bishops, their precious wares. 'I have heard them,' writes the biographer of John XXIII., 'declare that St. Peter himself had not greater power to remit sins than themselves' (Niem, p. 7)." Milman, vol. viii. p. 130.

[2] This person, seemingly a creature of Cossa's, who was then legate at Bologna, was seized by him on his arrival at that city, and thrown into prison, where he hanged himself in despair.

[3] Niem, ap. Milman, ibid. p. 133.

[4] For the details see Niem and Peter d'Ailly, quoted by Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 283 f.

[5] Gregory XII., expelled from Gaeta, took refuge with Charles Malatesta at Rimini.

mockery of a Council, which only deserves a mention for its condemnation and burning of Wyclif's writings (Feb. 1413).[1] The treaty was soon broken on account of the exactions which John attempted in Naples, and he had to fly before Ladislaus (June), who entered and pillaged the city, and overran the Papal States as far as Siena, threatening the Pope's safety even at Bologna. John had now, most unwillingly, to seek a new protector in Sigismund, the Emperor-elect.

§ 3. On the death of Rupert, in 1410, the imperial schism was prolonged for a while by the partisans of Wenceslaus, of his brother SIGISMUND,[2] and of Jobst (or Jodocus), marquis of Moravia, whose rivalry was ended by his death in about a year.[3] Sigismund was then unanimously reëlected, his deposed brother voting for him (July 1411). "He was the most powerful Emperor who for many years had worn the crown of Germany, and the one unoccupied sovereign in Europe.[4] . . . Sigismund, as Emperor, had redeemed the follies, vices, tyrannies of his youth; . . . he seemed almost at once transformed into the greatest sovereign whom the famous house of Luxemburg had ever offered to wear the imperial crown. . . . He enacted and put into execution wise laws. He made peace by just mediation between the conflicting principalities. He was averse to war, but not from timidity. His stately person, his knightly manners, his accomplishments, his activity which bordered on restlessness, his magnificence, which struggled, sometimes to his humiliation, with his scanty means, had cast an unwonted and imposing grandeur, which might recal the great days of the Othos, the Henrys, and the Fredericks, around the imperial throne."[5]

§ 4. As King of Hungary, Sigismund had acknowledged John

[1] For the strange incident of the owl, which on two successive days flew into the church, and sat glaring at the Pope, see Milman, vol. viii. p. 135.

[2] SIGISMUND (b. 1366) was the second son of the Emperor Charles IV., on whose death (1378) he succeeded to the marquisate of Brandenburg. Having married Maria, the daughter of Louis, King of Hungary, in 1386, he was recognized as King next year; but he had a hard struggle to maintain himself against Ladislaus and internal conspiracies, and afterwards against the Turks under Bajazet, whose great victory at Nicopolis (1396) made Sigismund a fugitive for 18 months. This earlier period of his life was sullied by his love of pleasure and the cruelties provoked by the frequent conspiracies against him. Wenceslaus reigned in Bohemia till his death.

[3] He is said to have been 90 years old.

[4] France, distracted by the factions striving for power in the name of the lunatic King, Charles VI., was already threatened with the invasion, which soon gave occupation to all the strength of England. The visit of Sigismund to Henry V. at London (in 1415, after the battle of Agincourt) is memorable for his full admission of England's independence of the Empire. (See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 187.)

[5] Milman, vol. viii. pp. 139–140.

XXIII., with whom he had a common interest against the claims of Ladislaus.[1] At his election he had sworn to the Archbishop of Mainz that he would receive the crown from no rival Pope. But he was above all things desirous of healing the schism of the Church; and now, after the long triumph of papal supremacy, the imperial right of convening a General Council, after the example of Constantine, was not only revived, but put in force.[2] This decisive act was urged upon the Emperor by Catholic reformers throughout Christendom; and Gerson, in the name of the French Church and State, whose own strenuous efforts had failed, told him that it was a duty of his office, not to be neglected without mortal sin. John empowered his envoys to consent to this indispensable condition of the Emperor's support, but with a secret reservation, of which his secretary, Leonard of Arezzo, informs us in the very words which the Pope used to him:[3] "All depends on the place appointed for the Council: I will not trust myself within the dominions of the Emperor. My ambassadors, for the sake of appearances, shall have liberal instructions and the fullest powers, to display in public; in private I will limit them to certain cities." But at the moment of their departure, whether from a fit of confidence, or from fear of losing all, or in sheer finesse leaving the game to them, he tore up the secret instructions; and, on their meeting the Emperor at Como, they consented to the choice he had made of CONSTANCE.[4]

[1] Besides his competition for the crown of Hungary, Ladislaus appears to have aspired to the Empire.

[2] On the significance of this step at the particular crisis, Mr. Bryce observes (pp. 303-4):—"The tenet commended itself to the reforming party in the Church, headed by Gerson, whose aim it was, while making no changes in matters of faith, to correct the abuses which had grown up in discipline and government, and limit the power of the Popes by exalting the authority of General Councils, to whom there was now attributed an infallibility superior to that which resided in the successor of St. Peter. . . . The existence of the Holy Roman Empire and the existence of General Councils were necessary parts of one and the same theory, and it was therefore more than a coincidence, that the last occasion, on which the whole of Latin Christendom met to deliberate and act as a single Commonwealth, was also the last on which that Commonwealth's lawful temporal head appeared in the exercise of his international functions. Never afterwards was he in the eyes of Europe *anything more than a German monarch.*" Mr. Bryce adds the remark on the relations between the Emperor and Councils:—"It is not without interest to observe, that the *Council of Basel* showed signs of reciprocating imperial care by *claiming those very rights over the Empire*, to which the Popes were accustomed to pretend."

[3] Leonard. Arret. *s. a.* 1413. The envoys were the Cardinal Challant and Zabarella, Cardinal of Florence.

[4] In German *Konstanz* or *Kostanz*, from the Latin Constantia, so named from the Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, having been formerly called Gannodurum. *Bodensee* is the proper German name of the lake, anciently called

[illegible] western shore of the Lake [illegible] great bend by which it encom- [illegible] was admirably adapted for [illegible] and a salubrious air, it [illegible] heart of Germany, and by [illegible] while needful supplies could [illegible] The Pope's objection to the [illegible] with still great force [illegible] It was in vain that he [illegible] of a place, and tried to [illegible] at Lodi, where he was [illegible] with Sigismund's [illegible] scandalized Christen- [illegible] the Council had already gone [illegible] temporal head of Christen- [illegible] issue his summons, as if [illegible] See (Dec. 9). Both fixed [illegible] in the following year; [illegible] Gregory to attend, but [illegible] his edict promised his full [illegible] guaranteed the rights of [illegible]

[illegible] attack from Ladislaus in [illegible] was seized with illness at [illegible] (Aug. 1414). This [illegible] the decision to which the [illegible] pressed him to go to Rome [illegible] warning. "You may set [illegible] private man." But his [illegible] Emperor and Christen- [illegible] misgivings. On his way [illegible] Frederick of Austria, the

[illegible] Brigantii on its north- [illegible] position of Constance is at the point where [illegible] into the smaller lake called the [illegible] from which the river goes westward past Schaffhausen. It must be remembered that the Swiss confederacy did not yet include the region in which Constance stands. In fact, to the present day, the city preserves its connection with Germany, belonging to the duchy of Baden. It has about 12,000 inhabitants.

[1] Milman observes (vol. vii., p. 145) that "it is among the inexplicable problems of his life, that some of the Cardinals whom he promoted were men of profound piety, as well as learning and character. . . . Their urgency might seem a guarantee for their loyalty. . . . In all Councils, according to the ordinary form of suffrage, the Pope and the Cardinals had maintained commanding authority."

hereditary enemy of the house of Luxemburg, on whom the Pope conferred honours and gifts, while Frederick promised his support in case of need, and, at all events, a safe retreat from Constance.[1] Among other friends, John reckoned on the Duke of Burgundy, the Marquis of Baden, and the Archbishop of Mainz, Primate of Germany. Most of all, perhaps, he counted on the great treasures he carried with him, to secure support in the Council itself. Yet he was haunted by misgivings and omens. As he descended the steep slope of the Arlberg, the upsetting of his sledge in the snow provoked a curse on the evil prompting of the journey;[2] and when he looked down upon the fair city standing at the foot of the hills, on the point between the lake and river, he ejaculated, "So are foxes caught." But the reflection might still more truly have been made on the guileless innocence of the Reformer, who walked into the trap baited with the Emperor's safe-conduct specially given to him. JOHN HUS arrived in Constance three days after the Pope (Nov. 3). Reserving the cause which brought him thither for the connected narrative of the movement for reform,[3] we shall presently see that the proceedings against him had a most essential bearing on the whole course of the Council.

§ 6. Since Midsummer the quiet Swabian town beside the lake had become the busy scene of preparation for the visitors, who had now arrived in great numbers and kept pouring in for months after the sessions began. When fully assembled, the members numbered 22 cardinals, 20 archbishops — besides the titular patriarchs of Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, who took precedence next after the Pope,—nearly 100 bishops and 33 titular bishops, 24 abbots, 250 doctors, with many secular princes and nobles, representatives of absent princes, and deputies of the free cities. Some came in splendid array, with hosts of retainers, some singly on foot, like trains of pilgrims. "With these, merchants, traders of every kind and degree, and every sort of strange vehicle. It was not only, it might seem, to be a solemn Christian Council, but a European congress, a vast central fair, where every kind of commerce was to be conducted on the boldest scale, and where chivalrous or histrionic

[1] Frederick was possessor of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg and the Black Forest, and his territory nearly surrounded Constance.

[2] *Jaceo hic in nomine diaboli*, was his response to the anxious enquiries of his attendants.

[3] See Chap. XL. Meanwhile the above sentence must not be understood as implying that Sigismund's safe-conduct was given with the least intention of breaking it. In point of fact, Hus went without waiting for the promised safe-conduct; and the exact date at which it reached him is uncertain. At all events it was before the first proceedings were taken against him on Nov. 28th, and it had been promised before he went.

or other common amusements were provided for idle hours and for idle people. It might seem a final and concentrated burst and manifestation of medieval devotion, medieval splendour, medieval diversions: all ranks, all orders, all pursuits, all professions, all trades, all artisans, with their various attire, habits, manners, language, crowded to one single city."[1] The total number of ecclesiastics and princes, with their attendants, is reckoned at 18,000; and the strangers, who overflowed the city and encamped outside of it, amounted usually to 50,000, but sometimes twice that number, with 30,000 horses.[2]

§ 7. The most eminent leaders of the Council were, on the part of the Italians, Cardinal Zabarella, archbishop of Florence; and, representing the Ultramontane[3] advocates of a reformation, Peter d'Ailly, now Cardinal Archbishop of Cambray, leader of the French prelates; John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, leader of the Doctors; and Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, who was commissioned to declare the King of England's assent to the authority of the Council.[4] The Pope had made efforts to conciliate this party by granting new privileges to the University of Paris, and sending a cardinal's hat to D'Ailly, who had published his doubts of the efficacy of a General Council.[5] Their demand for "reformation of the Church in *Head and Members*,"[6] formally adopted by the Council, pointed boldly at the Papacy itself, as the source and focus of the prevalent corruptions. But, in recognizing this Catholic precedent for the use of the word which we have lived to see scorned by

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. viii. p. 228.

[2] The history of the Council is compiled in the great work of H. von der Hardt: '*Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium ex ingenti antiquissimorum MScriptorum mole diligentissime erutum op.* H. v. d. Hardt, vi. Tom., Francof. et Lips. 1700: Tom. vii., sistens *Indicem Generalem*, congessit G. Ch. Bohnstedt, Berol. 1742.' Other works are: *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, par Jaques Lenfant, Amst. 1714 and 1727; *Nouvelle histoire du Concile de Constance*, par Bourgeoise du Chastenet, Paris, 1718. For other works, see Gieseler, iv. 286, Hefele, vii., Hase, p. 297. Important extracts are given, as usual, by Gieseler.

[3] This word is here used in its constant medieval sense; namely, *beyond the Alps*, in contrast with *Cismontane* Italy.

[4] He died at Constance during the sessions (Sept. 1417). A brass in front of the high altar of the Cathedral marks his grave.

[5] In a tract addressed to Gerson in 1410, *De Difficultate Reformationis in Concilio Universali;* answered in the *Opus de Modo uniendi ac reformandi Ecclesiam in Concil. Univers.*, ascribed to Gerson, though his authorship has been doubted (see the note in Robertson, iv. p. 257). Both tracts are printed in Gerson's works and by Von der Hardt.

[6] The formula, as it recurs in the public acts of the Council, is "generalis reformatio Ecclesiæ Dei in capite et in membris," and, more fully, "in fide et in moribus, in capite et in membris;" where *in fide* must evidently be understood, not as bringing Catholic doctrine into question, but of the casting out of heresy.

members of our own Protestant Church, we must clearly distinguish the sense in which they called for a thorough *Reformation*. This is well put by Milman:[1] "But Latin Christianity was alike the religion of the Popes and of the Councils which contested their supremacy. It was as yet no more than a sacerdotal strife, whether the Pope should maintain an irresponsible autocracy, or be limited and controlled by an ubiquitous aristocratic Senate. The most ardent reformers looked no further than to strengthen the Hierarchy. The Prelates were determined to emancipate themselves from the usurpations of the Pope, as to their elections, their arbitrary taxation by Rome, the undermining of their authority by perpetual appeals; but they had no notion of relaxing in the least the ecclesiastical domination. It was not that Christendom might govern itself, but that themselves might have a more equal share in the government. They were as jealously attached as the Pope to the creed of Latin Christendom. The Council, not the Pope, burned John Hus. Their concessions to the Bohemians were extorted from their fears, not granted by their liberality. Gerson, D'Ailly, Louis of Arles, Thomas of Corcelles, were as rigid theologians as Martin V. or Eugenius IV. The Vulgate was their Bible, the Latin service their exclusive liturgy, the Canon law their code of jurisprudence."

§ 8. Besides the distinction of having been called by the Emperor, the *Sixteenth Œcumenical Council* (according to the Latin reckoning) stands in a unique relation to all that went before, and to the few that have followed it.[2] The ancient Councils, down to the schism of the East and West, represented (in some sense) the Universal Church; while in those held since the severance the Italian element was predominant. The Council of Constance was the first that fairly represented the Western Church; and, to use the words of Mr. Bryce, "it was the last occasion on which the whole of Latin Christendom met to deliberate and act as a single Commonwealth."[3]

[1] *Latin Christianity*, vol. viii. p. 448. To make the statement complete, a more distinct recognition is required of the *lay* and *national* part in the demand for reformation.

[2] In so far as the Council of Basle shared the same character, it may be regarded as a supplement to that of Constance; but, besides its comparative numerical insignificance, its validity is still a disputed question. As to the *numbering*, see p. 146, note 1.

[3] Besides that, of course, no Protestant can concede this claim to the three remaining Councils, it is also to be observed that only the last of these (at Rome, 1870–1) fully represented the Roman Catholic world. The *Fifth Lateran* (1512–17), like former Councils at Rome, was chiefly Cismontane; and even at the famous Council of *Trent*, Italy and Spain sent by far the greater number of the Fathers who were to reorganize the Church in its resistance to the Reformation.

The Pope, as we have seen, reached Constance on the eve of the appointed Feast of All Saints (1414); but few of the Fathers had arrived; and, though the Council was solemnly opened on Nov. 5th, the first session was adjourned to the 16th. Sigismund was detained by his coronation as King of Germany, which was celebrated at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 8th; and the Italian party were for the time strong. John used the interval to "make himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," and to lay an astute plan for improving the advantage which he had as the lawful Pope under the authority of the Council of Pisa. True, the sanction of this claim, by the proposal of his Italian partisans to confirm the acts done there (Dec. 7th), was adroitly evaded by the decision to regard the present Council as only a continuation of that of Pisa; but John had what seemed a surer game. The Council had a threefold object: to end the papal schism; to reform the Church in head and members; and to extirpate heretical doctrines, especially those of Wyclif and the Bohemians. For the last purpose John Hus had been summoned to the Council; and his early arrival gave the Pope his opportunity. If the question of heresy could be taken in hand first, and dealt with effectually while John's authority was still supreme, the Reformation might be postponed, and the Pope, strengthened against his rivals and the Emperor by the honour of crushing the heresiarch, might dissolve the Council, as Alexander V., under his guidance, had dissolved that of Pisa. There was, as we have seen, no sympathy with the Husite doctrines, and the Germans had a national quarrel with the Bohemian reformers; and, according to all precedent, false doctrine was to be dealt with before discipline. When Hus arrived at Constance, though under excommunication, he was received graciously by the Pope, who is reported to have said that he "would protect Hus even if he had slain his own brother."[1] But he was followed at once by two of his bitterest enemies, and, on their accusation, he was called before the Pope and Cardinals, committed to custody, and soon after thrown into a noisome dungeon (Nov. 28 and Dec. 6).

§ 9. Before the late dawn of Christmas Day Sigismund crossed the lake to Constance, and attended mass. By a remarkable coincidence, in reading the Gospel for the day, as was his custom, his first public utterance before the Pope and Council was in the words: "*There went forth a decree from* CÆSAR AUGUSTUS!"[2] On Innocents' Day (Dec. 28th) Cardinal d'Ailly preached from the ominous text,

[1] Von der Hardt, vol. iv. p. 11:—"Etiamsi Johannes Huss fratrem sibi germanum occidisset, se tamen nullo modo commissurum, *quantum in ipso situm est*, ut aliqua ei fiat injuria, quamdiu Constantiæ esset." Perhaps the qualification was a loophole. [2] Luke ii. 1.

"There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars."[1] The two great lights were figures of the supreme spiritual and temporal powers, the Pope and the Emperor, and the numberless stars the several estates of the Church, united in the firmament of the Council, in which Christ showed signs now, as in a higher sense at His second coming. But each in his own order, as established by the Lord. There could be no reform without union, nor union without reform. John, who held his office to be indefeasible except for invalid election or heresy, was touched to the quick by being told that a Pope who had risen by ambition or evil means, who lived ill or ruled ill, was but the false image of a sun; and he seemed to be placed on a level with his rivals by the indignant likening of himself and them to three idols in the sun's house, the Church of Rome, usurping the place of the one Sun in heaven. The Emperor's place there was defined with high honour but strict limits; not to *preside* over it, but to *provide* for its good;[2] not to define spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, but to maintain its decrees by his power. The stars are to have their proper influence (the age believed in astrology): it was granted that the Council derived its authority from the Pope; but, once assembled, it was above him. The right of defining and decreeing belonged, not to him, but to the whole Council; even as St. James published the decisions of the First Council, not in the name of St. Peter, but as the decree of the Apostles and Elders and brethren, who wrote, "It seemed good *to us, being assembled* with one accord," and again "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and *to us*."[3]

§ 10. On the same day, in the first general congregation, the Emperor swore to protect the Pope; but he also insisted on the admission of the legates of Benedict and Gregory to the Council. "This was to sever the link which bound the Council of Constance to the Council of Pisa; it disclaimed the authority of Pisa, if it recognized as Popes those who had been there deposed."[4] This blow was followed by the decisive one which Sigismund dealt upon John, against his will, and to his own lasting disgrace, though still more to the teaching of the Church and the Council itself. Already, on an appeal from the friends of Hus,

[1] Luke xxi. 25: in our Lord's prophecy of his second coming.

[2] Thus we try to render the play of words: "Non ut præsit, sed ut prosit;" but *præsit* implies *power over it*, not mere *place*. It might be rendered, "not to be master, but minister."

[3] Acts xv. 23, 25, 28. We are not told what the Cardinal made of the words "the brethren," "the multitude" (v. 12), and "the whole church," who are associated with the Apostles and Elders in the decree (verse 22).

[4] Milman, vol. viii. p. 253. The election of a new Pope had already been proposed in a sermon by a Parisian divine.

the Emperor had sent an indignant order for his release, which was disregarded; and he now retired for a time from the city, threatening to withdraw from the Council. The reforming leaders urged upon him that this course would be to sacrifice the unity of the Church and his own noblest desires, nay to bring a suspicion of heresy on himself, for the sake of an enemy of the faith, with whom Popes and Councils and Canons had decreed, and the Doctors of the Church had taught, that no faith should be kept.[1] He was told that even his power did not extend to the protection of a heretic from the punishment due to his errors; that his safe-conduct did not pledge the Council, which was greater than the Emperor, and that the responsibility would rest on them. As he himself afterwards pleaded to the Bohemians, Sigismund was overcome by these importunities and the difficulties of his position; and he left John Hus to be tried and sentenced by the Council. If, as seems probable, he had also come to believe Hus politically dangerous, he reaped his reward in the disastrous civil war which raged in Bohemia for the remaining twenty years of his life, and brought ruinous disgrace on his arms.

§ 11. This sacrifice of the reformer's life and his own plighted faith restored harmony between Sigismund and the Council, and broke down John's astute plan. The prosecution of Hus's case was postponed to the more urgent settlement of the schism.[2] John's last reliance, on the influence of the Cardinals and the superior clergy, and the votes of the numerous poor Italian clergy, bound to him by interest, fear, and dislike of the Transalpines, was broken down by the mode of procedure which was adopted. First, the professors and doctors of theology, who had been admitted to vote in the Council of Pisa, had the privilege secured to them; and it was given to the proctors, and inferior clergy; also to princes and their ambassadors, except in articles of faith. But of far more importance was the adoption of the mode of voting by *Nations*, as practised in most Universities. The nations were four:

[1] As Milman says (viii. 255): "The fatal doctrine, confirmed by long usage, by the decrees of pontiffs, by the assent of all ecclesiastics, and the acquiescence of the Christian world, that no promise, no faith, was binding to a heretic, had hardly been questioned, never repudiated." It was deliberately and formally avouched by this reforming Council; and the more we admit the excuses urged for Sigismund, the more does the case of John Hus fasten the guilt of the doctrine on the theological and moral system of the Church that taught it.

[2] It was after the deposition of John XXIII. that Hus was burnt, on July 6th, 1415, and his friend, Jerome of Prague, who had joined him at Constance, suffered on May 30th, 1416. The details, and the outline the Bohemian war, are related in another place (Chap. XL.).

Italians, *Germans* (including Hungarians, Poles, and Scandinavians), *French*, and *English* (Feb. 7, 1415).[1] This arrangement, carried against the Pope's remonstrances, reduced the Italians to one vote out of four; the Germans and English being thoroughly hostile to John, as were the most influential of the French, though the factions of their country, and the great national quarrel with England, tended towards discord in the Council.[2]

§ 12. The resignation or deposition of John XXIII. was now only a question of time and manner; and it would be tedious to trace his artifices to evade the result. The secret presentation to the Council, by an Italian, of a memoir setting forth the crimes of his life, with details deemed unfit even to be read in public, came to his knowledge, and frightened him into a conditional promise of abdication simultaneously with his rivals, in artful terms, which the Council, now led by John Gerson,[3] insisted on his making more stringent. But the restored concord, attested by the gift to Sigismund of the golden rose,[4] the special sign of papal gratitude, was belied by the watch set on the gates of Constance, and the promise exacted from John not to attempt flight. The leaders of the Council pressed for his absolute resignation; but, by the contrivance of Duke Frederick of Austria, he escaped in disguise to Schaffhausen (March 20th), and thence removed successively to Freyburg, Breysach, and Neuenburg. Frederick, placed under the ban of the Empire, had to make abject submission to Sigismund, and finally to pursue John and bring him back (May 27). Meanwhile the Council had adopted a strong declaration, proposed by Gerson, of its authority above the Pope; and 70 articles of accusation were exhibited against him, and witnesses heard in support of them. "Never

[1] When, at a later period of the Council, Arragon and Castile abandoned Benedict and joined the Council, the *Spaniards* formed a fifth nation.

[2] At this time (the spring of 1415) Henry V. was preparing the invasion which led to the battle of Agincourt (October 25th, 1415). The Orleanist faction ruled in France. John, duke of Burgundy, who, after his formal reconciliation with the Dauphin Charles (1414), was waiting events in sullen retirement, was inclined to the party of Pope John; and his relations to the Council were complicated by its having to decide on the charge brought against the Franciscan Jean Petit for his defence of the murder of Louis, duke of Orleans, by the contrivance of his cousin, John of Burgundy (Nov. 1407). For the details, see the *Student's History of France*, chap. xi.

[3] Gerson arrived with the delegates of his University, on Feb. 18th.

[4] "The golden rose is consecrated on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and is given by the Pope to such princes as have rendered signal services to the Church. The origin of this custom is uncertain, but it is commonly referred to Leo IX. (See Herzog's *Encyclop.* art. *Rose, die Goldene*)." Robertson, vol. iv. p. 142.

probably were seventy more awful accusations brought against man than against the Vicar of Christ. The Cardinal of St. Mark [1] made a feeble attempt to repel the charge of heresy; against the darker charges no one spoke a word. Before the final decree, sixteen of those of the most indescribable depravity were dropped, out of respect, not to the Pope, but to public decency and the dignity of the office. On the remaining undefended fifty-four the Council gravely, deliberately, pronounced the sentence of deposition against the Pope."[2] John received it with quiet submission, and voluntarily swore that he would never attempt to recover the Papacy. He was kept a prisoner in the castle of Heidelberg, till his further disposal should be determined by his successor (Martin V.), who after two years restored John to the dignity of Cardinal and made him Bishop of Frascati; but he died at Florence without entering on his see (Dec. 28th, 1417).

His rival, Gregory XII., had died two months before him (Oct. 18), at the age of 90, having given in his resignation to the Council through his legate (July 4th, 1415), and been made Cardinal-Bishop of Porto and first of the sacred college. Benedict XIII. held out obstinately, even evading an interview with Sigismund, who went as far as Perpignan to meet him; but the Emperor succeeded in obtaining the Antipope's renunciation by the King of Arragon and other princes (Dec. 13th, 1415). Shutting himself up in the fortress of Peñiscola, in Valentia, Benedict remained proof against all negociations, and at length received the sentence of deposition [3] with the outburst of violent rage, "Not at Constance, the Church is at Peñiscola." This end of the forty years' schism was celebrated by a *Te Deum* in the Cathedral and proclaimed with the sound of trumpets in the streets of Constance.

§ 13. During the two years of waiting for this result, the work of "reformation in head and members" had been suspended, and was now frustrated by a repetition of the fatal error made at Pisa, the election of a Pope—to prevent it. The English and Germans supported the Emperor's demand to give precedence to reforms;

[1] Zabarella, the leader of the Italian party, who, unable to support John, did his best to break his fall.

[2] May 29th, 1515. Milman, vol. viii. p. 277.

[3] In the sentence passed on July 26th, 1417, the Council, besides declaring Benedict guilty of perjury, scandal to the whole Church, and schism, contrived to fasten on him a constructive charge of heresy, inasmuch as he had violated the article of faith in "one Holy Catholic Church." After his death at Peñiscola, in 1424, his cardinals attempted to set up two successors, three of them electing a Clement VIII. and the fourth a Benedict XIV. (a schism within the dead remnant of a schism); but the King of Arragon had fully acknowledged Martin V., and the nominal Clement VIII. was finally compelled to abdicate by a Council at Tortosa (1429).

but the divisions in the Council were inflamed by national hatred;[1] and the French, led by d'Ailly, in whom "the Cardinal prevailed over the Reformer,"[2] joined the Italians in demanding the election of a new Pope. The Spaniards, who now entered the Council as a fifth nation, took the same side; to which even the English fell off, after the death of Robert Hallam[3] (Sept. 4th, 1417). At this crisis, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, arrived at Ulm, with the prestige of an intended Crusade added to the dignity of the uncle of the English King. The Emperor invited him to Constance to act as mediator; and he used his influence for the election of a Pope, to which the Council agreed, as much probably from weariness as conviction, and Sigismund gave his reluctant consent (Sept. 30). After further disputes about the mode of election and the reforms to which the future Pope must agree as the conditions of his elevation, the Council, at its 40th Session (Oct. 30th), "made its last effort for independent life. It declared that it was not to be dissolved till the Pope had granted reform."[4] It was agreed that thirty members (six from each nation) should be associated with the twenty-three Cardinals; and this Conclave, enclosed according to the regular forms on Nov. 8th, proclaimed in three days, "We have a Pope, Lord Otho of Colonna." Amidst the ringing of all the bells in Constance, and the shouts of 80,000 people, exulting in the restored unity of the head of the Church on earth, the Emperor rushed into the conclave, and fell at the feet of the Pope, who raised and embraced him as the chief author of this peaceful issue of the schism. Being as yet only a lay Cardinal,[5] Otho was ordained deacon, priest, and bishop, on three successive days, and on the 21st he was crowned as

[1] It was within a week after Benedict's deposition that Henry V. landed at the mouth of the Seine (Aug. 1st, 1417) on his second invasion, which resulted in his conquest of France.

[2] Milman, vol. viii. p. 309.

[3] They appear to have acted under the direction of Henry V., who would naturally wish to secure the favour of the future Pope to sanction his proceedings in France, and Beaufort was doubtless his agent in the same policy. Martin V. rewarded his services by making him a Cardinal (November 28th) and Legate for England and Ireland, an appointment which was resisted by Archbishop Chichele, as the Primate had always hitherto been Legate; and Beaufort was not received in that character till his family gained the ascendancy under Henry VI. This famous Cardinal Beaufort was the second son of John of Gaunt, by his marriage (afterwards legitimated) with Catherine Swynford, and so the half-brother of Henry IV.

[4] Milman, vol. viii. p. 310.

[5] He had been made Cardinal of St. George by Innocent VII., had supported Gregory XII. till the Council of Pisa declared against him, and had been one of the last to give up the cause of John XXIII.

Pope MARTIN V., after the saint on whose day he was elected (Nov. 11th, Martinmas).

§ 14. This election formed an honourable contrast with nearly all those of the Captivity and Schism. Martin was about 50 years old, of the noblest blood of Rome, learned in the Canon Law, of irreproachable morals, "courteous in manners, short and sententious in speech, quick and dexterous yet cautious in business, a strict and even ostentatious lover of justice."[1] Though so fast an adherent of John as even to share his flight, he displayed a dignified moderation in all the debates of the Council, who might flatter themselves that in such a man, "no stern advocate of reformation, no alarming fanatic for change," they had chosen the desired leader and arbiter of the work they had yet to do. But there has ever been a power in the papal tiara, which might seem magical were it not the natural result of the changed position, to develop qualities unsuspected under the cardinal's hat. Leonard of Arezzo says of Martin that whereas, before his elevation, he had been noted rather for his amiability than for his talents, he showed, when Pope, extreme sagacity but no excess of benignity.[2] His great sagacity was proved in the disappointment prepared for the Council, when they gave themselves a head which they expected to begin the work of reform upon itself! Perhaps, indeed, they acted on the principle, which has since become familiar in what is called statesmanship, accepting what seemed inevitable rather than daring to do what was right. In the oft-quoted saying, "Video meliora proboque, Deteriora *sequor*," the true point lies in the last word—"drifting" on the current, real or imagined. They ought to have seen that, the abler and more respectable the new Pope, the more sure was he to revive the papal power rather than to "crown the edifice" of the Council.

Martin's first brief, dated on the day after his election, confirmed the regulations of all his predecessors, even of John XXIII., for the Papal Chancery, the very focus of ecclesiastical abuses; and that by the act of the Pope, not of the Council. "All the old grievances —Reservations, Expectancies, Vacancies, Confirmations of Bishops, Dispensations, Exemptions, Commendams, Annates, Tenths, Indulgences—might seem to be adopted as the irrepealable law of the Church."[3] Martin was prepared for the protests of the nations,

[1] Milman, viii. 311.

[2] Muratori, xix. 930; Robertson, iv. 296. Of the change charged against him from contented poverty to avarice we have to speak presently.

[3] Milman, viii. 312. Even the Spaniards threatened to return to the obedience of Benedict, but their indignation evaporated in a satirical "Mass for Simony." (On the abuses enumerated see further in Chap. XVII.)

and met their demands by "a counter-plan of Reformation, each article of which might have occupied the weary Council for months of hot debate."[1] He constituted a "reformatory college" of six cardinals, with representatives of the nations, and offered some improvements in the Curia, in order to elude the wider demands of the Germans. Meanwhile, acting on the maxim *Divide et impera*, he proposed to grant partial reforms by vague *Concordats*[2] with the several nations, Germany, England, and France, the Italians having at once accepted the Pope's ecclesiastical supremacy. England, secure in her laws of *provisors* and *præmunire*, seems to have left the Concordat offered to her unnoticed; while that with France was rejected by the Parliament, and the Dauphin postponed the acknowledgment of Martin's title, till it should have been examined and approved by the University of Paris.[3]

§ 15. It remains to notice the other affair on which the French, both at Paris and Constance, were at issue with the new Pope. The treacherous murder of Louis of Orleans by the agents of John of Burgundy (1407) had been defended, as an act of tyrannicide, by a Franciscan friar, Jean Petit (Joannes Parvus), in a discourse before the King (March 1408),[4] for which the author is said to have professed penitence on his death-bed (1410). Eight propositions extracted from his work—the "Eight Verities" of Jean Petit—were condemned by a Council of theologians, canonists, and jurists, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Paris (1414); and Gerson,[5] in the name of the University, supported by D'Ailly, asked for a confirmation of this sentence at Constance. Thus the Council had before them the abstract question of tyrannicide, and the practical condemnation of the Duke of Burgundy, whose partisans, headed by the Bishop of Arras, joined with the Abbots of Clairvaux and Cîteaux and the Friars, "did not scruple to undertake the contest, to allege every kind of factious objection, every subtlety of scholastic logic. These monstrous tenets were declared to be only moral and

[1] Milman, vol. viii. p. 316.

[2] This technical word of diplomacy is the Latin *concordata*, "things agreed on."

[3] It must be remembered that at this time the Dauphin Charles, at the head of the Orleanist party, was endeavouring to withstand Henry V., who, having formed an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, was pursuing the conquest of France.

[4] Printed in Gerson's *Works*, vol. v. p. 15, *seq.*

[5] Gerson, always a consistent opponent of passive obedience, had in his earlier years defended tyrannicide on the ground taken by Seneca: "Nulla Deo gratior victima, quam tyrannus." But his opinion was changed by the murder of the Duke of Orleans, and he denounced the doctrine in his treatise, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*.

philosophical opinions, not of faith, therefore out of the province of the Church and of the Council."[1] An attempt was made to silence Gerson by charges of heresy, and all that could be obtained from the Council was a condemnation of one of Petit's extremest doctrines: "It is lawful, and even meritorious, in any vassal or subject to kill a tyrant, either by stratagem, by blandishment, flattery, or force, notwithstanding any oath or covenant sworn with him, without awaiting the sentence or authority of any judge."[2] This sentence, passed, by a noteworthy coincidence, on the day of Hus's condemnation (July 6, 1415), was annulled by Martin V. for informality; and thus, of the *three Johns*,[3] who were arraigned for different offences before the Council, the guilty Pope was allowed to end his days in peace and dignity; the blameless Hus was betrayed by a breach of imperial faith, and burnt by a reforming Council; while even the memory of the third was saved from condemnation. But a fourth John, leader and mouthpiece of the effort for reform, "the learned pious Gerson, dared not return to Paris, now in the power of Burgundy and the English; he lay hid for a time in Germany, lingered out a year or two at Lyons, and died a proscribed and neglected exile; finding his only consolation, no doubt full consolation, in the raptures of his Holy Mysticism."[4]

§ 16. Of the great "reformation in head and members," nothing was effected, save some decrees on exemptions and other means of papal exaction, on simony, tithes, and the lives of the clergy; and these were solemnly pronounced, with the Concordats, a full

[1] Milman, vol. viii. p. 305.

[2] Observe the exact parallel, except in the last clause, to the treatment of heretics avowed and acted on by the Council. For Martin's determined opposition to the condemnation of similar doctrines in the case of the Dominican, John of Falkenberg, who had declared it highly meritorious to assassinate the King of Poland and *all his people*, see Robertson, vol. iv. p. 300. In this matter the Pope ventured, in defiance of the main principles laid down by the Council, to deny the lawfulness of any appeal from "the supreme judges, viz. the Apostolic See, or the Roman Pontiff," (March 10th, 1418). Gerson denounces this decree as destroying the fundamental validity of the Councils of Pisa and Constance, with all their acts, including the elections of Alexander V. and Martin himself. (See his Dialogue on the case of Jean Petit, quoted by Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 306.)

[3] See the striking contrast drawn by Milman, vol. viii. pp. 303-306.

[4] On the breaking up of the Council, Gerson accepted an asylum from the Duke of Bavaria. The offer of a professorship at Vienna was declined in a poem of thanks to Frederick of Austria. On the death of the Duke of Burgundy (September 1419), he returned to France; and, Paris being in disorder, and the Dauphin making terms with Henry V., he stayed at Lyon, where, after ten years passed in devotion, study, and abundant labour in letters, he died at the age of sixty-six, only three days after finishing his Commentary on the Canticles (July 12th, 1429).

satisfaction of those declared to be essential before the election of the Pope![1] For the rest, they had the promise of regular Councils; and the next of these was appointed to be held at Pavia, much to the discontent of the French (April 19th, 1418). The Emperor had already been rewarded (in January) with the Pope's solemn thanks, and the grant of a year's tithe from the German church;[2] but he did not withhold some covert bitterness in his farewell. "He declared his full obedience to the Pope; his submission to all the decrees of the Council; but if the Council had fallen into error, he disclaimed all concern in it."[3] At the 45th and last Session (April 22, 1418) the Pope pronounced plenary absolution on all who had attended the Council; officiated in high pomp in the Cathedral on Whitsunday, and at night gave his blessing to the thousands who crowded round the bishop's palace (May 15th). Next day, with the Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg holding his bridle on either side, he went forth on the way to Genoa at the head of a cavalcade of princes, nobles, cardinals, bishops, churchmen, and their followers, to the number of 40,000, which might well seem the triumph of papal Rome. "The Council which had deposed Popes had been mastered by a Pope of its own choosing; the old system of Rome, so long the subject of vehement complaint, had escaped untouched."[4]

[1] Compare the articles of this decree of the 43rd Session (March 21, 1418), with those, which *it expressly cited*, of the 40th Session (October 1417), in Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 301, 304–5.

[2] See the *Literæ Gratiosæ* (7 Cal. Febr. 1418) in Gieseler, iv. 305. This tithe was objected to in Germany, but without effect.

[3] Von der Hardt, iv. p. 1563; Milman, vol. viii. p. 319.

[4] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 301. Compare Milman's eloquent summary, too long to quote here (vol. viii. pp. 319–321).

Medal of Martin V. From the British Museum.

Medal of Pope Eugenius IV.

CHAPTER XI.

PAPACY OF MARTIN V. AND EUGENIUS IV.

THE COUNCIL OF BASLE: TO ITS VIRTUAL END.

A.D. 1418—1443.

§ 1. State of Italy: Braccio and Sforza—MARTIN V. at Rome—His merits and faults—His claims of supremacy—England and France. § 2. Councils of Pavia and Siena—Danger of the Eastern Empire—Overtures for Reconciliation. § 3. France—Bohemian War—Death of Martin V. § 4. Measures of the Cardinals—Election and Character of EUGENIUS IV.—Proscription of the Colonnas. § 5. The Council of Basle and the Bohemian Crusade—The Legate Julian Cesarini—Battle of Tauss The Pope's attempt to postpone the Council. § 6. Its opening—Mode of Voting—Four *Deputations*—The Leaders—Nicolas Cusanus on Popes and Councils. § 7. The Council claims to be above the Pope—Eugenius denounces the Council. § 8. Sigismund in Italy—His Coronation at Milan and Rome. § 9 He arrives at Basle—Eugenius sanctions the Council—Departure and death of the Emperor. § 10. Eugenius driven from Rome—Government and fate of John Vitelleschi—The Pope's return. § 11. Reforming decrees of the Council—Bull transferring it to Ferrara—Open quarrel with the Pope. § 12. New leaders at Basle—Defection of Cusanus and Cesarini—Louis, Bishop of Arles, and Nicolas of Palermo—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI: his early life and appearance at the Council. § 13. Election of ALBERT II.—*Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.* § 14. The Council deposes Eugenius, and elects the Antipope Felix V.—Failure of this Schism. § 15. Death of Albert II.—Election and Character of FREDERICK III.—Low State of the Empire—Æneas Sylvius in Frederick's service—Virtual end, but formal continuance, of the Council and the Schism.

§ 1. TAKING leave of the Emperor at Geneva,[1] Martin travelled slowly to Italy, where the first Pope, who since forty years had an undisputed title, was not master of a single city. Besides the local governments, the captains of Free Companies had risen to great power; and one of them, Braccio of Montone, had made himself master of Rome after the deposition of John XXIII. He was well matched by another captain, Jacopo Sforza Attendolo, whose son afterwards won the dukedom of Milan. Sforza was now serving in the pay of Joanna II., the sister and successor of Ladislaus in the kingdom of Naples, with whom Martin made an alliance. As gonfalonier of the Church, Sforza expelled Braccio from Rome; but the latter held his ground at his native city of Perugia, and found it prudent to make his peace with the Pope, who, after a splendid reception at Milan, was staying at Florence (Feb. 1420).[2] He restored several towns in the Papal territory, receiving others as a fief; and recovered Bologna for the Pope. Entering Rome on the 28th of September, Martin beheld the misery and ruin wrought by the long absence of the Popes and by the wars of factions. Order was restored by his firm and just administration; and his labours, emulated by the Cardinals, in rebuilding the churches and other public edifices, gained for him the titles of "the third founder of Rome, and the happiness of his times."[3] But his cardinals resented his arbitrary rule over them; and the ecclesiastical abuses, that were to have been reformed at Constance, continued to bring in vast wealth, of which a large part was bestowed, besides castles, lands, and offices, on the Pope's kindred.

In his relations with the powers of Christendom, Martin revived the highest claims of his predecessors. England only accepted Cardinal Beaufort as Legate with limited powers, and stood firm against the Pope's haughty demand for the repeal of the anti-papal

[1] Geneva was an imperial city, under the government of its bishops, who, from the beginning of the 15th century, were of the house of Savoy.

[2] It was at Florence that Martin received the submission of his deposed predecessor. Here too the severe economy of the Pope's equipage, especially in contrast with the magnificence affected by Braccio, was ridiculed in popular songs, with a refrain curiously echoed in one of our own nursery rhymes:—

"Papa Martino: Non vale un quattrino:"
"Here is Pope Martin: Not worth a farthing."

The rival chieftains died in the same year (1424), Braccio of wounds received in action, Sforza drowned in the river Pescara. His son, Francesco, obtained the sovereignty of Milan in 1449, two years after the death of Philip Masse, the last of the Visconti.

[3] For the enthusiastic efforts of ST. FRANCES of Rome (*ob.* 1440), and the Franciscan ST. BERNARDINO of Siena (*ob.* 1444), to rouse Rome to a religious and moral reformation, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 373–375.

statutes.[1] The Parliament of Paris resisted the Concordat till the death of Charles VI. (1422); when the Pope won over the young King for a time, through the influence of his mother and brother, and absolved him from the oath which he had sworn, as Dauphin, to observe the national laws (1425).[2]

§ 2. Meanwhile the Parliament of Paris urged the Pope to convene the Council, for which the place and date had been appointed at Constance; and a few prelates, from Italy only, were assembled at *Pavia* (April 1423), whence, in consequence of an outbreak of plague, the session was transferred to *Siena*. The Council, which was opened by a papal commission on July 21st, did nothing beyond renewing the condemnation of Wyclif, Huss, and Peter of Luna (Benedict XIII.). Martin had shown his resolve to abate nothing of the supremacy of Rome; and he hoped to set aside the question of reform by the grander idea of reuniting Christendom under his obedience. The victorious Turks had now pressed their conquests in Europe, till of the Eastern Roman Empire Constantinople alone was left;[3] and but one hope remained, to purchase help from Latin Christendom at the cost of an ecclesiastical reunion, for which some overtures had already been made. But, small as was the number of Transalpine prelates at Siena,[4] the Council passed a decree that the internal union of the Church by reform ought to take precedence of external union. On the ground that so few Fathers could not pretend to represent Christendom on so great and vital a question, Martin issued a Bull dissolving the Council, and appointed another to meet in seven years' time at the imperial city of Basle (1424).[5]

[1] For the details of these affairs, and the resistance of Archbishop Chichele to the Pope, see Canon Perry's *Student's English Church History*, Period I. chap. xxiii.

[2] CHARLES VII. would naturally seek to win the support of the Pope in that great conflict with the English, which gained him the surname of "the Victorious." On the other side, Gerson wrote a treatise, urging, among other arguments, the coronation oath, by which the Kings of France bound themselves to defend the liberties of the national church.

[3] The first (unsuccessful) siege of Constantinople by Amurath II. was in 1422; and the truce, which postponed its fall for 30 years, was made in 1425. For the details see the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xxxviii.

[4] Besides a very few from England, there were only five from Germany, six from France, none from Spain. It is not reckoned as an Œcumenical Council.

[5] This old French form of the name is a convenient compromise between the pure German *Basel* and the modern French *Bâle*. It is the Roman *Basilia*, first mentioned in the 4th century, which grew on the decay of *Augusta Rauracorum*, the ruins of which are still visible behind *Augst*, about 6 miles higher up the Rhine. Early in the 4th century it was important enough to be mentioned, in the *Notitia Imperii*, as *Civitas Basiliensium*.

§ 3. The interval was marked by great events. The uprising of France, moved by the enthusiasm of the Maid of Orleans (1429), promised a revival of the spirit of ecclesiastical liberty; while in Bohemia the war provoked by the death of Huss had brought repeated disaster and disgrace on the imperial arms, till Sigismund felt it necessary to negociate.[1] He demanded the submission of the Bohemians to the decrees of the coming Council, to which they were to send delegates. But they distrusted alike the Emperor's good faith and the promise of reformation; and at the beginning of 1431 a papal Bull proclaimed a new Crusade against them under the Cardinal Legate, Julian Cesarini,[2] who was appointed by another Bull to preside at the Council (Feb. 1). But, before either instrument could be acted on, Martin V. died (Feb. 20th, 1431).

§ 4. To guard against another such rule over themselves, the Cardinals joined in a mutual pledge, which the new Pope was to confirm by his oath and publish in a Bull, that he would reform the Curia as he might be required by the cardinals, use them as his acknowledged advisers, respect their privileges and the rules laid down at Constance for the making of new cardinals, and call a General Council, at such place and time as they should recommend, for the reformation of the whole Church, in faith, life, and morals. On the next day (March 3rd) the election fell on Cardinal Gabriel Condolmieri, a Venetian and nephew of Boniface XII., who took the name of EUGENIUS IV. (1431–1447). The new Pope's age was forty-eight. In early life he had given his fortune to the poor and joined his cousin in founding a society of canons on one of the islands of Venice. "Both his virtues and his faults were chiefly those of a monk. In his own person he was abstinent and severe, although his household expenses were equal to the dignity of his station; he loved and encouraged men of letters, although his own learning was but moderate; he was obstinate, narrow-minded, possessed by an ambition which refused to consider the limits of his power; little scrupulous in the pursuit of his objects, open to flattery, filled with a high idea of the papal greatness, and implacably hostile to all

[1] The crown of Bohemia devolved on Sigismund on the death of his brother Wenceslaus, in 1419, but the armed insurgents held out against his efforts to subdue them with the whole force of the Empire. For the events of the war, and the state of parties in Bohemia, see Chap. XL.

[2] Julian Cesarini, who had lately been made Cardinal of St. Angelo, was a Roman, "of a family whose poverty is more certain than its nobility. He had risen to eminence by his merits, was esteemed for ability, morals, and learning, and, from having been in Bohemia in attendance on a former legate, was supposed to have special qualifications for the office."—Robertson, vol. iv. p. 398.

deviation from the established doctrines of the Church. Under him the Romans found reason to look back with regret on the prosperous government of Martin; and to his mistaken policy was chiefly to be ascribed the troubles by which the Church was agitated throughout his pontificate."[1] Leagued closely with the Orsini, his first act was to reclaim from the Colonnas not only the wealth which their kinsman, the late Pope, had placed in their hands, but to subject them to plunder and proscription, and to destroy the monuments of Martin's pontificate.

§ 5. The time appointed for the Council to meet was in March, and Eugenius renewed the commission to Cardinal Cesarini, both to preside at Basle and to attend to the affairs of Bohemia, evidently wishing to postpone the former to the latter. While the Fathers were gathering together with a slowness that proved ominous of the eighteen years to which the Council dragged out its feeble existence,[2] the Legate travelled up the Rhine and as far as Flanders, to stir up princes and people to the Crusade. He deputed two Dominicans to open the Council, and to entreat it to await the issue of the holy war. After further vain attempts at negociation, an army of 100,000 men, under the imperial banner, entered Bohemia on the 1st of August, only to be utterly routed within a fortnight (Aug. 14) in the *Battle of Tauss*, the Legate himself hardly escaping in the garb of a common soldier. His silver crucifix, cardinal's robes and insignia, and the very Bull authorizing the Crusade, were long shown at Tauss as memorials of the victory.

Not only by this crowning disaster, but by what he had seen in Germany, Cesarini was convinced that the sole hope both of reconciling the Bohemians and satisfying the Germans lay in the Council and its work of real reformation; and he pressed this view on the Emperor and princes at Nuremburg. Repairing to Basle (Sept. 9), where but very few prelates were as yet assembled, he exerted himself by letters to secure a fuller attendance, and obtained its authority to write a very conciliatory letter to the Bohemians (Oct. 15), which was forwarded by the Emperor. Indignant at such a concession, the Pope issued a Bull denouncing and annulling any treaty with heretics, and calling the faithful to a new Crusade, and sent the Legate a decree dissolving the Council, and announcing the calling of another a year and a half later at Bologna (Nov. 12th). The reasons alleged for this prorogation were the small attendance, the insecurity of the roads owing to the war between Burgundy and Austria, and the convenience of the envoys

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 400.
[2] From July 23rd, 1431, to April 25th, 1449.

expected from Constantinople: all which really meant the postponement of reform to the honour and substantial gain of bringing back the Eastern Church to the obedience of Rome. Cesarini replied by an earnest and bold remonstrance, insisting on the demoralized state of the clergy, the necessity of reform, and the danger of losing, not only Bohemia, but Germany, a risk not to be run for the doubtful reconciliation of the East.

§ 6. On the very day after the dispatch of this letter, the Council began its work (Dec. 14th), which it defined under the three heads of the extinction of heresy, the restoration of peace and unity among Christians, and the reformation of the Church "in head and members." The system adopted at Constance, of voting by nations, was found impracticable;[1] and the Council was divided into four *deputations*, each composed of the clergy of all ranks, which met thrice a-week and discussed all questions before they were proposed in a general sitting. They were charged severally with the subjects of (1) General Business; (2) Reformation; (3) The Peace; (4) Faith. The extension of the right of voting to all ecclesiastics of good repute deprived the bishops of their usual predominance, and tended to give to the proceedings a democratic, and even a turbulent character; while the proximity of Basle to Germany and France gave those nations a great preponderance in the Council. Like that of Constance, it was greatly guided by the spirit of the University of Paris.[2]

The great leaders who had passed away, Gerson, D'Ailly, and the rest, had for a time a worthy successor in the Cardinal NICOLAS CUSANUS,[3] a man of the highest reputation for learning in ancient letters and a wide range of practical experience, who attended the Council as Dean of St. Florins at Coblenz. Early in its sitting, he

[1] For the reasons of this, see Robertson, iv. p. 408. Among these were the fierce jealousies between the Spaniards and English, and the practical abstinence of the latter from any part in the Council.

[2] See, for example, the Letter of the University sustaining the Council (Feb. 9, 1432) against all attempts to remove, prorogue, and dissolve it, and denying any such right in the Pope. (Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris*, vol. v. p. 412; Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 319.)

[3] *Nicolas Chrypfftz*, in High German *Krebs* (i.e. *Crab*), was named Cusanus from the village of Cues on the Moselle, in the diocese of Trèves, where he was born in an humble station in 1401. Æneas Sylvius speaks of him as "homo et priscarum litterarum eruditissimus, et multarum rerum usu perdoctus." Like his predecessor Cardinal d'Ailly at Constance, and his successor in the leadership at Basle, Æneas Sylvius, Nicolas Cusanus went over to the papal side (in 1437), and did all he could to bring the Council into discredit. His *Libri III. de Catholica Concordantia* are printed in his *Works*, Paris, 1514. See the extracts given by Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 319.

published a work on "Catholic Agreement," which assailed the very foundations of the Papal supremacy. He maintained that a General Council had supreme power in all things, above the Roman Pontiff. Recognizing the division of opinion among the Fathers of the Church, whether the power of the Pope was of God or of man, he decides that it is from God through the human medium of Councils. The Roman Pontiff's primacy above other bishops in the seat of St. Peter depends, therefore, on the consent of those who have the rule in all other things; and hence if, for example, it should happen that the Archbishop of Trèves were elected by the assembled Church as their president and head, he, rather than the Pope of Rome, would be the true successor of St. Peter in the primacy. A Council might depose a Pope for other causes besides heresy. Infallibility was a grace promised to the whole Church, not to any one of its members. Besides these opinions on matters of principle, he ventured, as the result of careful study, to declare the famous donation of Constantine apocryphal, "as also perhaps (he adds) some other long and great writings, ascribed to St. Clement (the Pseudo-Clementines) and Pope Anacletus, on which those rely, wholly or in part, who wish to exalt the Roman see above what is expedient and becoming for the Holy Church."

§ 7. Under such leadership, the Council, at its second session (Feb. 15th, 1432),[1] renewed the decrees of Constance, pronouncing a General Council to be above the Pope, and the Pope bound to obey it. They declared that the Council neither could nor should be removed, prorogued, or dissolved, without its own consent, and that no one, even though invested with the papal authority, could or ought to hinder any person from attending. At this juncture, too, the cause of the Council was decidedly taken by an assembly of the French clergy at Bourges, who petitioned Charles VII. to support it by an embassy to the Pope (Feb. 26). The renewed prohibition of Eugenius, in the same month, was again answered by Cesarini, who not only repeated his exposure of the futility of the reasons given, but maintained that the authority of the Council was derived from the same source as that of Martin V. and Eugenius himself, the decrees of Constance, against which the Pope had no right to dissolve the Council (June, 1432). The Legate, however, deferred to the Pope's authority by resigning the presidency, to which the Council elected Philibert, bishop of Coutances; at the same time announcing, in a synodal letter to the princes and churches of Christendom, their resolve to remain at Basle till their work should be accomplished. While humbly beseeching the Pope not to dissolve the

[1] For the negociations which the Council, of its own authority, carried on with the Bohemians, see Chap. XL.

Council, they summoned him and the Cardinals to attend it within three months (April 29); affirmed their right, in case of the death of Eugenius, to elect his successor (July 12); and at length, after fruitless negociations with the papal Legates, they proceeded to declare the Pope and seventeen cardinals contumacious for non-attendance (Sept. 6). This bold attitude attracted larger numbers to the assembly, which Eugenius denounced as a Synagogue of Satan.[1] "It is marvellous but true," writes the most famous actor in a later stage of the proceedings,[2] "that the prohibition of the Pope drew more than the invitation of the Council." Even the Cardinals slunk away from Rome to Basle, till only four remained with Eugenius.

§ 8. The Emperor-elect, though strongly in favour of the Council as the only means of pacifying Bohemia, had not yet appeared at Basle. Shortly before it met he had acted on a sudden resolution, without the wish or consent of the Electors, to go to Rome for his coronation. Like his father Charles IV., he was tempted with the hope of reviving the imperial influence in Italy by the aid of the Duke of Milan; and, after his disappointment at Constance and his reverses in Bohemia, he probably thought that the dignity of a crowned Emperor would enhance his influence both in and on behalf of the Council. But the want of money, which was a constant check on Sigismund's magnificence and still more on his real power,[3] reduced him to appear in Italy with a train of only 2000 German and Hungarian horse, instead of a force adequate to join Philip Maria in his contest with Florence, Venice, and the Pope. The Duke kept away from the ceremony of crowning Sigismund with

[1] The numbers at the Council varied greatly, the largest attendance being about 100, in June 1435.

[2] Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., of whom more presently. His *Commentariorum de Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Libri II.*, written in 1444, while he still sided with the Council, contains its history for the years 1438–1440. (Published in the *Fasciculi Rerum Expetend. ac Fugiend.* Colon. 1535 f.). The *Epistola ad Joannem de Segovia de Coronatione Felicis*, appended to the work, is often reckoned as a 3rd Book. Another leading authority is Augustinus Patricius (a Canon of Siena) *Summa Conciliorum Basiliensis, Florentini, Lateranensis, Lausanensis, &c.*, composed in 1480 from two MSS. left by John of Segovia, and preserved at Basle (Harduin. ix. p. 1081). The Acts of the Council are given fully in Mansi, vols. xxix.–xxxi.

[3] Mr. Bryce says of the time from Rudolf downwards: "After all, the Empire was perhaps past redemption, for one fatal ailment paralyzed all its efforts. *The Empire was poor.*" (Pp. 223 f., where the causes of its impoverishment are traced out.) At Rupert's death, there were said to be many bishops better off than the Emperor; and Sigismund himself told his Diet, "nihil esse imperio spoliatius, nihil egentius," and that his successor would find it "non *imperium*, sed potius *servitium*."

the iron diadem[1] of Lombardy at Milan (Nov. 25, 1431). Though treated with outward respect, the King was in danger from the Guelfic republics and the Free Companies; and his first cordial welcome was at the Ghibelline city of Siena.[2] Here, however, he was detained many months by the evasions of Eugenius, who endeavoured to make the forcible suppression of the Bohemians a condition of the coronation. At length the Pope had to be content with Sigismund's promise never to desert his cause; and the Emperor was crowned at Rome on Whitsunday (May 31, 1433). The diminished splendour of the ceremony suited its loss of any real significance.[3]

§ 9. During his long stay in Italy, the Emperor had kept on urging the Pope to allow the Council to continue, and had sent letters to enlist the princes of Christendom in its support; while, as its acknowledged protector,[4] he had written to moderate its proceedings against Eugenius. While the Pope was preparing fresh Bulls of dissolution, the Council extended the term of the summons to him again and again; till the Emperor arrived at Basle (Oct. 11th), bringing a document from Eugenius, which was deemed insufficient. At length the increasing troubles of Italy, and the factions which made Rome unsafe for the Pope, induced him to issue a Bull, revoking all his sentences against the Council (Dec. 15th, 1433). On April 26th, 1434, in presence of the Emperor, the Pope's legates were admitted to the Council as its presidents, "on swearing, *in their own names*,[5] that a General Council has its authority immediately from Christ, and that all men, including even the Pope, are bound to obey it in

[1] The "iron crown" of Lombardy, of which an engraving is given on p. 60, is really a diadem of gold and jewels, but wrought within it is a thin circle of iron, said to have been forged from one of the nails of the cross. It was the reputed gift of Queen Theodelinda (*ob.* A.D. 628) to the cathedral of Monza, where it is still preserved. For its history, see the article CROWN in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* vol. i. p. 507.

[2] This city had been visited by Charles IV. soon after his marriage, and so the people claimed a sort of hereditary interest in Sigismund.

[3] Mr. Bryce observes that Sigismund was virtually an Hungarian king. Eugenius, also, had to contend with narrowed observance from his disobedient son; for, "as Sigismund was suffering from gout, the Pope was obliged to consent that his mule should be led only three steps by the Emperor—a symbol rather than a performance of the traditional homage of Constantine. It is said that from this time is to be dated the use of the *double eagle* as denoting the union of imperial and royal dignity." Robertson, vol. iv. p. 411.

[4] By a decree of the 9th Session, Jan. 12th, 1433, which also declared any papal sentence of deprivation against Sigismund null and void.

[5] *Privatis nominibus*, but the Council maintained that this act implied the Pope's sanction to all their proceedings from the beginning. His advocates, however, declared that his approval was given only to the *progress* of the Council, not to its *decrees!*

matters relating to faith, to the extinction of schism, and to the reform of the Church in head and members."[1]

It was but a hollow reconciliation; but the Emperor declared he would die rather than allow another papal schism. He felt the scanty numbers of the Council to be a poor support for their high pretensions, which trenched on his own prerogative, not only by negociating with other powers, but interfering with the politics of Germany. He left Basle on the 19th of May, 1434. Before his departure, he had introduced the question of the marriage of the clergy, which was debated seriously, but without result. Through its mediation with the more moderate party of the Bohemians, he was at length acknowledged as their King in 1436. He was again labouring to avert the papal schism, when he died at Znaim, in Hungary (Dec. 9th, 1437).

§ 10. Within a month of Sigismund's departure from Basle, Eugenius was driven from Rome by a popular rising against the insolence of his nephew, Cardinal Condolmieri (June 1434). The Pope escaped in the disguise of a monk to Ostia, and thence to Florence; while the Romans once more set up a short-lived republic, and made overtures to the Council. But they soon found their new government intolerable, and their city a desert without the papal court. At their request Eugenius resumed his authority, but remained at Florence,[2] while he entrusted the government of Rome to John of Vitelleschi, who united the characters of a bishop and captain of Condottieri, and whose services were rewarded with the dignities of Cardinal Archbishop of Florence, and titular Patriarch of Alexandria. John's ruthless devastation of the Campagna in his war to crush the Colonna, and his vices and despotism, were atoned for, in the eyes of the Romans, by the peace and prosperity secured by his five years' rule (1435–1440); and, after he fell a victim to the suspicion of playing the part of another Rienzi (April 1440), they erected a statue to Vitelleschi as a new founder of their city.[3] His chief enemy, Scarampo, held the government, or tyranny, of Rome till the Pope's return, after an absence of nine years (Sept. 1443). How Eugenius had been occupied during that long interval will appear immediately.

[1] Robertson, iv. p. 421. "The power of the Legates was limited by strict conditions, which showed that a fresh breach with the Pope was apprehended."

[2] He afterwards (1436) removed to Bologna, as a stronghold against the Duke of Milan.

[3] For the details of Vitelleschi's fall, and the question of Eugenius's complicity in his treacherous arrest and death in prison, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 429–430.

§ 11. The Council had lost no time in using the Pope's sanction to proceed earnestly with the work of reformation (1435). "Decrees were passed for entire freedom of election in churches; against expectancies, usurpations of patronage, reservations, annates, and many of the exactions by which the Roman court drained the wealth of the Church; against frivolous appeals; against the abuse of interdicts, the concubinage of the clergy, the burlesque festivals and other indecencies connected with the service of the Church. Rules were laid down as to the election and behaviour of Popes. . . . The number of Cardinals was limited to twenty-four; they were to be taken from all Christian countries, and to be chosen with the consent of the existing Cardinals. A very few of royal or princely families might be admitted, but the nephews of the Popes were to be excluded from the College."[1]

The contraction of the sources of papal revenues touched Eugenius at his most sensitive part. His plea for the continuance of annates, till some other means of maintaining his dignity should be provided, was answered by the demand to submit himself unreservedly to the Council.[2] While he appealed by letters to the princes of Christendom, new charges were brought against him in the Council, and he was again summoned to appear within sixty days (July 31st). Meanwhile the Greeks had continued their appeals both to the Pope and the Council; and it was vehemently disputed whether the conference with the Greeks should be held within or beyond the Alps. When at length Eugenius issued a Bull for transferring the Council to Ferrara (Sept. 18), they continued their sessions at Basle, and pronounced him obstinately contumacious for disregarding their summons (Oct. 1). The Pope opened his Council at Ferrara (Jan. 8, 1438), which excommunicated the men at Basle, and annulled their acts; they declared the assembly at Ferrara schismatical, and cited its members to appear at Basle within 30 days (Jan. 24th). This 31st Session was, in fact, the last at which reformatory decrees were passed;[3] henceforth the Council existed only to carry on a war with Eugenius, which soon became an open schism.

§ 12. In this conflict the leaders were somewhat changed. Nicolas of Cusa had already left Basle, seduced, it is said, by the flattery of the Pope, that "his peerless learning was absolutely necessary to conduct negociations with the Greek Church, now returning into the bosom

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 423. See the extracts from the decrees of the Council in Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 322 f.

[2] It is a striking sign of the ingrained abuses now prevalent, to find the Pope retorting on the Council itself the charge of issuing indulgences, to provide for the cost of an embassy to the Greeks.

[3] For the details, see Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 331–2. The negociations with the Greeks, and the Council held by Eugenius at Ferrara and Florence, are related in the ensuing Chapter XII.

of Rome."[1] The legate Julian Cesarini had striven to remain loyal both to the Council and the Pope, till he seemed in danger of being elected as the head of a schism. He and Nicolas of Cusa left Basle at the beginning of 1438; but they, with two other Cardinals, were the only seceders to Ferrara. The lead was now taken by the Burgundian Louis Allemand, bishop of Arles (the only Cardinal left at Basle),[2] who combined the most signal eloquence and fairness, temper and tact, with inveterate animosity to Eugenius.[3] The new president was supported by Nicolas de Tudesco, archbishop of Palermo (Nicolas Panormitanus), the most famous canonist of the age. Less conspicuous as yet, but destined to a fame much more lasting, was the versatile Italian, ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, "the most elegant writer of Latin, the historian of the Council—at one time its ruling authority, at another its most dangerous, because secret foe."[4] A very microcosm of Rome in all the stages of its history is suggested by the scion of a noble but reduced Italian house, named after the refugee from Troy and his great-grandson, the third King of Alba,[5] beginning life as an adventurer and votary of pleasure, and, after taking part in a bitter conflict with the papal see, labouring to revive its loftiest traditions in his own person, and dying in the odour of sanctity. The *Piccolomini*, of whom Pius II. does not stand alone in history,[6] one of the noblest and most

[1] Milman, vol. viii. p. 361.

[2] Several Cardinals had left Basle before. Eugenius had created new Cardinals, to supply the place of those who had gone to Basle, and the Council had declared these appointments null and void.

[3] Æneas Sylvius describes Louis as "homo multarum parabolarum, liberalitate insignis, sed odio erga Eugenium veteri et novo accendissimus." "His lofty independence and resistance to the Papal See did not prevent his subsequent canonisation." Milman, viii. p. 361.

[4] Milman, *l.c.* We must be content to refer to the Dean's graphic pages for a fuller account of the remarkable career of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. (Chap. xvi. vol. viii. p. 415 f.)

[5] He had a third and more Christian name, Bartholomew.

[6] Besides his nephew, who was Pope for a month (in 1503) as PIUS III., Ottavio Piccolomini (*b.* 1599, *d.* 1656), the Austrian general in the Thirty Years' War, has been made famous by Schiller's tragedy, translated by Coleridge. The chief modern authority for the Life of Æneas Sylvius is Voigt, *Æneas Sylvius de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius II., und sein Zeitalter* 3 vols. Berlin, 1856–63. The original sources are his own works, especially his Letters, and the *Commentaries of Pius II.* The latter book, though not published till 1504, 120 years after his death, and then under the name of the copyist, Joannes Gobellinus, is known by the testimony of two friends of the Pope to have been his own work. The editor, Francesco Bandini de' Piccolomini, not only kept back the true authorship, but suppressed some passages, which were however collected by some one who saw the sheets while passing through the press. The collection was preserved among the MSS. of the Chigi Library, the librarian of which

powerful families of Siena, had fallen with the establishment of the republic. The father of Æneas added to the poor remnant of a dissipated estate a family of 22 children, of whom 10 grew up, only to perish by the plague, except two daughters and Æneas himself, who was born at the village of Corsignago on the 18th of October, 1405. Though the poverty of the family obliged him to take part in the labours of the field, his education was not neglected; and at the age of 22 he went to Siena, where the aid of his wealthier relations enabled him to pursue the study of law, but he turned with ardour to Greek and Roman letters under the famous scholar Filelfo. Driven from Siena by the war with Florence, he became secretary to Cardinal Dominico Capranica, whom he attended to the Council of Basle. But the Cardinal's poverty compelled Æneas to seek other patrons, whom he followed in varied missions through Germany, Italy, and France, and was himself sent on to England and Scotland, of which countries he has left a most interesting description.[1]

Returning to Italy, he joined his master, the Bishop of Novara, at Basle, shortly before the final rupture of the Council with Eugenius (1437). "No sooner was Æneas fixed at Basle, than his singular aptitude for business, no doubt his fluent and perspicuous Latin, his flexibility of opinion, his rapidly growing knowledge of mankind, his determination to push his fortunes, his fidelity to the master in whose service he happened to be, opened the way to advancement; offices, honours, rewards, crowded upon him. He was secretary, first reporter of the proceedings, then held the office as writer of the epistles of the Council. The office of these duodecimvirs was to prepare all business for the deliberations of the Council; nothing could be brought forward without their previous sanction, nor any one admitted to the Council till they had examined and approved his title. He often presided over his department, which was that of faith. The leaden seal of the Council was often in his custody. During his career he was ambassador from the Council, three times to Strassburg, twice to Constance, twice to Frankfort, once to Trent, later to the Emperor Albert, and to persuade Frederick III. to espouse the cause of the Council."[2]

has published them under the title "*Æneæ Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis, qui postea fuit Pius II. Pont. Max. Opera Inedita;* descripsit Josephus Cugnoni, Roma, 1883." The work is invaluable for the characteristically frank expression of opinion on contemporary persons and affairs. Another recent work is "The Life of Pope Pius II., as illustrated by Pinturicchio's Frescoes in the Piccolomini Library at Siena. By the Rev. G. W. Kitchen, M.A. With the engravings from the Frescoes by Professor Gruner. Printed for the Arundel Society, 1881."

[1] See Milman, vol. viii. pp. 417 f. For Æneas's frank confession of his loose morals, as natural in a layman, in his Letters, see *ibid.* p. 421 f.

[2] Milman, vol. viii. pp. 423–4.

§ 13. His first appearance as a full member of the Council (when in the debate on the place for conference with the Greeks, taking a middle course between the Papal and Transalpine parties, he supported the Milanese proposal for Pavia) was rewarded with the office of provost of St. Lawrence at Milan. On his return thence to Basle, still a layman, he preached with great success before the Council on the feast of St. Ambrose (Dec. 7th, 1437). As we have seen, this was the moment when the Council took a decisive step against the Pope, and when Sigismund died, leaving his hereditary crowns of Hungary and Bohemia to his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, who was elected in the following March as ALBERT II., King of the Romans.[1] He was reluctant to accept the dignity, the prospect of which he was said by the Hungarians to have expressly renounced on his election as their king. Æneas, virtually if not formally accredited by the Council, accompanied the Duke of Milan's ambassador to Vienna, and overcame the objections of the Hungarians as well as of Albert himself.

The Electors had seized the opportunity to declare Germany neutral between the Council and the Pope;[2] and a more important decision was taken by France about the same time. Charles VII. himself had not been favourable to the Council; but in a national assembly at Bourges he adopted their reforms, with some modifications, by a *Pragmatic Sanction*, which was one of the foundations of Gallican liberty (July 7th, 1438).[3] The assembly also disowned the Council of Ferrara.

§ 14. These measures were taken in the hope of averting a schism; but the Council of Basle, now growing more and more irreconcilable, trusted to the support of France and Germany. The final step divided the Council itself; and most of the bishops retired, leaving

[1] By this election the imperial dignity, which had been held by Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273–1292) and his son Albert I. (1298–1308), returned to the House of Hapsburg, in which it remained till the abdication of Francis II. in August 1806,—with the sole exceptions of the Bavarian Charles VII. (1742–45) and Francis I. of Lorraine (1745–65), though the latter may be called a Hapsburg by his marriage with Maria Theresa. Mr. Bryce, however, has pointed out that Maximilian I. was the true founder of the greatness of the Hapsburgs, and he has traced the causes which made the elective imperial dignity practically hereditary in that family. (*Holy Roman Empire*, p. 352 f.) Of all the Emperors-elect during the 368 years from Albert II. to Francis II., Frederick III. was the only one crowned at Rome.

[2] A year later, however, the reforms of the Council were adopted by the Emperor and Diet at Mainz in a formal *Instrumentum Acceptationis* (March 26, 1439). See Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 353.

[3] See the *Pragmatique Sanction*, or *La Pragmatique de Bourges*, edited by Pinson (1666), in the *Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race*, vol. xiii. p. 267.

affairs in the hands of the lower clergy, after a violent discussion whether presbyters had a vote or only a consultative voice. The Cardinal president, Archbishop of Arles, who sided with the extreme party, caused all the holiest relics of saints that could be found in Basle to be placed in the vacant seats of the bishops; a device which moved the Council to tears! With such overwrought feelings, but with marked dignity and decorum, the assembly of about 400 clergy (but few of whom were bishops) pronounced the deposition of Eugenius as "notoriously and obstinately contumacious, a violator of canons, guilty of scandal to the whole Church; as simoniacal, perjured, incorrigibly schismatic and obstinately heretical, a dilapidator of the Church's rights and property, and unfit to administer his office" (June 25th, 1439). A few days later, to the surprise of the Council itself, the ambassadors of the Emperor-elect and the French King expressed their concurrence in the act, and added an apology for their absence.

During the interval of sixty days allowed before the new election, a terrible outbreak of plague tried the stedfastness both of the dying[1] and the survivors; but the few who left Basle returned as it abated, and the session of September 17th is remarkable for its decree affirming the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.[2] The 37th session (October 24th) resolved to associate with their only Cardinal (the Archbishop of Arles) 32 other electors, chosen from all nations and all ranks of the clergy; three being named by the Council to choose the rest.[3] Out of seventeen candidates named at first, the conclave announced, on the sixth day,[4] its choice of AMADEUS, Duke of Savoy, who, after governing his duchy for thirty-eight years with high reputation, had resigned it to his son (1434), and was living at Ripaille, on the south shore of Lake Leman, as the head of a society of twelve noble hermits.[5] Their life seems to have been easy, if not luxurious; but the character of Amadeus was above reproach, and the objections that he was a layman and had been married were easily overruled. Yet it seemed to Christendom a strange choice, of an aged retired prince instead of

[1] It is said that many, with the last sacrament in their hands, professed that their salvation depended on their renunciation of Eugenius. Æneas Sylvius was one of the few stricken who recovered. One writer (Rinaldi) regards the plague as a judgment, without explaining whether those who died from it at Ferrara were equal sinners with those at Basle.

[2] The schismatic character ascribed to the Council (at all events after its deposition of Eugenius) deprived this decree of any authority.

[3] One of these was a Scotch monk, Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan, a Cistercian house in the diocese of Candida Casa (*Whitherne* in Galloway).

[4] Nov. 5th, confirmed by the Council, Nov. 17th, 1439.

[5] He was styled Dean of St. Maurice, the patron saint of that region. Æneas suggests that his retirement was a scheme to prepare for his elevation to the Papacy, but this is improbable.

a bold and vigorous prelate, or a learned canonist, likely to fulfil the hopes of a complete reformation by the Council. Perhaps respectably neutral qualities were thought safest; and it seems to have been supposed that Amadeus could for a time supply the want of papal revenues by his own wealth, and ultimately induce his powerful connections to establish him at Rome. He was crowned at Basle with great splendour as FELIX V. (July 23rd, 1440); but he is only reckoned as an Antipope. It was soon seen that his cause was hopeless; and his elevation marks the epoch of the Council's rapid decline in power and repute. Its imposition of a tax on vacant ecclesiastical benefices at once made it unpopular.

The King of France expressed his disapproval of the schism, and wrote from Bourges, exhorting "Monsieur de Savoye" and the Council to study the peace of the Church. Alfonso, King of Arragon, was after some time induced to separate himself from the Council by Eugenius's recognition of his claim to Naples, against René of Anjou (1443).[1]

§ 15. Germany resented the schism as a breach of her neutrality; but the Emperor Albert died at the very moment of the election which he had written to deprecate (Nov. 5, 1439). His cousin, the Duke of Styria (*b.* 1415), son of Ernest the Iron, Duke of Austria, was elected as FREDERICK III.,[2] King of the Romans (Feb. 4, 1440). His inglorious reign of 53 years marks the lowest degradation of the Empire. He was far from being destitute of ability and good sense; but his tenacity of purpose was marred, as that quality often is, with constitutional indolence. He was signally unfortunate; and his want of decision and alleged meanness were often the result of the want of wealth, which now paralysed the Empire. His superstitious weakness gave the example of that subservience to the Papacy, which became the hereditary policy of his line. Though hitherto favourable to the Council, he shrank from the schism, and three Diets held by him affirmed the neutrality of Germany. Æneas Sylvius, who was a warm partisan of Felix, and had accepted the post of his secretary, was sent on an embassy to Frederick, which

[1] Joanna II. had died in 1435, bequeathing her kingdom to René, the brother of Louis of Anjou, whom the Pope was disposed to favour, while claiming to treat Naples as a lapsed fief of the Holy See. Alfonso now added to his former claim his heirship of Manfred and the Hohenstaufen. The consequence of his abandoning the Council was the withdrawal of Nicolas of Palermo, who gave up the cardinalate he had received from Felix.

[2] As Emperor, Frederick is variously reckoned as the IIIrd, IVth or Vth (according as former claimants, of the name, are recognized or not). Albert Kranz (*Saxonia*, 304) likens him to Fabius Maximus for his slowness in action. Ranke gives a careful estimate of his character, doing justice to his better qualities (*Hist. of the Popes*, translated by Mrs. Austin, vol. i. pp. 101–5).

proved a turning-point in his own fortunes. The Emperor flattered his literary vanity, and made him his poet laureate (July 1442). In November, Frederick appeared at Basle, but in the avowed character of mediator, treating Felix with profound respect, but avoiding any recognition of his title. The chief result of his visit was the transference of Æneas to his own service as secretary, with the reluctant consent of Felix. The astute Italian, while as yet unchanged in his convictions of the Council's right, began to doubt both the motives and the issue of the conflict. In words of very wide application, he says, "In truth the quarrel is not for the sheep but for the wool; there would be less strife were the Church poor." In accepting the Emperor's service, he took up his new position of neutrality, and resolved to secure his own advancement and power by a steady course of seeming obedience to his master's weaker will.[1]

Meanwhile Felix withdrew to Lausanne, on the plea of illness; and the Council of Basle held its 45th and last session on the 16th of June, 1443, when Lyon was appointed as the place for the next General Council, to be held according to the decrees of Constance. As a protest, however, against the rival assembly, which was still sitting at Florence,[2] the Council declared its continued existence, which was prolonged in form, with that of its nominal Pope, for six years longer, till 1449. "The authority of this assembly has been variously estimated within the Roman communion. The more moderate divines in general acknowledge its œcumenical character as far as the 26th session, i.e. until the time when Eugenius proposed to transfer it to Ferrara. But the advanced Gallicans maintained its authority throughout; and by the more extreme Romanists it is altogether disavowed."[3]

[1] See his own frank and acute avowals cited by Milman, vol. viii. p. 431. Here is a hint for those who try to manage affairs by reports and memorials, as the Archbishop of Palermo was labouring to do at Frankfort:—"Stultus est qui putat libellis et codicibus movere reges." Soon after his removal to Vienna, Æneas took holy orders, and lived for a time on the small benefice given him by the Emperor, in a retired valley of the Tyrol, whence he removed to the better living of Auspac in Bavaria, given him by the Bishop of Passau. He attended the Diet of Nuremberg (1444), and maintained the strict neutrality for which it again declared.

[2] See the next Chapter.

[3] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 437. According to the best Roman Catholic authorities, this Council, so far as it is accepted at all, is merged in that of Ferrara and Florence, as the consequence of its removal by Eugenius IV. Hence the *XVIIth Œcumenical Council* is that of *Basle-Ferrara-Florence*, usually styled simply, of *Florence*. (Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte*; Hergenroether's *Kirchengeschichte*, 1879-80; Alzog, *Manual of Universal Church History*, translated by Tabish and Byrne, 1874–78.)

Florence.*

CHAPTER XII.

THE COUNCIL OF FERRARA AND FLORENCE.

THE XVIITH ŒCUMENICAL OF THE ROMANS.

END OF THE COUNCIL OF BASLE. A.D. 1438 TO 1447.

§ 1. The Greek Empire and Church—Progress of the Turks: help sought from the West—Former overtures for Union—Embassies from Pope and Council—JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II. and his suite at Ferrara—Mark, Bessarion, and Syropulus—The Council removed to *Florence*. § 2. The four chief points in dispute—The "procession" and *Filioque*—The Agreement (*Definitio*). § 3. Death of the Patriarch Joasaph—Dissent of Demetrius and Mark—Ceremony of Reconciliation. § 4. The Agreement rejected at Constantinople—The Council transferred to Rome—Submission of other Orientals. § 5. Crusade against the Turks—Ladislaus, Cesarini, and Huniades—First Successes—Disastrous battle of *Varna*—Sequel of the Agreement—CONSTANTINE XIII. and MAHOMET II.—Mission of Cardinal Isidore—Popular feeling against the Latins. § 6. Quarrel of Eugenius with the Germans—Mission of Æneas Sylvius to Rome—His favour with the Pope—Thomas of Sarzana. § 7. The Diet of Frankfort—Diplomacy of Æneas—How "Mainz was captured"—New German compact. § 8. Æneas again at Rome—The dying Pope concludes the agreement—His four Bulls, and death—The agreement confirmed by NICOLAS V. § 9. The *Concordat of*

Aschaffenburg—The Council of Basle dissolved—Resignation and death of Felix V. § 10. Archbishop Trench on the three Great Councils—Their wrong view of the reformation needed—Yet not total failures—The Hildebrandine idea rejected—They mark the end of the *Middle Age of the Church*, by their shock to the Papal dictatorship.

§ 1. THE hollow character and fruitless result of the last effort, or pretence of an effort, to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches, demands but a brief account of the Council held by Eugenius IV., at Ferrara and Florence, in opposition to that of Basle.[1] It belongs to secular history to follow the victories of the Turks in Europe, by which the Eastern Empire was now narrowed to the environs of Constantinople. "In the four last centuries of the Greek Emperors," says Gibbon, "their friendly or hostile aspect towards the Pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress." We have seen how, after the capture of Adrianople by Amurath I., the Emperor John Palæologus I., the son of a Latin mother, Anne of Savoy, went in person to propitiate Urban V., who made a vain effort to kindle an Eastern Crusade (1369). Thirty years later, his son Manuel visited France and England, but gained only empty honour. The overthrow of Bajazet by Timour (1403) gave a respite, which was prolonged by the dissensions of the Turks, till Amurath II. laid siege to Constantinople in 1422. Its brave resistance and a revolt in Asia obtained the peace which allowed the new Emperor, John Palæologus II. to reign over the city as the Sultan's tributary (1425). Before his father's death, John had gone to Italy in search of aid (1423), and he is said to have formed the idea of reuniting the Empires as the successor of Sigismund. He agreed to the proposal of Martin V., that he and other Greeks should attend a Council for accommodating the differences between the Churches. Not to dwell on the further overtures made to the Greeks by the Council and the Pope,[2] both of whom sent fleets to Constantinople, which came near illustrating their desire of union by a battle with each other,—the result was that the Greek Emperor, with his brother, the "despot" Demetrius, and the Patriarch Joasaph, attended by 22 bishops and a large train of clergy and monks,[3] embarked on the Venetian

[1] For the details, see Milman's graphic narrative, c. xiii. vol. viii. p. 365 f., and Gibbon, c. xxxvii.

[2] Among the Pope's envoys was Nicolas of Cusa, the former leader in the Council.

[3] Among the attendants of the Patriarch was the Ecclesiast (Preacher) Sylvester Syropulus (otherwise called Sguropulus, Σγουρόπουλος) who (as Milman puts it) "avenged the compulsion laid upon him to follow his master to Ferrara and Florence by writing a lively and bold history of the whole proceedings." His *Vera Historia Unionis non Veræ, seu Concilii*

galleys provided by the Pope (Nov. 29th, 1437), and were welcomed with great ceremony at Venice (Feb. 8th, 1438). Here they first learned the decisive breach between the Pope and the Council; and it was chiefly by the persuasion of the Legate Cesarini that they decided to attend the Pope's Council, which had been opened in January at Ferrara.[1] After various difficulties of etiquette had been adjusted—the Pope sitting as President above the Emperor, and the Patriarch on a level with the Cardinals—the preparatory discussions were opened between twelve champions on either side. Of these the most conspicuous, among the Greeks, were the rough outspoken Mark and the more conciliatory Bessarion, archbishops of Ephesus and Nicæa; among the Latins, Cardinal Julian Cesarini and the Spanish Dominican John, provincial of Lombardy.[2] But the Greeks soon found themselves pressed by other forces besides argument: the Emperor's resolve to effect some sort of union as the only hope of help against the Turks; the disgrace visited on the obstinate; and the cost and difficulty of needful provisions, which were supplied or withheld according to their obedience. Their troubles were increased by the plague,[3] which gave the Pope a pretext for transferring the Council to Florence (Jan. 1439), a move which roused the suspicions of the Greeks.

§ 2. Meanwhile the public conferences had begun on the four chief points, out of fifty more in which the Greeks were held to be heretical;[4] and at the 25th session the Emperor summed up the

Florentini exactissima Narratio, was edited, with a free Latin Translation, by Rob. Creighton, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, Hagæ Comitis, 1660; and was severely criticized in the *Exercitationes* of Leo Allatius, Romæ, 1665.

[1] From its removal in the following year, it is usually called the *Council of Florence*. Its Acts, both in Greek and Latin, are in the Collections of Labbe and Cossart, vol. xiii., and Harduin, vol. viii. See also the *History of the Council of Florence* from the Russian of B. Popoff, edited by J. M. Neale, Lond. 1861.

[2] Contrasting Cesarini with Mark, Syropulus says that, although the Cardinal was the more eloquent, the Archbishop of Ephesus was the stronger and more solid. The principal interpreter was Nicolas Secondino, a native of Negropont; but we are told that St. Bernard of Siena received, in answer to his prayers, the gift of conversing fluently in Greek, a tongue unknown to him.

[3] See above, p. 182. As a sign of national habits, it is interesting to read that the chief sufferers were the Latins, and the Russians who came in the train of their Patriarch Isidore, himself a Greek.

[4] For the course of the arguments, especially on the main question of the "Procession," see Milman, *l. c.* and Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 443 f. It is important to observe that the Latins acknowledged themselves unable to trace the *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed further back than to the Frank Church under Charles the Great. (See Vol. I. of this work, pp. 473–4.)

discussion by leaving the Pope to devise terms of union, otherwise the Greeks would return home. Ten representatives of each side at length agreed on a *Definition*,[1] which was drawn up in Latin by Ambrose Traversari, head of the Camaldolite order, and translated into Greek by Bessarion. (1.) On the main question of the "*Procession of the Holy Ghost*," it was decided that the difference was only in the form of expression; inasmuch as the Latins disavowed the inference, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from *two principles*, which was the ground of the Greek objection to the words *Filioque*. (2.) As to the use of *leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist*, the consecration of either was valid, and each Church was allowed to retain its own custom. (3.) The doctrine of *Purgatory* was affirmed, but as to its nature nothing was defined against the opinion of either Church. (4.) The Roman Pontiff was declared to have *the primacy of the whole world*, as the successor of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles and true vicar of Christ; and the agreement "*renewed* the order" of the other patriarchal sees "handed down in the Canons," namely, Constantinople second, Alexandria third, Antioch fourth, Jerusalem fifth, "saving all their privileges and rights." Thus, leaving the Eastern Patriarchs to make what they might out of this saving clause, the Pope had gained the one sole object of his ambition, the full acknowledgment of his supremacy. All the rest was unmeaning compromise, for the sake of a formal concord[2] which soon proved to be just as hollow.

§ 3. The *Definition* was subscribed by every member of the Council,—though not without reluctance, especially on the part of some Greek ecclesiastical officers, who had had no voice in the debates,—with three remarkable exceptions. The Patriarch Joasaph, who had been earnest for the union, was spared the last surrender by his death (June 10th). The despot Demetrius refused to sign, and retired to Venice; "he was to reap his reward in popularity, hereafter to be dangerous to his brother's throne."[3] The Archbishop Mark, whose

[1] The *Definitio* is printed in Labbe and Cossart, xiii. p. 510 f., Harduin, vol. ix. p. 401 f.; and Gieseler, vol. v. pp. 206–7. Each of the forms, Greek and Latin has the force of an original.

[2] This was plainly expressed in the words of a deacon to the English ambassadors who met the Emperor on his return. "Neither did we go over to the doctrine (δόξῃ) of the Latins, nor the Latins to that of the Greeks; but the doctrines were considered severally by each party, and were found to be accordant, and so they appeared to be one and the same doctrine. Wherefore it was ordained that each party should hold the doctrine that it had held till now, and so we should be united." (Syropulus, p. 307, ap. Gieseler, vol. v. p. 207.) A remarkable case of "agreeing to differ;" but, as usual in such cases, the difference remained without any agreement worth the name. [3] Milman, vol. viii. p. 398.

resistance had brought him into hot collision with the Romanizing Bessarion, had obtained the Emperor's promise that he should not be compelled to sign; and the Pope's prophetic remark, "Then we have done nothing at all!" acknowledged in Mark the true voice of the Greek Church. For the present, however, Eugenius celebrated his triumph in the magnificent Cathedral which he had lately consecrated, after it had been 150 years in building[1] (July 6th, 1439). It was the practical reply of the patriarch of reunited Christendom to his deposition at Basle just a week before. "Nothing was wanting to the splendour of the ceremony, to the glory of the Pope. After *Te Deum* chanted in Greek, Mass celebrated in Latin, the Creed was read, with the *Filioque*. Syropulus would persuade himself and the world that the Greeks did not rightly catch the indistinct and inharmonious sounds. Then the Cardinal Julian Cesarini ascended the pulpit and read the Edict in Latin, the Cardinal Bessarion in Greek. They descended and embraced, as symbolizing the indissoluble unity of the Church. The Edict (it was unusual) *ended* with no anathema."[2]

§ 4. While the Greeks returned by Venice to Constantinople, to find their submission indignantly repudiated, Eugenius transferred the Council to Rome, and reopened its sessions in the Church of St. John Lateran (Oct. 1443). Here the formal reconciliation of the Eastern Church was completed by the reception of deputies, real or pretended, of the Copts, Jacobites, Maronites, and Chaldæans;[3] the Armenians having already presented themselves at Florence. "This *frivolous scene*," as it is justly characterized by Gieseler,[4] "was evidently intended to win back the public opinion of the Western world to the Pope, by the appearance of a general union of all Christendom under the papal obedience, and to overawe and bring to submission the adherents of the Council of Basle."

§ 5. Meanwhile the Pope had endeavoured to fulfil his part of the alliance with the Greeks by proclaiming a Crusade against the

[1] The Duomo of Florence, originally the church of Santa Reparata, afterwards dedicated to Santa Maria del Fiore, was begun in 1298 from the designs of Arnolfo, continued by many architects, among whom were Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi, and Andrea Orcagna, and finished by Brunelleschi, who completed the dome in 1446. For a full description, see Murray's 'Handbook for Central Italy,' pp. 32 f.

[2] Milman, vol. viii. p. 398. But it is a slight anticipation to call Bessarion *Cardinal*. Wisely distrusting the effect on the Greeks of the part he had taken in the Council, he declined the vacant patriarchate of Constantinople, accepted the reward of a Cardinal's hat from Eugenius, and remained at Rome, where he exercised great influence, and was thrice near being elected Pope.

[3] For these churches, see Vol. I. pp. 355, 379–383. [4] Vol. v. p. 409.

Turks. Though England, France,[1] and Germany, were too much occupied at home to act as nations, they furnished many adventurers, attracted by what Gibbon calls an endless treasure of indulgences; and an enthusiatic leader was found in young Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary. Cardinal Julian Cesarini, who had preached the holy war in those countries, accompanied the Crusade, which was aided by the military skill of John Huniades, and the equipment of fleets from Flanders, Genoa, and Venice. An advance to Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria, with two considerable victories, brought the Turks to sue for terms; and both parties swore to a ten years' truce (Aug. 1, 1444). But the Cardinal Julian, who had held sullenly aloof from the negociations, now received news that the fleets of Burgundy, Genoa, and Venice, were in the Hellespont, while the Greeks were gaining victories in Asia Minor. His power of absolution persuaded Ladislaus to break the truce and advance to Varna, where the fleets were expected. But, instead of their aid, the powerful army of Amurath had been transported from Asia by the perfidious Genoese, and the last hope of Latin help for the Greeks perished with Ladislaus and 10,000 Christians in the fatal battle of Varna (Nov. 10th, 1444).[2]

It is convenient here to follow the vain attempt at reconciliation to its sequel. John Palæologus, having been compelled by popular feeling to repudiate the agreement of Florence, was succeeded in 1448 by his son CONSTANTINE XIII., the last Emperor of New Rome; and three years later the moderation of Amurath II. was replaced by the youthful vigour of his son MAHOMET II., the destined conqueror of Constantinople.[3] On his renewal of war (1452), Constantine turned again to Rome with professions of penitence, and the Cardinal Isidore, a Greek and former metropolitan of Russia, was sent to renew the reconciliation. But the Latin forms used in a solemn thanksgiving at St. Sophia provoked the popular indignation. The church was avoided as if it were "a Jewish synagogue;"[4] the ministrations of the Romanizing clergy were refused. So violent was the feeling against the Latins, that a great officer declared "that he would rather see a Turkish turban than a cardinal's hat in Constantinople."[5] As in the last days of Jerusalem, the religious factions aggravated the terrors of the siege and helped to paralyze the defence; the Greeks were disputing

[1] It was now the very crisis of the expulsion of the English from France and the eve of the Wars of the Roses.

[2] The legate Cesarini perished in the flight; but the manner of his death is variously related.

[3] See his character drawn by Gibbon (*Student's Gibbon*, p. 622).

[4] Ducas, pp. 143, 148. [5] *Ibid.* p. 146.

over a text, while the Turk, the derider of all their texts, was thundering at their gates.[1]

§ 6. Though, as we have seen, the imperial diet maintained its neutrality in the papal schism, the policy of Frederick III. was guided by Æneas Silvius towards a reconciliation with Eugenius. Disregarding all warnings of personal danger, the former anti-papal leader and secretary of Felix went on a mission to Rome, and convinced the Pope of his true penitence and the wisdom of making a friend of such a man as himself (1445).[2] But Eugenius evaded the Emperor's chief demand, for a new Council to be held in Germany; and, overrating his own strength and the submissiveness of Frederick, he deposed the Archbishops of Trèves and Cologne for the part they had taken, both in the Council of Basle and as Electors, in favour of neutrality. This sentence kindled a flame in Germany: six of the seven Electors, including the two Archbishops, met at Frankfort, and bound themselves by a secret agreement to join the Antipope, unless Eugenius would agree to certain practical reforms and to the regular holding of General Councils, with an admission of their authority according to the decrees of Constance and Basle. The Emperor, who was informed of the agreement without a pledge of secresy, sent Æneas Sylvius to Rome (1445); and, though joined with a rougher colleague, Gregory of Heimburg,[3] he paved the way to reconciliation with such address, that the Pope invited him to become his secretary.[4]

[1] For the final catastrophe, see Chap. XIII. § 6.

[2] On this and his subsequent mission Æneas was aided by the mediation of Thomas of Sarzana, bishop of Bologna (the future Pope Nicolas V.), the only one of the curia who at first looked coldly on his professions of penitence, but who showed him great kindness when he fell ill. Æneas, who had at first refused to humble himself before the Cardinal's severe virtue, adds this reflection on his own conduct—"Si scisset Æneas futurum Papam, omnia tolerasset!" Thomas was not made a Cardinal till Dec. 1446, at the same time with John of Carvajal.

[3] Æneas describes Gregory as "the most eminent among the Germans for eloquence and learning; a man of fine person, but rough in manner, and careless of his appearance, whose sturdy German patriotism regarded the Italians with dislike and contempt." (*Hist. Frid.* 123. Robertson, vol. iv. p. 463.)

[4] Æneas accepted this offer somewhat later, and was continued in the office by Nicolas V. He meditates with his usual frankness on his wonderful fortune in having been secretary to three cardinals and as many Popes (though one of them, Felix, was not genuine—*adulterum*), while to the Emperor he was not only secretary, but a councillor, and crowned with the honour of a princedom:—all of which he imputes, not to luck but to God, the ruler and governor of all things. *Epist.* clxxxviii. p. 760; comp. the passage from his autobiographical Commentaries in Milman, vol. viii. p. 439.

§ 7. Æneas left Rome in company with Thomas of Sarzana, who had a mission to the Duke of Burgundy on the way. At Frankfort the Diet was assembled in full state, though Frederick was not there in person (Sept. 1, 1446). The Pope was represented by his legates, the Spaniard John of Carvajal and Nicolas of Cusa (besides Thomas of Sarzana, when he arrived); the Antipope Felix and the Council of Basle by the Cardinal of Arles, John of Lysura, and others, from whom Æneas had to bear some sharp taunts for his desertion. But his temper and tact prevailed, aided by the free use of money and a diplomatic artifice, as bold as it was astute. The great object of the Emperor and Pope was to break up the compact of the Electors by any means. "Mainz was taken"—that is,[1] the Archbishop was bribed, though he refused all offers for himself, with 2000 florins divided among his four chief councillors. But the spiritual prince required a plausible excuse for breaking his sworn faith; so Æneas took in hand the notes of the compact made by the Electors, "taking out of them all the venom, and composed new notes," to which he pledged his opinion that Eugenius would consent.[2] The Electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, with other princes and bishops, signed the new agreement in private; and its support by a majority of the Diet overawed the three dissentient Electors of Treves, Cologne, and Saxony. As a further security, the Emperor's envoys made a new treaty with the princes who supported them, to send a mission to Eugenius, at Christmas, to offer the submission of the German nation if he would approve the new agreement. "The Diet broke up; the three Electors departed in indignation; the ambassadors of Basle in sorrow and discomfiture."[3]

§ 8. Æneas and his colleagues found the Pope near his end, but determined, before he died, to complete the agreement with the Emperor and the Germans. The opposition of nearly all the Cardinals was overborne by a threat of new creations; and the legates, Thomas of Sarzana and John Carvajal, were at once added, with two others, to the Sacred College. Æneas pressed on the agreement, lest the work should have to be begun again, and a

[1] Literally "He of Mainz" was stormed. See the full account given by Æneas with his usual frankness. *Hist. Friderici III.*, p. 125 f., quoted by Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 340-1.

[2] The purport of this document was that the Archbishops should be restored, and the authority of *the Council* safeguarded; this *general* phrase being purposely left open to mean either the Council of Basle, or the new Council which was proposed.

[3] Milman, vol. viii. p. 445; Æneas gives an account of the embassy to Rome, the death of Eugenius IV., and the election and coronation of Nicolas V., in a speech to the Emperor Frederick. Baluzii *Miscell.* lib. vii. p. 525 foll.

new election might even create a new schism. Eugenius lived just long enough to issue four Bulls, accepting the decrees of Constance in general, and in particular those relating to General Councils; sanctioning such of the decrees of Basle as had been accepted by the Germans under the Emperor Albert; reinstating the deprived Archbishops on their acknowledgment of Eugenius as the true Vicar of Christ; and forgiving all who had taken part in the proceedings at Basle, on their submission. A fifth Bull declared that nothing in the agreement should infringe on the privileges of the Church.

From the morrow of the day when this restoration of concord with the Empire was celebrated with brilliant rejoicings at Rome (Feb. 5th, 1447) the Pope sank rapidly; and on the 23rd he died, expressing his regret that he had not lived and died a simple monk. "The dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life;"[1] for his dying acts extinguished the long-lived hostile Council and the last papal schism; and their end must be recorded before tracing the brilliant era of his successor. The new Pope, NICOLAS V., at once assured Æneas Sylvius of his resolve to hold a middle course between the undue assumption of authority by former Popes over other bishops, and the pretension of the Council of Basle to shorten his hands; and Æneas, rewarded with the bishopric of Trieste, and carrying with him a written confirmation of the agreement, returned to Germany to give effect to the Pope's designs.

§ 9. The versatile Italian, able for a time at least to serve two masters, aided the papal legate Carvajal in obtaining from the Emperor all that Rome could now ask, by the *Concordat of Aschaffenburg* (Feb. 17th, 1448), which the Electors were bribed with privileges, patronage, exemptions, and the like, to ratify. The Pope was to have annates and reservations, with a mere change of form; the acceptance of the decrees of Basle by the Diet at Mainz (1439)[2] was set aside, and Germany was again placed under the burthens that she had struggled against for fifty years. In consequence of this agreement, the Emperor formally withdrew his protection from the Council of Basle, and forbad the city to harbour it, under penalty of the imperial ban. A decent if not dignified end was arranged by a conference at Lyon between the Cardinal President and envoys of the French and English kings. Felix announced to the remnant of the Council, which had joined him at Lausanne, that he resigned his dignity for the sake of the peace of the Church (April 7th, 1449); his eight cardinals went through the form of electing "Thomas of Sarzana" as Pope; and the Council declared itself dissolved

[1] Judges xvi. 3.

[2] See p. 181, n. 2.

April 25th). This quiet close of the schism was confirmed by the moderation of Nicolas. Amadeus himself, invested with the nominal dignities of premier-cardinal and legate for Savoy and Piedmont, survived only one or two years in his old retreat at Ripaille. The cardinals created by him were enrolled in the Sacred College; even the Archbishop of Arles was left unmolested, and, dying in the following year (1450), ultimately received the honour of beatification from Clement VII. in 1527.

§ 10. Thus ended at once, with the last papal schism, the series of Great Councils of the 15th century, which gave the Church of Rome its last opportunity of reformation from within. It remains for us to ask, with Archbishop Trench,[1] "Shall we lament the defeat of so many well-intended efforts for the Church's good? Have we reason to suppose that there was any real help for a Church, sick at heart, sick throughout all her members, any true healing for her hurts, in that which these councils proposed to effect; assuming that they had been able to bring this about, instead of succumbing, they and their handiwork, before the superior craft and skill which were arrayed against them? I cannot believe it. The Gersons, the Clemangises, the d'Aillys, with the other earnest *Doctrinaires* who headed this movement,—let them have the full meed of honour which is their due; but, with all their seeing, they did not see what is now most plain to us; they only most inadequately apprehended the sickness wherewith the Church was sick. For them the imperious necessity of the time was a canonically chosen Pope, and one who, if inclined to go wrong, might find the law of the Church too strong for him; when indeed what the time needed was, no Pope at all; what it wanted was, that the profane usurpation by a man of the offices of Christ,—kingly, priestly, prophetical,—should cease altogether; that the standing obstacle of the Church's unity,—*a local centre for a divine Society*, whose proper centre, being the risen and ascended Lord, was everywhere, should be removed. They would admit no errors of doctrine in the Church, but only abuses in practice; wholly refused to see that *the abuses were rooted in the errors*, drew all their poisonous life from them, and that blows stricken at the roots were the only blows which would profit. So far from admitting this, the most notable feat which in all their course they had accomplished was the digging up of the bones of a dead man, and the burning of a living man who had invited them to acknowledge their errors and to amend them.

"And yet, failure upon failure as these Councils had proved, wholly as every gain which they seemed to have secured for the

[1] *Lectures on the Medieval Church*, pp. 305 f.

Church was again lost before many years had elapsed, *total failures they were not.* They played their part in preparing the Church for a truer deliverance than any which they themselves could have ever wrought. The Hildebrandine idea of the Church,—a society, that is, in which only one person has any rights at all,—this idea, questioned debated, denied, authoritatively condemned, could never dominate the Church and world, as for nearly three centuries it had done. The decrees of the Councils might be abrogated, and their whole legislation abolished; but it was not possible to abolish from men's minds and memories that such once had been. There needed many blows, and from many quarters, to overthrow so huge and strong-built a fabric as that of the medieval Papacy. *By the Councils one of these blows was stricken.*"

This judgment of the Protestant Archbishop is strikingly confirmed by the terse sentence of the French Ultramontane historian Capefigue: "I consider the Councils of *Constance* and *Bâle* and the *Pragmatic Sanction* as the three acts which *end the Middle Age of the Church*, by the shock they gave to the powerful and holy dictatorship of the Popes."

Medal of John Palæologus II., by Pisani. (Reverse.) The Emperor, travelling through a mountainous country, is stopping in prayer before a *Latin* cross.

Interior of St. Peter's, at Rome.

CHAPTER XIII.

OUTWARD REVIVAL OF THE PAPACY.

AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

COLAS V CALIXTUS III. PIUS II. PAUL II. A.D. 1447–1471.

1. The culmination of Latin Christianity—New Epoch in Art and Letters. § 2. Election and Character of NICOLAS V.—The Pacification of Italy. § 3. The Great Jubilee of 1450—Its results in Europe. § 4. Frederick III. in Italy: his Marriage and Coronation. § 5. Roman Republicanism: Conspiracy of Porcaro—Its evil influence on the Pope. § 6. Constantinople taken by the Turks (1453)—Effect on the West—A Crusade proclaimed. § 7. Death of Nicolas (1455)—His Love of Letters—Revival of Learning—Influx of Greeks into Italy. § 8. Greek

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§ 1. DEAN MILMAN[1] marks the pontificate of NICOLAS V. (1447–1455) as "the culminating point of Latin Christianity;" nor is this inconsistent with the judgment cited at the close of the preceding chapter. True, the papal autocracy, which had been declining from Innocent III. to Boniface VIII., had been compelled to yield, at Constance and Basle, to the control of an ecclesiastical aristocracy in a General Council; but the great object of those reformers was to strengthen the Hierarchy, not to yield a jot of the creed of the Church, or of its power over the conscience. "It was not that Christendom might govern itself, but that they themselves might have a more equal share in the government." In the contest with the Council of Basle and its Antipope, the practical victory remained with Rome; and she spent another half century in enjoying and improving it in her own fashion, heedless of the warning that, unless there were a reformation of discipline and administration, from the head throughout the members, there would be a compulsory reformation rising upward from below, and not effected without violence and schism.[2]

The revolutionary reform thus rendered necessary was forwarded by the artistic and intellectual revival—the boasted *Renaissance*—which gave new outward splendour to the last age of the medieval Papacy. It was for evil and good strangely mingled that "Latin Christianity had yet to discharge some part of its mission. It had to enlighten the world with letters, to adorn it with arts. It had hospitably to receive (a gift fatal in the end to its own dominion), and to promulgate to mankind, the poets, historians, philosophers,

[1] *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. viii. p. 448. Respecting the Antipope, who bore the same title in 1328–9, see Chap. X. § 10.

[2] For such warnings by Peter d'Ailly, Julian Cesarini, and others, see Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 439.

of Greece. It had to break down its own idols, the Schoolmen, and to substitute a new idolatry, that of Classical Literature. It had to perfect Christian art."[1]

§ 2. The spirit of the age was well represented in the new pontiff, whose election was due to one of those accidents not unfrequent in the Conclave, where nicely-balanced parties suddenly united their votes on some one not at first thought of (March 6, 1447).[2] Thomas Parentuccelli, or Thomas of Sarzana (his mother's native place),[3] was born at Pisa in 1398; and, in spite of difficulties from the harshness of a stepfather, he studied at Bologna with great success and reputation. Such was his univeral science, that Æneas Sylvius says anything hidden from him must be beyond the knowledge of man. The name he took as Pope marked his gratitude to his early patron, Cardinal Nicolas Albergati, in whose family he spent twenty years. The ability he displayed in controversy with the Greeks at Florence had been lately rewarded by Eugenius with the bishopric of Bologna, where as Legate he was active and popular, and with a cardinal's hat. In person he was small and spare; of affable and unassuming manners. Æneas Sylvius, speaking—as we have seen[4]—from personal experience, describes him as hasty, but placable; friendly, but there was no friend with whom he was not sometimes angry; neither revengeful nor forgetful of wrongs. The complaint of undue trust in his own judgment, and wishing to do everything himself, perhaps marks the limit of the great confidence which he reposed in Æneas, who became the energetic minister of the Pope's

[1] Milman, *l. c.* p. 449. A recent work of the highest value for the period down to the Reformation is "*The History of the Renaissance in Italy*, by John Addington Symonds." This work traces the Pagan spirit which infected the revival of classical learning, as an almost inevitable reaction from the utterly corrupt Christianity of the age; and the deep moral degradation of society, especially in Italy, and in particular of the Papacy, which attended the new splendour of art and letters, except in the few who applied themselves earnestly to a religious reformation. For all but those few, the collapse of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system, which had governed the mind and conscience of Europe for a thousand years, involved the abandonment of the very foundations of Christian morality.

[2] The papal elections, especially in this age, furnished many examples of what was called the vote by *access*, that is, when, after an indecisive ballot in the forenoon, an elector (or more than one) revoking his morning's ballot, transfers his vote to some one whose name had that morning already come out of the ballot-box, or to an entirely new candidate. (Cartwright *on Papal Conclaves*, 154.)

[3] The chief authorities are the Lives of Nicolas V. by Vespasiano and Manetti (in Muratori) and Georgi, Rom. 1742; Æneas Sylvius; and Bartholomew Platina (papal officer under Pius II. &c., *ob.* 1481), *Vitæ Pontificum Romanorum*, Venet. 1479, continued by the Augustinian Onofrio Panvini (*b.* 1568), Venet. 1562, and reprints.

[4] See Chap XII. p. 191, n. 2.

desire to recover the prerogatives that had been shorn at Constance and Basle. We have seen how he confirmed the agreement with Germany,[1] whither Æneas returned rewarded with the bishopric of Trieste and confirmed in the office of papal secretary.

The new Pope was free from that vice of nepotism, by which several of his predecessors and successors vainly tried to establish their kinsmen in principalities. "Hitherto these families had taken no root, had died out, sunk into obscurity, or had been beaten down by common consent as upstart usurpers. Nicolas V. laid the foundations of his power, not so much in the strength of the Roman see as a temporal sovereignty, as in the admiration and gratitude of Italy, which was rapidly reported over the whole of Christendom. He kept in pay no large armies; his Cardinals were not Condottieri generals; he declared that he would never employ any arms but those of the Cross of Christ. But he maintained the Estates of the Church in peace; he endeavoured (and the circumstances of the times favoured that better policy) to compose the feuds of Italy, raging at least with their usual violence. He was, among the few Popes, really a great Pacificator in Italy."[2] While preserving neutrality in the contests between Spain and France in Naples, between the Florentines and Venetians, and in that which established the Sforzas in the duchy of Milan, he recovered the tributary allegiance of the chieftains who had usurped the domains of the Church in the Romagna.

§ 3. The peace and security thus established helped to make the Jubilee of 1450 the greatest, and the most fruitful to the treasury of Rome, since the first Jubilee, kept by Boniface VIII. and celebrated by Dante, a century and a half before. The papal collectors and vendors of indulgences had been busy throughout Christendom, not indeed without provoking discontent and opposition, especially in Germany.[3] But the twofold temptation of the present pleasure and future recompense of the pilgrimage was still too strong for the reforming spirit. The pilgrims who flocked to Rome are likened to

[1] Chap. XII. p. 193.

[2] Milman, viii., p. 455. The details of the contests referred to belong to civil history.

[3] "In 1449, a collector and vendor of indulgences levied in Prussia 7845 marks: for indulgences, 3241, for Peter's pence, 4604" (Milman, vol. viii. p. 456). The Teutonic knights at first refused to publish the Bull; but they afterwards paid the Pope 1000 ducats for the privilege of themselves dispensing the indulgences of the Jubilee to those who should perform devotions and alms in their own country; and a similar compromise was made by Philip, Duke of Burgundy. Even Nicolas of Cusa, the papal legate in Germany, when asked whether a monk might go on pilgrimage without leave of his abbot, quoted Pope Nicolas himself for the opinion that obedience is better than indulgences (Robertson, vol. iv. p. 479).

flights of starlings and swarms of ants; more than 400,000 daily walked through the streets and filled the churches; and an accidental stoppage of the two crowds, passing the bridge of St. Angelo to and from a display of the holy Veronica,[1] cost the lives of 200 persons crushed to death or pushed into the Tiber. The throng must have greatly aggravated the plague, which spread from Northern Italy[2] to the city in the summer, when the Pope withdrew with a company of scholars, and shut himself up in one castle after another till the danger was over. But the splendour of the Jubilee prevailed over all these drawbacks and disasters. "The pilgrims carried back throughout Europe accounts of the resuscitated majesty of the Roman Pontificate, the unsullied personal dignity of the Pope, the reinthronement of Religion in the splendid edifices, which were either building or under restoration."[3] Of this use of the wealth now poured in we have to speak presently.

§ 4. Two years later Rome saw for the last time the coronation of an Emperor by a Pope.[4] The feeble Frederick III. vainly hoped to revive his authority by this high sanction, at the same time that he went to Italy to receive his bride, Leonora of Portugal. So reduced was the imperial state, that the Pope supplied part of his expenses as a recompense for the concordat of Vienna; and the third Frederick solicited a safe-conduct from the cities which Barbarossa had marched into Italy to conquer. The Emperor's authority was exhausted in bestowing nominal privileges and dignities, such as count and knight, doctor, and even notary, for the sake of the money they brought him in fees; and his weakness ensured him a cordial reception.[5] At Siena, his faithful Æneas, whom the Pope had lately made bishop of his native city, met him with his bride; and here, too, Frederick submitted to take an oath for the Pope's security and dignity, which was repeated before he entered Rome.[6] There he was lodged in the old imperial palace of the Lateran, and held frequent conferences with the Pope.

[1] The napkin impressed with a miraculous likeness (*vera icon*) of the Saviour (See Vol. I. p. 27).

[2] We are told that in Milan 60,000 persons died, and hardly any were left alive at Piacenza.

[3] Milman, vol. viii. p. 457.

[4] As has been said before, Charles V. was the only subsequent Emperor crowned by a Pope but at *Bologna*, not at Rome. All the rest, from Maximilian to Francis II. were strictly only *Emperors Elect.* (See note, pp. 89–90.)

[5] A contemporary writer says that "all before him had made some attempt to recover power; he was the first who gave up the hope."

[6] The two cardinals, who met the Emperor at Florence, represented the oath as prescribed by that treasury of papal claims, the pseudo-Clementines (Lib. ii. tit. 9, *De Jurejurando*), as well as by custom. Frederick replied that it had not been required of Henry VII. and only of Charles IV., but he yielded at last.

On the 16th of March the marriage was celebrated by the Pope, who crowned Frederick, *not as King of Italy*,[1] but of Germany, with the crown brought from Aix-la-Chapelle for the purpose, and two days later the imperial coronation was solemnly performed by Nicolas, on the anniversary of his own.[2] "The Emperor swore once more to support and defend the Roman Church, and, according to the traditional usage, he performed the 'office of a groom' by leading the Pope's horse a few steps."[3] On his return from a visit to King Alfonso at Naples, Frederick waived the demand for a Council, and only asked for a Crusade, which the Pope referred to await the general consent of Christendom.

§ 5. In the same year the power of Nicolas was threatened by a new outbreak of the republican fanaticism which was ever smouldering at Rome. The death of his predecessor had been seized by Stephen Porcaro[4]—an enthusiast of high culture and influence—as an opportunity for addressing to the common council of the city, in the church of Ara Cœli, a vehement protest against the baseness of slavery, foulest of all when it was yielded to priests: let them, he cried, strike a blow for liberty while the cardinals were shut up in conclave. But the force which Alfonso of Naples had at hand for the protection of the cardinals rendered a rising hopeless, and the policy of Nicolas made Porcaro podestà of Anagni. On his return to Rome and attempt to renew the agitation at a popular festival, he was sent in honourable banishment to Bologna, where he pondered the verses of Petrarch and the example of Rienzi, and at length, by correspondence with his friends in Rome, organized a conspiracy, which was betrayed: and, on his arrival at Rome for its execution, Porcaro was seized, and hanged by night from a tower of St. Angelo (Jan. 9, 1453). The punishment of his confederates, both at Rome and in distant places, was pursued with treachery as well as cruelty, and much sympathy was shown for them by the people. Nicolas, disgusted at the ingratitude of the Romans, and also (it seems) at the severity to which he had been driven, and suffering from the gout, changed his popular mode of life for a morose retirement, and often uttered the wish that he could again become Master Thomas of Sarzana.

[1] Significant as this omission was in fact, the reason for it was the protest of ambassadors from Milan, with which city Frederick was at enmity for its preference of the claims of Sforza to his own. Respecting the *four crowns* of Rome, Italy, Germany, and Arles or Burgundy, see Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 193, 403.

[2] The ceremony is fully described by Æneas Sylvius, who made a speech on the Emperor's behalf. (*Vit. Frid.*, p. 277, *seq.*)

[3] Æn. Sylv. 292–3; Robertson, vol. iv. p. 481.

[4] He claimed descent from the *Porcii*, the *gens* of the Catos.

§ 6. This year was signalized by the great catastrophe, which put an end to the old Roman Empire, after a duration of nearly 1500 years from its establishment by Augustus, and full twenty-two centuries from the foundation of the city.[1] On the 29th of May, 1453, the Turkish Sultan Mahomet II. took Constantinople by assault, and the body of the last Emperor, CONSTANTINE XIII. PALÆOLOGUS, was found under a heap of slain. The great church of St. Sophia was converted into a mosque; but the wise moderation of the conqueror, desirous to retain the Christian population of the city, shared the other churches between them and the Moslems; and the patriarch, George Scholaris (or Gennadius), who had retired to a monastery rather than carry out the agreement with Rome,[2] was re-elected under an order of the Sultan. It was not till sixty years later that the public countenance of Christian worship in Constantinople was put an end to by the Sultan Selim.

This catastrophe fell upon Latin Christendom with the double pain of indignation for the loss of the city of Constantine, the newly-reconciled capital of Eastern Christianity, and terror at the prospect of the like fate. The first effect was an effort to revive the crusading spirit, to which Æneas Sylvius devoted the remainder of his life. The Pope issued a Bull, declaring the founder of Islam to be the great red dragon of the Apocalypse;[3] dwelling on the fate of Constantinople and the danger threatening the West; calling on all princes to take up arms; and requiring a tithe from the clergy. John Capistrano, an observant friar of unrivalled eloquence, who had been a disciple of St. Bernardine of Siena, was sent to preach the new crusade in Germany, while Æneas Sylvius urged it with all his power on successive diets. But his zeal was encountered by deep distrust of the Papacy; and the suspicion of the use to be made of the funds appealed for was supported by complaints of Nicolas's expenditure on the works of Rome.

§ 7. The shock, which the great disaster gave to the Pope's enfeebled health, hastened his death (March 24th, 1455). But, as is truly said by the historian who concludes his great work with

[1] The distinction between the Western and Eastern Empires, and the appellation of "Greek" for the latter, tend to obscure the real continuity of the Empire, which was called *Roman* to the last; a name which still survives in the province around Constantinople (*Roumili*, *Roumelia*). For the details of the fall of Constantinople, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xxxviii.

[2] See Chap. XII. § 5. The Cardinal Isidore, the head of the Latin party, who was at first supposed to have perished in the sack, escaped in disguise, and, after many adventures, reached Italy in safety.

[3] Another example of that use of apocalyptic imagery, which is often ignorantly supposed to be peculiar to modern Protestants.

this event,[1] "Nicolas V. foresaw not that in remote futurity the peaceful, not the warlike, consequences of the fall of Constantinople would be most fatal to the Popedom—that what was the glory of Nicolas V. would become among the foremost causes of the ruin of medieval religion: that it would aid in shaking to the base, and in severing for ever, the majestic unity of Latin Christianity. Nicolas V. aspired to make Italy the domicile, Rome the capital, of letters and arts. As for letters, it was not the ostentatious patronage of a magnificent sovereign; nor was it the sagacious policy which would enslave to the service of the Church that of which it might anticipate the dangerous rebellion. . . . . In Nicolas it was pure and genuine, almost innate, love of letters." Long before his advancement he had been a great collector of books; and as Pope he began the great Library of the Vatican with a collection of 5000 volumes. Florence was now the centre of the revival of letters, which was daily gaining strength by the influx of Greek fugitives from the advance of the Turks; and a great epoch in this movement was marked by the visit of John Palæologus with his train of learned ecclesiastics, some of whom—such notably as Cardinal Bessarion—stayed behind to enlighten the West with Greek learning. The acquaintance of these men was sought by Thomas of Sarzana, when he went to the Council of Florence with Pope Eugenius;[2] and when the last siege and fall of Constantinople drove many more learned Greeks into exile, they were welcomed by several of the Italian states, and especially at Florence by the Medici, and by Nicolas V. at Rome. They became living teachers of the language which was henceforth to be the chief organ of intellectual life for the world.[3]

§ 8. Besides the treasures of MSS. brought from the East, the emissaries of Pope Nicolas ransacked all the countries of Europe for

[1] Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. viii. p. 468. Comp. Gibbon's reflections to the same effect, chap. lxvii., and Trench's *Medieval Church History*, lecture xxv.

[2] See especially the *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. Pont. Max. erga literas et literarios viros patrocinio*, appended to his Life by Georgi, Rom. 1742.

[3] We have to speak of this great intellectual revival in another place; but a word of warning may be given here against the mistake of supposing the knowledge of Greek to have been anything like extinct in the West. It was fostered in England under Theodore of Tarsus; it was known to Bede, Scotus Erigena, Roger Bacon, and many other Western scholars; and Petrarch, with whom it made a fresh start in Italy, learnt it from a bishop of Calabria (the ancient Magna Græcia), where it was still spoken. In fact, it is simply untrue to call Greek and Latin *dead languages* in any sense; besides their *vital* and *vivifying* literature, neither has ever ceased to be a *vernacular tongue*, the one as the speech of a people, the other as the common language of learning and of a large part of the Church.

the remains of classical and patristic antiquity; and the refugees, and scholars taught by them, were employed to translate the great Greek authors into Latin.[1] One example demands special record, as showing how the love of letters began to prevail over the rules of orthodoxy, even in a Pope. One of the greatest scholars of the age, Laurentius Valla (born at Rome, 1406), had dared (about 1440) to publish a treatise exposing the forgery of the "Donation of Constantine;" and he found it needful to withdraw secretly to Naples, where he applied his critical skill to the fictitious correspondence of Abgarus with Christ, and also to the pretended authorship of the Apostles' Creed by the Holy Twelve.[2] Rescued from the Inquisition by King Alfonso, he in vain sought permission from Eugenius to return to Rome; but the liberal Nicolas invited him and made him his secretary, and Calixtus III. promoted him to a canonry of the Lateran. He died in 1465.

The significance of this revival of letters was immensely enhanced by the *Invention of Printing*, which has been well called "a new gift of tongues—if only it had been always turned to worthy uses."[3] The epoch assigned to that great event is the year 1442, when JOHN FUST (the *Faust* of dramatic legend) established his press at Mainz; and the first work printed from metal types (*cut*, not yet *cast*) was the Latin Bible,[4] completed at the same place by JOHN GUTENBERG in the same year that Nicolas V. died.

§ 9. The decay of Rome, during the exile at Avignon and the strife of the great schism, had begun to be repaired when order and prosperity were re-established by Martin and Eugenius; but "under Nicolas V. Rome aspired to rise again at once to her strength and her splendour."[5] With the restoration of the Pope's authority, his ordinary revenues flowed in steadily, but the Jubilee of 1450 furnished the special resources for the new works of defence, majesty, and ornament. While the fortifications of the whole city were repaired, the Leonine quarter on the Vatican Mount beyond the Tiber was to be separately fortified and embellished for the residence of the Pope and the Cardinals, in security against the turbulent populace of the city. As its sacred centre, the ancient basilica of St. Peter, built by Constantine,[6] now falling into decay, was to be

[1] For the splendid rewards offered by Nicolas, just before his death, to the Greek Philelpho, for a translation of the Iliad and Odyssey into Latin verse, see Milman, vol. viii. p. 472. A prose version of the Homeric poems had been made by Leontius Pilatus, under the care of Boccaccio.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 26, 234. [3] Trench, *Medieval Ch. Hist.* p. 389.

[4] Called the *Mazarine Bible*, from a copy in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. See the work of Dr. Hessels on *Gutenberg*, 1882.

[5] Milman, vol. viii. p. 474.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 422. The Lives of Nicolas V. by Georgio and Manetti

replaced by a majestic edifice, in the form of a Greek cross; and Nicolas began the work by building a tribune, which was destroyed when the new design of Bramante was carried out.

Beside the old basilica there was a palace, probably of the same age, in which Charles the Great had lodged when he was crowned by Leo III. It was rebuilt by Innocent III. and enlarged by Nicolas III.; and, on the return from Avignon, Gregory XI. transferred the papal residence to this palace on the Vatican, for the security afforded by the neighbouring castle of St. Angelo. Nicolas V. now resolved to build, beside the cathedral of St. Peter, a palace worthy of his successor; but the completion of "the Vatican," with its 20 courts and 4422 rooms, covering and enclosing a space of 1151 feet by 767, with its vast treasures of art and letters, occupied his successors for four centuries, to the fall of the temporal power under Pius IX.[1] The palace was connected by strong walls with the castle of St. Angelo; and both the fortress and bridge were strengthened and adorned with bulwarks and towers. All the principal churches of the city were repaired, and their ritual made more magnificent than before. Nicolas restored the Milvian Bridge and the aqueduct of Augustus, whose ancient name of *Aqua Virgo* was easily sanctified as *Acqua Vergine*;[2] and he cleansed the channel of the Anio. Nor did his munificence expend itself on the city only. "Everywhere in the Roman territory rose churches, castles, public edifices. Already the splendid church of St. Francis, at Assisi,[3] wanted repair: Nicolas built a church

describe the design and the details of the plan, of which Milman says, "Julius II. and Leo X. did but accomplish the design of Nicolas V. Had Nicolas lived, Bramante and Michael Angelo might have been prematurely anticipated by Rosellini of Florence and Leo Battista Alberti." The mosaic pavement of the apse, begun by Nicolas V., was completed by Paul II. The existing church was designed, in the plan of a Greek cross surmounted by a cupola, by Bramante for Pope Julius II., who laid the foundation stone, under one of the piers, in 1506. Leo X. employed Raphael on the work, which was checked by the death of both; and in 1534 Paul III. entrusted it to Michael Angelo (then in his 72nd year), who declared that he would raise the dome of the Pantheon in the air. The drum only was complete when he died at the age of 89 (1563), but the church was finished according to his plan, except that the nave was lengthened to the form of a Latin cross, in order to include the western part of the old basilica, and the portico was made in two stories, with the result of hiding the near view of the dome. The church was dedicated by Urban VIII. (Nov. 18th, 1626), 176 years after its commencement by Nicolas V. For a full account, see Murray's *Handbook for Rome*.

[1] For its history, and a full account of its museums, galleries, and libraries, see Murray's *Rome*, Sect. I. § 26.

[2] For many such adaptations, see Conyers Middleton's *Letter from Rome*.

[3] See below in the account of the Franciscans, Chap. XXIII., p. 387, n.

dedicated to St. Francis at his favoured town of Fabriano; one at Gualdo in Umbria to St. Benedict. Among his princely works was a castle at Fabriano, great buildings at Centumcellæ, the walls of Civita Castellana, a citadel at Narni, with bulwarks and deep fosses; another at Civita Vecchia; baths near Viterbo; buildings for ornament and defence at Spoleto. The younger arts, Sculpture and Painting, began under his auspices still further to improve. Fra Angelico painted at Rome at the special command or request of Nicolas V."[1]

§ 10. On the death of Nicolas V., Bessarion seemed marked out as his worthiest successor; but his severe virtue was disliked by the laxer cardinals,[2] who objected to the promotion of a Greek neophyte, still wearing his beard. So by the frequent method of compromise, the preference was given to the first of that name which was soon to become a proverbial type of outrageous wickedness.[3] The Spanish Cardinal Alfonso Borja (in Italian BORGIA), a native of Valencia, studied and became a professor in the University of Lerida, and was esteemed the greatest jurist of his time. His first preferment was received from Benedict XIII.; but, being sent by Alfonso of Arragon to Rome on an effort to end the remnant of the papal schism, he was rewarded by Martin V. with the bishopric of Valencia; and, on a second mission to Eugenius at Florence, he was made a cardinal, and attached himself to the papal court. It was at the advanced age of 77 that he became Pope by the title of CALIXTUS III. (1455–1458).[4]

§ 11. Despising and openly censuring the splendid tastes and schemes of his predecessor, he divided his energies between the Crusade and the advancement of his family. Public works were stopped, and the remains of Nicolas's treasure, as well as church property and jewels, were devoted to the holy war, to which a Bull summoned the nations of the West for the 1st of March, 1456. Calixtus equipped a fleet, and sent aid to the famous Albanian chieftain Scanderbeg; while the eloquence of John Capistrano

[1] Milman, vol. viii. p. 477. The only remaining works at Rome of the Dominican Fra John or Angelico are his paintings in the chapel of St. Laurence in the Vatican. He died in the same year as the Pope.

[2] *Leves et voluptuosi* (Platina, *Panegyr. in Bessar.* 80).

[3] The famous lines, in which Pope illustrates the position, that moral as well as physical evils may be a part of the scheme of Providence—

> "If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,
> Why then a BORGIA or a Catiline?"—

may refer to Alexander VI., or his son Cæsar, or both. (*Essay on Man*, Bk. I. 155–6.)

[4] Some writers call him Calixtus IV.; but the former Calixtus III. (1168–1178) is regarded as only an Antipope by the Roman authorities.

raised an enthusiastic though undisciplined force of 40,000 men, which, animated by his daily exhortations, and led by the skill and valour of John Huniades, repulsed Mahomet II. from Belgrade (July and August, 1456).[1]

But this check to the instant danger from the Turks tended rather to make the great powers more suspicious of the Pope's designs in the Crusade. Charles VII. of France dreaded a diversion of the strength needing to be consolidated after the deliverance from the English yoke; and the universities only consented with reluctance to the tenth demanded. The same impost was collected in Arragon and Sicily, but was used by Alfonso against the Genoese as "the Turks of Europe."[2] The chief opposition was in Germany; but the zeal and energy of Æneas Sylvius secured the adhesion of Frederick III., and obtained for himself the reward of a cardinal's hat (1456). It was on this occasion that Æneas wrote an interesting book on the relations of the Papacy to Germany, in which "he contrasts the free cities of Germany, which owned subjection to the Emperor alone, and enjoyed the greatest liberty anywhere known, with the Italian republics, such as Venice, Florence, and Siena, where all but the dominant few were alike slaves."[3]

§ 12. While the crusading zeal of Calixtus remained fruitless, his nepotism had lasting results in the history of the Papacy and Europe. Enfeebled by age and gout, he fell under the influence of his three nephews, the sons of his sisters, and a band of friars, whom the popular hatred designated as the *Catalans* (a nation not only Spanish but notorious as pirates). They were laden with offices, and under their administration Rome fell into frightful corruption and disorder. One nephew, Louis John Milano, was made the Pope's first new cardinal and bishop of Bologna. Even Æneas Sylvius was for a while passed over in favour of another nephew, Roderigo Lenzuol, who assumed the name of Borgia, which he was destined to make infamous as Pope Alexander VI. At the age of 22 he was made a cardinal, chancellor of the Roman church, and warden of the Marches, besides being invested with numerous ecclesiastical benefices. His elder brother, Peter Borgia, who remained a layman, was made Duke of Spoleto, Vicar of Benevento

[1] In the enthusiasm of gratitude, preachers applied to Huniades, as afterwards to Sobieski, the text (John i. 6), "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John." Both the defenders, Capistrano and Huniades, were in feeble health, and died within two months after the victory. St. John Capistrano was canonized in 1690.

[2] For the troubles of Calixtus about the succession to the crown of Naples on Alfonso's death (1458), see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 492–4.

[3] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 492. The title of the book is *Germania*.

and Terracina, standard-bearer of the Church, and prefect of Rome. In this office he became the special object of a popular insurrection against the "Catalans," which broke out on the Pope's death (August 6th, 1458); and he escaped down the Tiber, only to die of fever at Civita Vecchia, leaving his vast wealth to his brother Roderigo.

§ 13. The close balance of parties in the conclave caused another resort to the vote by access, and, on the proposal of Cardinal Borgia, the election fell on Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who may perhaps have followed Virgil's well known epithet of Æneas in assuming the name of PIUS II.[1] (1458–1464). His elevation was acceptable both to the Roman people, weary of the "Catalan" yoke, and to the states of Europe, which had ample experience of his eloquence and accomplishments, his personal fascination, political skill and versatility. He came to the papal throne vainly pledged, like so many of his predecessors, by a capitulation agreed on among the cardinals, to the following effect:—"The future pope was bound to carry on the war against the Turks, to reform the curia, to secure a provision for the cardinals, to act by their advice, to choose them according to the decrees of Constance, without regard to the importunities of princes. Once a year the cardinals were to meet, in order to enquire as to his performance of his engagements; and they were authorized to admonish him in case of failure."[2]

§ 14. Of these obligations, Pius devoted himself heart and soul to the advancement of the Crusade; and, for the rest, the former leader in the Council of Basle became the uncompromising assertor of the papal privileges he had there assailed. His fondness for letters, and his elegant tastes, yielded to the devotion of all his resources to the Crusade, except in the favour he showed to Siena, the cradle of his family, and to his birthplace Corsignano.[3] "The war against the Turks engrossed his care, and left him no funds to spare for the patronage of arts or of letters. His personal tastes and habits were simple; he delighted in the pure air of the country, and intensely enjoyed the beauties of nature; and the rapidity of his movements disgusted the formal officers of the court, although

[1] Vergil. *Æneid.* i. 305, *et passim.* The only papal precedent for the name was as far back as the second century; PIUS I. (142–157). Pius II. was now in his 53rd year, having been born in 1405.

[2] Robertson, iv. p. 495.

[3] He made Siena an archbishopric, and Corsignano, renamed after himself Pienza, a bishopric. The splendid cathedral and vast Piccolimini palace, built by Pius II. and his nephew, Pius III., also a native of the place, still contrast strangely with the insignificance of the town of 2000 inhabitants. Respecting the frescoes in the Library, see above, p. 180.

they did not really interfere with his attention to the details of business."[1]

It was a striking sign of the degradation of the Empire when a Pope summoned, by his own authority, not an ecclesiastical council, but a congress of princes, to meet at Mantua;[2] but the result was a lamentable contrast to the enthusiastic meeting at Clermont under Urban II. The Emperor Frederick found an excuse for not obeying in person the summons of his former secretary, in the contest which he was beginning with Matthias Corvinus (the son of John Huniades), who had been elected King of Hungary on the death of Ladislaus V. (1458).[3] Pius reproved him sharply both for his absence and the inefficiency of his ambassadors, remembering doubtless how differently he himself had worked both for Emperor and Pope. Charles VII. of France, offended at the part taken by Pius in Naples,[4] refused his concurrence; and when at last he sent ambassadors, they pleaded the impossibility of doing anything till peace was made with England; and the latter power was now fully occupied with the Wars of the Roses.[5] Even Philip of Burgundy, the prince heartiest in the cause, was persuaded by his counsellors to remain at home; but he sent a splendid embassy, with a promise of 6000 men. The Duke of Milan, and other Italian princes, appeared in person. Even among the Cardinals, Bessarion was the only earnest supporter of the Crusade.

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 496.

[2] Pius II. instituted two new orders of knighthood for the enterprize, in imitation of the Templars and Hospitallers, named after Jesus and "the Blessed Virgin Mary of Bethlehem."

[3] Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albert II. (born 1440), had been sent to Frederick III. by his mother Elizabeth, with the regalia of Hungary. Chosen king after death of Ladislaus IV. at Varna (1444), under the regency of John Huniades, he was at last released by the Emperor in 1452; but his ungrateful treatment of Huniades caused civil dissensions, in which Ladislaus, the eldest son of Huniades, was executed, his second son Matthias Corvinus was imprisoned in Bohemia, and the young King died, it was said from poison (1457). The Hungarians then elected Matthias (15 years old), who was released from prison, and had to sustain a long but ultimately victorious conflict with Frederick III.

[4] Alfonso the Wise, King of Arragon and the Two Sicilies, being without lawful issue, had procured from Eugenius IV. the legitimation of his son Ferdinand, on whom he intended to bestow the crown of Naples (as his own conquest), those of Arragon and Sicily going in due course to his brother John. The arrangement was confirmed by Nicolas V.; but, on the death of Alfonso (1458), Calixtus III. claimed Naples as a lapsed fief of the Holy See, intending it, as was supposed, for his son Peter; while the house of Anjou renewed their claim. Pius II. acknowledged Ferdinand, and married one of his nephews to a natural daughter of the King.

[5] England, however, sent representatives, with whom, as well as those of Castile, the Pope expressed himself dissatisfied.

Though Pius, whose health was bad, made a painful journey over the snow-clad Apennines in January 1459, it was not till the 1st of June that he opened the Congress. His speeches are described by those present as unrivalled for elegance and copious variety; but his own peroration to his eloquent address of three hours (Sept. 26th) complains that his "many words" failed to call forth the response of Godfrey, Baldwin, and their fellows, when they rose and answered Urban with the shout, "*Deus vult! Deus vult.*" Assuredly a Crusade for the defence of Hungary, as the bulwark of Western Christendom, was more needful and more righteous than the first for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre; but the spirit of the age had changed, and the varied interests of Europe were harder to unite against a pressing danger, than then for a distant enterprize. Of the promises made in men and money, a large part were afterwards disavowed; but, in dissolving the Congress (Jan. 19th, 1460), the Pope was able to count on 88,000 men, to be supplied, in nearly equal proportions, by Germany, and by Hungary, the country in most imminent danger.[1] The support of Germany was purchased at a price sufficient to ruin the enterprize, the concession of its command to the feeble Emperor.

§ 15. That the politic and versatile Æneas had a genuine enthusiasm for this cause, seems proved by his whole career as Pope; nor can we doubt that he felt himself to be the champion of Christendom against the danger that threatened to overwhelm it. But he was not the man to overlook the power that this position would give to the Papacy, the aggrandizement of which was his other great object. Accordingly, though the Congress of Mantua was no Council, and he alleged that the consent which he obtained from the Fathers present there left the act entirely his own, he issued thence the Bull *Execrabilis*, declaring an appeal from a Pope to a General Council to be punishable with excommunication. This reversal of the decrees of Constance and Basle—or rather of the very foundations of those Councils—on the sole authority of a Pope, who had himself been a leader on the other side, was followed up, three years later, by his famous "Bull of Retractation," addressed to the University of Cologne (April 1463).[2] With characteristic skill and frankness he relates his former errors, and pleads the course of events as his apology; admitting that he had said, written, and done many

[1] Besides the 6000 Burgundians, Germany promised 10,000 horse and 32,000 foot, and Hungary 20,000 horse and 20,000 foot.

[2] For the various events, which had meanwhile caused fresh demands for a General Council—the Pope's conflict with Diether (Theodore), archbishop of Mainz, with Sigismund of Austria about the jurisdiction of the legate, Nicolas of Cusa, and with the persistent opponent of the Papacy, Gregory of Heimburg see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 502–3.

things which might be condemned; but professing his desire to follow the example of St. Augustine in his "Confessions." The spirit of the whole is summed up in the appeal: "Believe an old man rather than a young one, and do not make a private person of more account than a Pontiff. Reject *Æneas;* receive *Pius;*[1] the former *Gentile* name our parents imposed on us at our birth; the latter *Christian* name we took with our apostolic office."

§ 16. To the Pope's new principles the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was, of course, no less obnoxious than the decrees of the Councils, and he denounced it to the French ambassadors at Mantua as a token of the Antichrist's approach. While Charles VII. lived, it was steadily maintained; but LOUIS XI.[2] began at once to reverse the policy of his hated father. He was, however, far too politic to act from passion only; and he was persuaded by Godefroy, bishop of Arras, who conveyed the Pope's congratulations on the King's accession, that the repeal of the Sanction would further his great policy of curbing the power of the nobles, by transferring their influence in ecclesiastical promotions to the crown. Godefroy, next year, carried back the repeal of the Sanction, which was received with public rejoicings at Rome; but it was resolutely opposed by the Parliament and the Universities of France; and when it appeared that the Pope would not support the Angevine cause in Naples, Louis reverted to an anti-papal policy.

§ 17. In 1461 a new excitement was caused by the Turkish capture of Trebizond and Sinope, and by the arrival at Rome of Thomas Palæologus (brother of the last Emperor), who, having been expelled from the Morea, came from Patras, the place where St. Andrew was said to have died a martyr, bringing with him the Apostle's head. The holy relic was received with great solemnities by a vast crowd assembled from Italy by the promise of indulgences, and was buried beside the head of St. Peter on the Vatican.

The Pope now took the strange step of addressing to the Sultan Mahomet a letter inviting him to end the contest by embracing the Christian faith; but the enthusiasm and self-confidence of Pius are more apparent than the old diplomatic skill of Æneas, in the zeal with which, after a courteous exordium on the Sultan's virtues and his faith in one God, he urges the imposture of the

[1] This seems to confirm the motive suggested above for the choice of his papal name from Virgil's *Pius Æneas.*

[2] The great authority for the reign of Louis XI. (July 22, 1461–Aug. 30, 1483), as well as of his son Charles VIII., is the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Comines; but it is impossible to separate Louis from the powerful sketch of his character drawn by Sir Walter Scott in *Quentin Durward.* For the outlines of his reign, see the *Student's France,* chap. viii.

Koran, the moral vices of Mohammedanism, and the sure damnation of all but Catholic Christians. Another congress of princes was summoned to meet at Rome, and Pius proclaimed a "truce of God" for five years throughout Christendom. In one of his most eloquent and pathetic speeches, he declared to the Cardinals his resolve to lead the Crusade in person, not to wield the weapons of war, but, like Moses while Israel fought with Amalek, to lift up his hands in prayer from some hill or lofty ship. His Bull called forth no response, except from Hungary and Venice; but he set out, tortured with gout and fever, to meet the Venetian fleet at Ancona (June 19th, 1464). "Farewell, Rome! thou wilt never see me alive!"—were his parting words, fulfilled at Ancona within a fortnight. He died comforted by the sight of the Venetian fleet, and by the assurance of Bessarion that he had governed well. "Pray for me, my son!" were the last words of the man who had played so many varied parts in life (August 15th, 1464).

§ 18. PAUL II.[1] (1464–1471) was a Venetian and nephew of Eugenius IV., who had made him Cardinal of St. Mark at the age of twenty-two. While holding that dignity, he built, chiefly from the ruins of the Colosseum, the great Venetian Palace on the Via Lata, the street now called the Corso, from the races which he instituted at the Carnival. He was fond of display in splendid attire, jewels, and ornaments;[2] and to gratify these tastes he kept the incomes of vacant bishoprics in his own hands. His reputation has doubtless suffered from the mortal affront given to his biographer, Platina, by measures which throw an important light on the character of the age.

§ 19. The great revival of letters and art was deeply infected with the paganism, from the famous works of which it derived its chief impulse,—a natural reaction from corrupt Christianity, when not replaced by purer faith. In his attempts to reform the *College of Abbreviators*, whose office it was to record contemporary events,[3] Paul is said to have detected a society, or, as they called themselves, an academy, who laid aside their baptismal names for fanciful appellations, such as Callimachus and Asclepiades,[4] and, with their

[1] Peter Barbo, of a family claiming descent from the Ahenobarbi. He is said to have been so vain of his beauty as to wish to take the name of *Formosus*. That of Paul was derived from the church which he rebuilt.

[2] He is said to have painted his face, to heighten the effect of his appearance at the festivals of the Church.

[3] The college, which dated from the time of the Papacy at Avignon, had been remodelled by Pius II., who fixed its number at 70.

[4] The fact that many of these names were found in the catacombs raises the question whether the movement may not have been, in part, a profession of primitive Christianity.

pagan ideas, held republican principles, which were perhaps their chief real offence. Many of them were tortured in the Pope's own presence, and banished. Among the accused was Bartholomew Sacchi, called Platina, from the old Latin name of Piadena, in the Cremonese, where he was born in 1421. He had been made an abbreviator by Pius II., but under Paul II. he was deprived of his office, imprisoned and tortured, though finally acquitted. Sixtus IV. made him librarian of the Vatican, and induced him to write the lives of the contemporary Popes. He died in 1481. No wonder that he represents Paul as heartless and cruel, while other writers speak of his tenderness, benevolence, and charity, and Platina himself testifies to his bounty to the poorer cardinals and bishops, and his mercy to offenders against the law. Though he made three of his relations cardinals, he did not succumb to favourites; "and his pontificate, however little we may find in it to respect, came afterwards to be regarded as an era of purity and virtue in comparison with the deep degradation which followed."[1]

§ 20. The election of Paul was preceded, as in so many other cases, by capitulations among the cardinals, accepting mutual obligations, which the new Pope at once threw off as illegal. For the crusade against the Turks, who were now threatening Italy, he gave subsidies to the Venetians, Hungarians, and Scanderbeg; and endeavoured to form alliances and raise money in Germany, where his invitations were answered by a demand for reform. The Crusade, in fact, had died with Pius. A visit from the Emperor Frederick to Rome led to nothing but display and empty compliments, ending in mutual dissatisfaction (1468). Far more important is the record of the first use of printing at Rome in 1467. Paul was found dead in his bed on the 26th of July, 1471.

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 515.

Medal of Cosmo dei Medici: b. 1389, d. 1464.
From the British Museum.

Bronze Statue of St. Peter, in St. Peter's, at Rome; ascribed to the time of St. Leo the Great.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PAPACY IN THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

SIXTUS IV. INNOCENT VIII. ALEXANDER VI. PIUS III. A.D. 1471–1503.

§ 1. Moral Degradation of the Papacy—Election of Cardinal della Rovere as SIXTUS IV.—His nepotism—The Popes as Italian princes—Julian della Rovere; Peter and Jerome Riario—Corruption and oppression—Jubilee of 1475—Public Works at Rome. § 2. Conspiracy of the Pazzi at Florence, and complicity of the Pope—The Turks at Otranto. § 3. Quarrel with the Venetians—*Birth of Martin Luther* (1483)—Death of Sixtus IV. (1484). § 4. INNOCENT VIII.—His gross immorality—Corruption and profligacy of the court—Disorder of Rome.

§ 5. Wars with Naples—Alliance with the Medici—Cardinal John de' Medici (afterwards Leo X.). § 6. Relations with the Turks—Prince Djem at Rome—Treaty with the Sultan Bajazet. § 7. Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella—Deaths of Lorenzo de' Medici and Innocent VIII. (1492). § 8. Election of Roderick Borgia as ALEXANDER VI. His Early Life and Character—His Family; John, Duke of Gandia, Cæsar Borgia, Lucrezia. § 9. MAXIMILIAN I. Emperor Elect. § 10. Charles VIII. of France at Rome and in Naples—Ferdinand II. restored at Naples by the Spaniards—His death. § 11. Murder of John Borgia by his brother Cæsar, who renounces his cardinalate and clerical orders. § 12. Accession and divorce of LOUIS XII.—Mission of Cæsar Borgia to France—His Conquests in Italy—French conquest of the Milanese. § 13. Profligacy and corruption at Rome—The Jubilee of A.D. 1500, and its effect in Europe. § 14. SAVONAROLA at Florence: his preaching: no *doctrinal* innovations—His republicanism: the death-bed of Lorenzo de' Medici. § 15. Savonarola's relations to Charles VIII. and the Florentine Republic—His work of reformation. § 16. Interference of the Pope—The "Sacrifice of Vanities"—Excommunication of Savonarola. § 17. His renewed preaching, and the Franciscan opposition—The Ordeal of Fire—His imprisonment and martyrdom—Machiavelli. § 18. Birth of Charles V.—Naples seized by Spain. § 19. Death of Alexander VI. § 20. Election and Death of PIUS III.

§ 1. THE period of about half a century, that now lies before us to the epoch of the Reformation, is at once glorified by the highest spendours of the Renaissance and darkened by the deep morai corruption, which had its climax in the characters of those who still claimed to be the Vicars of Christ and chief pastors of His flock: "Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?" A recent writer[1] sums up, in colours not blacker than the truth, the characters of the Popes who are now to be passed in review: "The Papacy had descended to the lowest depths of infamy. The fiercely avaricious and cruel Paul II. had been succeeded by Sixtus IV., who was steeped in bloodshed and diabolic lust; under Innocent VIII., more contemptible and scarcely less guilty, the imperial city became once more the asylum of murderers and robbers; till finally, in Alexander VI. the Christian nations saw a monster, who excelled in depravity the most hated names of the Pagan Empire, seated on the throne of St. Peter."

[1] Mr. F. P. Willert, in an article on *Machiavelli*, in the *Fortnightly Review*, March 1884. In the description of this corruption in the verses of the Carmelite friar, Baptista Mantuanus (ob. 1516), *de Horum Temporum Calamitalibus Libri IV.*, one chief element is thus described:—

"venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ.
Ignes, thura, preces: *cœlum est venale, Deusque.*"

The last words are not too strong for the traffic in Indulgences. (See Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 437–8.)

After the death of Paul II., the election of Bessarion was once more prevented by those "light and voluptuous" cardinals, who dreaded his severe virtue. They were afterwards rewarded with offices and preferments for their preference of Francis della Rovere, who took the name of SIXTUS IV.[1] (1471–1484). Born near Savona, in a humble station (1414), he had become a Franciscan, and, after teaching philosophy and theology in several Universities, he had risen to the generalship of his order; and, through the influence of Bessarion, he had been made Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula (1467). Some of his works had been put forth by the new art of printing.

But this learned cardinal, if we are to believe the chief contemporary annalist,[2] became as Pope a monster of moral depravity, as well as a most corrupt and oppressive governor; and, however exaggerated may be the shadows of the picture, its outline is justified by his public history. Sixtus IV. is notorious in the annals of the Papacy for his outrageous nepotism. Indeed we have now reached a point where the See of Rome, instead of being the centre of Latin Christianity, might almost seem to part company with any proper history of the Christian Church. The Pope becomes a secular Italian prince, using his ecclesiastical dignity chiefly as a means of influence in the politics of the Peninsula and of Europe, and aiming to strengthen himself, as well to gratify his relations, called in general *nephews*,[3] by making them the heads of great families, and even conferring on them principalities; so that a new power was raised up in rivalry with the cardinals at Rome and with the nobles and States of Italy. In defiance of the usual "capitulations," in which he had concurred before his election, Sixtus at once conferred the dignity of cardinal on two of his nephews, young men of humble origin, who, like himself, had

[1] With regard to the origin of this papal name, which had not been used for more than 1000 years, and was destined to be made famous by Sixtus V. (1585–1590), it is a simple blunder to connect it with *Sextus*. In the history of the early Popes (Sixtus I. 119–128, Sixtus II. 257–8, a martyr under Valerian, and Sixtus III. 432–440) it appears in the original form of *Xystus*, a Græco-Latin word signifying a terrace or colonnade, so called from its smoothed floor (ξυστός, from ξέω). The name would become in Italian *Sisto*, which was re-latinized as *Sixtus*.

[2] Stephanus Infessura (who is styled Senatus Populique Romani Scriba s. Cancellarius, circ. 1494) author of a *Diarium Romanæ Urbis*, 1294–1494 (in Eccard and Muratori). See the passage (in Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 385), in which the writer speaks of the Divine Providence in the Pope's death, and dwells on his wickedness and oppression. But a much less severe character is given in the Life ascribed to Platina, whom, as we have seen, Sixtus made librarian of the Vatican.

[3] The ambiguous application of the term was made still more conveniently in its original Latin form, *nepotes*, whence *nepotism*.

become Franciscans, but speedily threw off all the restraints of their profession (Dec. 1471). One of them, Julian della Rovere, became famous under the name of Pope Julius II. The other, Peter Riario, took only two years to bring himself to ruin and the grave at the age of 28 by his extravagance and debauchery (Jan. 1474); when his brother Jerome succeeded to the Pope's still greater favour.[1] To create fortunes for these relatives, Sixtus raised money by the most disgraceful arts; selling the highest dignities to unworthy purchasers, who were often defrauded of their money by non-fulfilment of the promise; creating new offices to trade in; corrupting justice by the sale of pardons, even for capital offences; imposing oppressive taxes; and tampering with the market-prices of provisions to such an extent as even to cause a famine.

As a means of bringing in money, advantage was taken, by large indulgences, of the Jubilee appointed by Paul II. for 1475, twenty-five years after the last celebration: but the influx of pilgrims, notwithstanding the amplest offers of indulgences, was checked not only by a pestilence, but also by the evil repute of the Pope, which had reached all parts of Christendom. Still it brought in great wealth, which Sixtus expended in part on the improvement of Rome, though with much of the destruction which has become almost synonymous with "restoration." In widening and repaving the streets, he destroyed many porticoes and other ancient buildings, which the King of Naples marked as obstacles to the Pope's full mastery of Rome. One of his biographers boasts that the city would have been rebuilt had Sixtus lived, and, in rivalling the famous saying of Augustus, he destroyed many of the most venerable churches. His chief monuments are the Janiculan bridge, which he rebuilt, and the Sistine chapel in the Vatican, afterwards renowned for the frescoes of Michael Angelo. His enlargement of the Vatican Library, and appointment of Platina to its charge, testify to his patronage of letters.

§ 2. The nepotism of Sixtus IV. affected his whole policy towards the States of Italy; and in one case it was a chief cause of his complicity in an atrocious crime, the conspiracy of the Pazzi, at Florence, for the murder of Lorenzo de' Medici (surnamed "the Magnificent") and his brother Julian. The Pope's nephew, Jerome Riario, and his grand-nephew, Raphael Riario, who had

[1] The brothers Riario were said to be really the Pope's sons; and Infessura ascribes their favour to a more odious connection. Another nephew, who is described as "a very little man, and of intellect corresponding to his person," was married to an illegitimate daughter of Ferdinand of Naples; and, as the price of this alliance, Sixtus commuted the tribute of Naples to the Apostolic See for *a white horse!* There are other cases of the Pope's nepotism, which it is needless to recount.

just been made a cardinal at the age of eighteen, were active parties in the conspiracy, to the support of which Sixtus, while professing to desire no bloodshed, promised the aid of the papal troops. When the murderous attack, made by two priests in the cathedral, at the moment of the elevation of the host (Sunday, April 26th, 1478), failed of its object—Lorenzo de' Medici escaping with a wound, though his brother Julian was killed, and the people taking part vehemently against the assassins—the Pope issued a violent Bull against Lorenzo and the magistrates of Florence, and made war upon the city in league with Ferdinand, King of Naples.

Europe in general was indignant against the Pope, and Louis XI. threatened to revive the Pragmatic Sanction and to stop the papal revenues from France, which, he declared, went to enrich Jerome, instead of being applied to the Holy War. So little indeed had been done towards the Crusade, for which the Pope had professed great zeal at his accession, that Rome itself was now threatened by Mahomet, who took Otranto, and put 12,000 out of its 22,000 inhabitants to the sword (Aug. 21, 1480). This blow brought the Pope to terms with the Florentines, who had already, in their extremity, won over Ferdinand of Naples by the personal influence of Lorenzo de' Medici. Their ambassadors went through a solemn form of submission and reconciliation at Rome; and the chief States of Italy joined to expel the invader from Italian soil. The dynastic contest, which followed the death of Mahomet the Conqueror (May 3rd, 1481), cut off the reinforcements needed for holding Otranto, and the Turkish garrison surrendered to the Neapolitans (August 10th).

§ 3. Instead of following up this success against the common enemy, who were besieging the Knights of St. John at Rhodes, the Pope and the Venetians joined in an attempt to take Ferrara from the house of Este for Jerome Riario. Ferdinand of Naples opposed the scheme, and his troops had advanced to the gates of Rome, when he won over Riario, and through him Sixtus himself (1482). The Pope's late allies were invited to join in a new league for the pacification of Italy; and their refusal was punished by Bulls of the severest excommunication and interdict (May 1483). But the Venetian oligarchy proved itself too strong for the Vatican; and, fortified by the opinion of the jurists of Padua, the Council of Ten intercepted the papal missives, compelled the clergy to perform their functions, and appealed both to a General Council and a Congress of Christian princes. Besides this war, the Roman territory was desolated by the feuds of the papal Orsini and the anti-papal Colonna and Savelli; till a peace was made between Venice and Naples, without any stipulation in favour of Jerome

Riario. The Pope's vexation at this treaty is said to have hastened his death, which took place five days later (Aug. 12, 1484). The biographer sees the power of God in this liberation of His Christian people; but we may now still more trace the Divine hand in an event of the last year of Sixtus. MARTIN LUTHER *was born on the* 11*th of November*, 1483.[1]

§ 4. The death of Sixtus IV. gave free rein to the popular hatred of his family and connections, the factions of the nobility, and the intrigues of parties in the Conclave. The interests of the cardinals were again vainly protected by stringent capitulations; and the confident hopes of Roderigo Borgia were frustrated by the exertions of Julian della Rovere and Ascanius Sforza[2] in favour of Cardinal John Baptist Cibo,[3] who was elected as INNOCENT VIII. (1484–1492). The moral laxity of the nominal head of Christianity seemed to have reached its climax in a Pope whose seven illegitimate children, by different mothers, were openly recognized and provided for out of the revenues of the Church. Corrupt and simoniacal dealings were continued and increased; and offices were created to be sold, the purchasers repaying themselves by exactions. The "capitulations," to which the Pope had renewed his oath after his election, were set at nought. Rome, distracted by the renewed feuds of the Colonna and Orsini, was thrown into utter disorder by a papal edict allowing the return of all who had been banished, for whatever cause (1485); and pardons were sold for the grossest crimes, for, as a high officer said, "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should *pay and live*."[4] The papal court

[1] The same year was also marked by the death of Louis XI. (Aug. 30, 1483), to soothe whose superstitious terrors Sixtus sent relics in such abundance that the Romans remonstrated against the loss to their city. Among the troop of holy men, whose intercession was sought by the King, was St. Francis of Paola, the founder of a new branch of his great namesake's order of the Minorites (*Fratres Minores*), which he called in his humility the Minims (*Fratres Minimi*). See further in Chap. XXV. § 9.

[2] Ascanius Sforza, son of Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, had been made a cardinal by the late Pope in consideration of the marriage of Jerome Riario to an illegitimate daughter of Galeazzo.

[3] His family was of Greek origin, but had been long settled at Genoa and Naples by the name of Tomacelli, that to which Boniface IX. belonged. The name of Cibò was taken from the chess-board pattern (κύβος) in their arms. The father of Innocent had been Viceroy of Naples under King René, and Senator of Rome under Calixtus III.

[4] Infessura, *ap.* Robertson, vol. iv. p. 544. According to the oft-misquoted proverb, the exception tests (*probat*) the rule; as when two papal secretaries, detected in forging Bulls, were put to death because they could not pay the price of a pardon. On the other hand, there are writers who praise Innocent for his maintenance of public order; but the testimony of Infessura, though hostile, seems the more trustworthy.

was disgraced by gross profligacy, extravagance, and gambling, which infected the whole society of Rome.

§ 5. The demand made by Innocent of the former tribute from Naples involved him in long wars with King Ferdinand, though twice ended by treaties in favour of the Papacy, the terms of which, however, were little regarded.[1] In this conflict the Pope sought the alliance of the great ruler of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici, whose son John (Giovanni), afterwards famous as Leo X., was made a cardinal at the age of thirteen (1489).

§ 6. While following the example of his predecessors, and with as little result, in calling the princes of Europe to a crusade against the Turks, Innocent entered into curious relations with their royal family. The succession to the great Sultan Mahomet II. had been disputed between his sons, Bajazet and Djem (called Zizim or Zemes in the West); and the latter, defeated by his brother, fled to the Knights of St. John at Rhodes, who sent him for greater safety to their brethren in France. After some years of competition for the young prince's person, to be used as a pretender against the Sultan, Djem was given up to the Pope, and was lodged as an honoured guest in the Vatican (1489). Bajazet, having failed (if the report can be trusted) in an intrigue to poison both the prince and the Pope, arranged to pay Innocent 40,000 ducats annually for his brother's maintenance and safe custody;[2] and he propitiated the Pope with a most holy relic, the head of the spear which pierced the Saviour's side.[3]

§ 7. While these civilities were exchanged between the Pope and Sultan, a great landmark was set in the history of Christendom by the final victory of Ferdinand and Isabella over the Moslems in Spain, in the conquest of Granada after a twelve years' war (Jan. 1492). The triumph was celebrated at Rome with unbounded rejoicings, and with bull-fights given by the Spanish ambassador and Cardinal Borgia. Three months later, the almost royal honours, with which the young Cardinal John de' Medici was installed on

[1] For the details of these purely political affairs, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 544–5.

[2] The young prince's fate was in keeping with the rest of this policy. When the next Pope, Alexander VI., supported the claim of Charles VIII. on Naples (see below, § 10), he gave up Djem to the French King, to be used in a Crusade (Jan. 1495). But in the next month Djem died, poisoned, as was believed, and is now confirmed by the secret archives of Venice (see p. 232, n), for the great sum which Bajazet gave the Pope.

[3] This is still one of the four most sacred relics preserved at St. Peter's. True, the possession of the lance was already claimed by other places, and Bajazet himself informed the Pope that its point (*cuspis*) was at Paris; but, as a writer asked in the spirit of the classic revival, if several cities claimed the birth of Homer and the tomb of Æneas, why should there not be many claimants to the custody of this holy relic?

completing his sixteenth year, were interrupted by the death of his father Lorenzo (April 7th); and the Pope died on July 27th.

§ 8. Amidst the armed tumults and loss of life in Rome and its neighbourhood, for which every papal vacancy had become the regular signal, a vehement struggle took place in the Conclave between the parties of Cardinals Borgia, Sforza, and della Rovere; till Sforza, finding his chance hopeless, threw his weight into the scale of Borgia, whose success was ensured by unbounded bribery and promises of preferment to his brother cardinals.[1] ALEXANDER VI. (1492–1503), whose name stands alone in its "bad eminence" even among the Popes of this age, expressed his exultation in words which have a satiric force in history; "I am Pope, Pontiff, Vicar of Christ!" Some of the Romans rejoiced in the promise which his noble presence, wealth, and expensive tastes, gave of a splendid pontificate; but his elevation alarmed the sovereigns of Spain, who knew him better, and Ferdinand of Naples is said to have burst into tears at the news. His career seems strangely placed in this history of the Christian Church; but it helps on the climax of evidence for the necessity of a better foundation than the falsely-claimed Roman rock of Peter—that one true Rock of which the Apostle's name was but the symbol.[2]

Roderigo Borgia,[3] now 61 years old, was (as we have seen)

[1] The only ones not thus won over are said to have been the Cardinals Piccolomini, della Rovere, and three others. Contemporary satire celebrated the means by which Borgia secured his election, and his indiscriminate sale of benefices:—

> "Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum:
> Emerat ista prius; vendere jure potest."

Alexander's consciousness of the means by which his election was obtained was betrayed by his constant dread of a General Council.

[2] The grand text inscribed round the dome of St. Peter's (Matt. xvi. 18, "Tu es Petrus, &c.") may suggest an irony to those who remember the state of the Papacy when it was set up.

[3] The chief original authorities for this Pope and his family are Stephen Infessura (to 1494); Burchard, Master of the Ceremonies to Alexander VI., *Diarium Curiæ Romanæ*, 1484–1506 (the first vol. of a new and complete edition, by L. Thuasne, has appeared at Paris, 1883); and especially Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia, Lib. XX.* 1494–1532. Francesco Guicciardini, who ranks at the head of the general historians of Italy, was born at Florence in 1482, and became a strong partisan of the Medicean party. He was in the service of Leo X. and Clement VII., and had a chief share in the final establishment of the rule of the Medici in 1530. But disgust at the despotic power usurped by Cosmo I. caused his retirement to his country seat at Arcetri, where he wrote his History, and died in May 1540. The History was only published 20 years later by his nephew, Bks. I.–XVI. in 1561, and the first complete edition at Venice in 1569. Though prolix, it is valuable and authentic, the more so because characterized, like the great work of his contemporary Machiavelli, by the moral indifference of the age, and so the more impartial.

by birth a Spaniard: he and his family spoke Spanish among themselves, and were surrounded by attendants and confidants of their own nation.[1] A legatine mission to Spain, to collect money for the Crusade, added to the great wealth he derived from his numerous preferments and the inheritance of his uncle, Calixtus III. Like the Spanish clergy in general, he was deficient in learning, though of ready eloquence; his ability lying chiefly in craft, resources, and perseverance as a negociator. His faithlessness, Machiavelli tells us,[2] was such that he was not to be believed on his oath. His addiction to pleasure was not allowed to interfere with business, which he often transacted during a large part of the night. His earlier ecclesiastical life had been marked by deeds as well as professions of piety and charity; nor, up to this time, had his loose morality reached the licence which made the palaces of some other cardinals notorious for their profligate revels.[3] It was probably about 1470 that he made an irregular marriage (so he regarded the connection) with Vanozza de' Catanei, whom he provided with two husbands in succession.[4]

Alexander's surviving family was three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Peter Louis, having died, the title of Duke of Gandia, given him by the King of Spain, had devolved on his next brother, John. The third and favourite son, the infamous CÆSAR BORGIA, who was studying for the priesthood at Pisa, was at once made Bishop of Pampeluna and soon after Archbishop of Valencia (his father's see), and next year a cardinal.[5]

§ 9. In the same year (1493) a new force arose in Europe by the succession of the able and adventurous MAXIMILIAN I. to his father Frederick III.[6] From him dates the real greatness of the house of

[1] Cæsar Borgia's trusted assassin and poisoner was a Spaniard.

[2] *Principe*, c. 18.

[3] Even an historian of the age, who holds that the vices of Alexander were equalled by his virtues, draws his character in the following terms:—"perfidia plusquam Punica, sævitia immani, avaritia immensa ac rapacitate, inexhausta parandi filio imperii per fas et nefas libidine . . . Mulieribus maxime addictus, &c." Onuphrius Panvinius (the continuer of Platina), *de Vit. Pontif.* p. 360, Colon. 1600.

[4] After Alexander's death, Vanozza is said to have led a life of devotion and beneficence. She is buried in the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo.

[5] The character and adventures of the beautiful Lucrezia Borgia, who was now fifteen, have no real place in the ecclesiastical history of the age. It is enough to say that there is undoubtedly much exaggeration in the traditional accounts of her, and indeed of the whole family of Borgia. But enough was true to make the worst easy of belief.

[6] As has been said before, he was the first who bore the title of *Emperor Elect*, which was formally conferred by Pope Julius II., when the Venetians prevented Maximilian from going to Rome for his coronation (1508). Born in 1459, he had been elected King of the Romans in his father's lifetime. At the age of 18, he married Mary, heiress of Charles

Hapsburg in the Empire which they held (with the exception of only one reign) till it was abdicated by Francis II. in 1806.

§ 10. We may best leave to civil history the intricate movements of Italian politics, which brought Charles VIII. of France to Rome on his enterprize to recover the Angevine inheritance of Naples (Dec. 31, 1494). The Pope, who had taken part with King Alfonso,[1] and had vainly sought aid from Maximilian, found himself unable to refuse Charles a passage; he shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, threatened at once by the French cannon and an appeal promoted by a large party of the cardinals to a General Council for his deposition. But he found means to influence the King's counsellors; a treaty was concluded, and Cæsar Borgia accompanied Charles as legate, but really as a hostage, and contrived to escape on the march to Naples. Alfonso, whose tyranny and vices, as well as his father's, had made him hated by his subjects, abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand II., and retired to a monastery, where he soon after died; while the new King, unable to oppose the invader, fled to Ischia, and Charles entered Naples unopposed (Feb. 21st, 1495). But his indolence and misgovernment, and the rapacity and licence of his followers, utterly disgusted his new subjects; and the news of a league formed by the Pope, the Emperor, the sovereigns of Spain, and the Venetians, forced him to retreat from Naples. At Rome, Alexander avoided meeting him by retiring to Orvieto, and Charles recrossed the Alps in October. Meanwhile Ferdinand was reinstated at Naples by the aid of the "Great Captain" of Spain,[2] Gonsalvo de Aguilar, the conqueror of Granada, who also recovered Ostia for the Pope from the force left there by Charles under Julian della Rovere; the Cardinal himself being driven into exile. Gonsalvo accepted the golden rose as a present for his sovereigns; but he refused the honours offered for himself, and rebuked the Pope for the disorders of his court (1497).

§ 11. The speedy death of Ferdinand II., at the age of 27 (Sept. 7th, 1496), opened to the Pope a prospect of schemes for the

the Bold of Burgundy, who brought the Low Countries to the house of Austria; and the marriage of their son, Philip, with Joanna, the heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, united the possessions of Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands, in the person of their son, Charles I. of Spain, the Emperor Charles V.

[1] Alfonso succeeded his father Ferdinand, Jan. 25th, 1494. Charles was urged on to the enterprize by the Cardinal della Rovere, the implacable enemy of the Pope.

[2] It is a sign of the objects for which the pretence of a Crusade was kept up, that the Pope authorized the Spanish sovereigns to employ the money, collected for that purpose in Spain, against the French in Naples.

aggrandizement of his family in Naples, like those which had been formed by Sixtus IV. As a first step, the dukedom of Benevento —the ancient possession of the Papacy in the heart of the Neapolitan dominions—was conferred on John Borgia, duke of Gandia, Piccolomini being the only cardinal who protested against this alienation of the Church's patrimony (June 7th, 1497). But on that day week the duke was murdered in the streets of Rome,[1] and it was not doubted that the crime was perpetrated by Cæsar Borgia, in order to secure for himself the advancement designed for his brother. Alexander, amidst his bitter lamentations, cried out that he knew the murderer; but before the consistory he declared that he suspected no one. In his agony of grief, he appointed a commission of six cardinals to draw up a scheme for the reformation of the Church, and even talked of resigning the Papacy; but all this ended in verifying the famous proverb of the sick wicked one.

Cæsar soon regained his ascendancy over his father, and went to Naples to crown the new King, Frederick, uncle of Ferdinand, an amiable and popular sovereign, whom he was perhaps already plotting to supplant (Aug. 1497). To smooth the path of his ambition, Cæsar obtained a dispensation from his clerical orders and dignity as a cardinal, and became a simple layman (Aug. 1498).

§ 12. Meanwhile Charles VIII. of France had died at the age of 28 (April 7th, 1498), and was succeeded by his cousin the Duke of Orleans, as Louis XII. The new King was eager for release from his deformed but amiable wife, Jeanne, whom her father, Louis XI., had forced upon him,[2] that he might marry Charles's widow, who was heiress of Brittany in her own right. Alexander eagerly seized the opportunity for an alliance with France, and sent Cæsar on a splendid mission, with Bulls for the divorce and remarriage of Louis,[3] and one conferring the dignity of cardinal on the King's minister, d'Amboise. The divorce was pronounced after a scanda-

[1] John (Juan, Giovanni), who was 24 when he died, was the only one of the Borgias in whose line the family was continued. His son Juan was the ancestor of dukes, cardinals, and prelates; and chief among them ranks his son, St. Francesco de Borgia (b. 1510), who, after a splendid career at the court of Charles V. (whose executor he became later), retired from the world on the death of his wife (1546), entered the Society of Jesus, and became its third General (1565). He died at Rome in 1572, and was canonized by Clement IX. in 1671.

[2] Louis XII., the first King of the line of Valois-Orleans, was the grandson of Louis, duke of Orleans, the younger son of Charles V., and of Valentina Visconti, on his descent from whom he based his claim to the duchy of Milan. As to the death of Charles VIII., see p. 232, n.

[3] With characteristic duplicity, the second Bull was kept back, to secure better terms from Louis; but its existence was betrayed to the King by a bishop, whom Cæsar is said to have poisoned for his indiscretion.

lous mockery of a trial. Louis rewarded Cæsar Borgia with the hand of his niece Charlotte d'Albret, sister of the King of Navarre, and with the duchy of Valentinois, and promised to aid his ambitious schemes in Italy. While Louis, in two campaigns, conquered the duchy of Milan, and carried off Ludovico Sforza a prisoner to France,[1] Cæsar Borgia pursued his designs in Central Italy. With the design of creating a great principality—and even, as some think, of aiming at a union of the peninsula—Cæsar began by putting down the numerous petty princes, who had raised themselves from the original condition of papal vicars in the territories of the Holy See. The oppressive taxation, required to support these courts in the luxury of the age and their patronage of arts and letters, made them hateful to their subjects; and their failure to pay the tribute to Rome gave a pretext for their suppression. The alienation of their fiefs from the domain of the Church to become the property of the Borgias was sanctioned by the Sacred College, and Cæsar, who had been received at Rome with a splendid triumph (Feb. 1500), was created Duke of Romagna. His designs on Tuscany were checked by the French king, who was urged by many of the Italians to deliver the Church from the Pope and his son. Alexander, however, secured the influence of Cardinal d'Amboise by new promises; and the alliance was confirmed in an interview between Louis and Cæsar at Milan (Aug. 1502).

§ 13. It would only be disgusting to recite in detail the acts of cruelty and perfidy by which Cæsar Borgia secured and extended his power in Italy; or the shameless profligacy in which, after making allowance for exaggeration, we must believe that the Pope, his family, and his court, revelled at the Vatican. These excesses, and the splendid establishments of the Borgias, were supported in part by all the old abuses—the traffic in benefices and indulgences, the creation of offices for sale, the misappropriation of money collected for the Crusade—with new and most shameful devices. Cardinals were created in large numbers at a time, "for a consideration;" but their removal was still more profitable. Alexander not only seized the property of deceased cardinals under the *jus exuviarum*, in defiance of their testamentary dispositions, but even forbad their making wills, and in some cases a rich succession is said to have been secured by poison. Wealthy prelates disappeared mysteriously. Rome was kept under a government of terror; the prisons were crowded, while the streets were full of assassins and spies, and dead bodies were daily found lying in the streets or floating

[1] The details belong to civil history. See the *Student's France*, chap. xiii. § 2.

in the Tiber. Criminal charges were invented against Roman nobles, that their confiscated property might be swept into the coffers of the Borgias; and church property was largely alienated for their possession.[1] The Jubilee of 1500 enriched the Vatican with the contributions of a vast number of pilgrims, who in return carried abroad the news of the utter depravity of Rome, and so gave an impulse to the great movement of the sixteenth century.[2]

§ 14. How the forces of reformation were gathering beyond the Alps, will be told in its place; but, even in the great depth of Italian corruption, the dark picture of Alexander's Papacy is broken by the appearance of one of the most striking characters of the age, the reformer and martyr JEROME SAVONAROLA.[3] Born in 1452 at Ferrara, where his grandfather was court physician, he became an ardent student of poetry, philosophy, and theology. Imbued with reverence for Thomas Aquinas, and disgusted at the profligacy of the times, he was led by the preaching of a Dominican friar to enter the Order at the age of twenty-two (1475). He had already believed himself favoured with visions; and in the scriptural studies, which he pursued with ardour, he was addicted to mystic and allegorical interpretations. After a course of seven years in the Dominican convent at Bologna, his superiors removed him to the monastery of St. Mark's at Florence (1482), of which he was elected prior in 1491. Meanwhile, notwithstanding some natural disqualifications and first failures, Savonarola burst forth into full power as a preacher to the multitudes who filled the

[1] "Thus Cæsar, in addition to his fiefs in the Romagna, received the abbey of Subiaco, with eighteen castles belonging to it; and nineteen cardinals signed the deed of alienation, while not one dared to object to it."—Robertson, vol. iv. p. 580.

[2] A series of events of the highest importance in contemporary history claim notice also as an illustration of the lofty claims of the Papacy. The *Discovery or re-discovery of America* was begun by the first voyage of Columbus in 1492, and in 1497 Vasco da Gama found the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope. Alexander VI. assumed the right to divide the newly discovered worlds by a Bull, drawing a line from Pole to Pole west of the Azores, and giving the East to Portugal and the West to Spain (1493).

[3] In Italian GIROLAMO, in Latin, HIERONYMUS Savonarola. The chief authorities are the old lives, by his admirer Picus of Mirandola, 1530, and by the Dominican Burlamacchi (*ob.* 1519), in Baluz. *Miscell.* vol. i.; Ecchard and Quetif; Machiavelli, and De Comines. Among modern works, the most valuable is that of Villari, *Storia di Gir. Sav.* 2 vols. Fir. 1859–61; also the lives by Rudelbach, Hamb. 1835, Hase (*Neue Propheten*, Leipz. 1851–1861), Madden, Lond. 1853; and an article by Dean Milman in the *Quarterly Review*, June 1865. The preaching and death of Savonarola play a conspicuous part in 'George Eliot's' novel of *Romola*.

cathedral, to hear the friar whose fervent words and passionate gestures seemed to mark one who pleaded for God. He propounded no new doctrines, nor did he assail any point in the creed of the Church; but he rebuked with equal vehemence the practical corruptions of laity and clergy, the utter want of spirituality amidst the splendour and culture of the age; the luxury of common life, and the pomp of religious worship. Formerly, he said, the Church had golden priests and wooden chalices, but now the chalices were of gold, the priests of wood. His threats of coming punishment were not only couched in apocalyptic imagery, but in more directly prophetic language, predicting that Italy would be scourged by a new Cyrus coming over the Alps. He claimed to have received visions and revelations from angels; these, and his contests with evil spirits, became famous beyond Italy; and his admirers spoke of him as "the prophet."

With Savonarola's religious enthusiasm was mingled an ardent love of republican freedom; and his political opposition to the Medici was the more inflexible for his reprobation of their luxury and vice. In 1492, Lorenzo "the Magnificent," on his deathbed, turned to the prior of St. Mark's, whom he had before vainly tried to conciliate, and confessed the sins that lay heaviest on his conscience. But when Savonarola, replying by assurances of the Divine mercy and goodness, demanded acts of restitution, one of which was that he should restore the liberties of Florence, Lorenzo refused, and Savonarola left him unabsolved.

§ 15. When, two years later, Charles VIII. entered Italy and approached Florence, Pietro de' Medici, who at the age of twenty-one had succeded to his father's power and was already unpopular for his vice and weakness, met the French king and made with him a treaty most disadvantageous to the city. For this he and his brothers were expelled; but Savonarola, as a leader in the restored Republic, counselled submission to Charles, of whom he spoke as "the new Cyrus;" while the French king made a vague response to the friar's exhortations that he would respect the liberties of Florence, and labour for the reformation of the Church (1494). After this brief episode of Charles's invasion, the responsibility of guiding the Republic devolved in a great degree on Savonarola, amidst the suppressed dislike of the Medicean party and the avowed opposition of the ardent oligarchs, while the pure republicans had little sympathy with the principles of moral and religious reform, which he put above all worldly policy. "He proclaimed the sovereignty of Christ, and did not hesitate to deduce from this the sacredness of the laws which he himself set forth. His visions

increased, partly through the effect of his ascetic exercises."[1] His preaching produced a complete revolution in the outward aspect of life at Florence, in dress, manners, religious duties, almsgiving, commercial honesty, the reading of serious in place of licentious literature, and the abandonment of gross public spectacles. His influence even pressed into the service of reform the unruly boys, whose exaction of money for their festivities had been a chief scandal of the Carnival, where they now appeared to collect alms (1496). In his own priory he effected a thorough reformation, not only restoring the simplicity of monastic life, but training the brethren in schools for the study of Holy Scripture in the original tongues, and for the arts of calligraphy, painting, and illumination, which were used to defray the expenses of the house. "The number of the brethren had increased from about 50 to 238, of whom many were distinguished for their birth, learning, or accomplishments; and among the devoted adherents of the prior were some of the most eminent artists of the age; . . . above all, Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who even to old age used to read the sermons of Savonarola, and to recal with reverence and delight his tones and gestures."[2]

§ 16. Around such a course it was inevitable that bitter enmity, both ecclesiastical and political, should gather. As the result of representations made to Rome, Savonarola was prohibited from preaching; but his temporary obedience was soon broken by new denunciations of the vices of the Roman court and of the Pope's simoniacal election, with appeals to a General Council (1495). The crafty Alexander tried to win him over by offering to make him a cardinal; "but Savonarola indignantly declared from the pulpit that he would have no other red hat than one dyed with the blood of martyrdom."[3] He was again interdicted from preaching till he should obey the summons to Rome.

The Carnival of 1497 was signalized by Savonarola's great *Sacrifice of Vanities.* "For some days the boys who were under his influence went about the city, asking the inhabitants of each house to give up to them any articles which were regarded as vanities and cursed things; and these were built up into a vast pile, fifteen stories high—carnival masks and habits, rich dresses and ornaments of women, false hair, cards and dice, perfumes and cosmetics, amatory poems and other books of a free character, musical instruments, paintings, and sculptures; all surmounted by a monstrous figure representing the Carnival. . . . On the morning of the last day of the Carnival, Savonarola celebrated mass. A long

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 584. [2] *Ibid.* p. 585.
[3] Villari, i. 423; Robertson, iv. 587.

procession of children and others then wound through the streets, after which the pyre was kindled, and its burning was accompanied by the singing of psalms and hymns, the sounds of bells, drums, and trumpets, with the shouts of an enthusiastic multitude, while the signory looked on from a balcony (Feb. 7)."[1]

On the ensuing Ascension Day (May 4) Savonarola's friends with difficulty protected him from a riotous assault made upon him in the pulpit; and at the same time (May 12), Alexander issued the sentence of excommunication against him.[2] Savonarola retired to his convent and wrote his most important work, 'The Triumph of the Cross.' On the death of the Duke of Gandia (July 1), he addressed to the Pope a letter of consolation, and of encouragement in the reforms which Alexander professed to contemplate under the pressure of his grief, and it seemed at the time to meet with a favourable reception.[3]

§ 17. In the spring of next year he resumed his preaching at the request of the signory, denouncing the arbitrary claims of the Pope, and especially the abuse of excommunication, as well as the vices of the papal court, and urging the necessity of a General Council. The "burning of vanities" was repeated, and was followed by wild dances and singing in front of St. Mark's, by allowing and defending which Savonarola incurred fresh odium. A fanatical Franciscan, Francis of Apulia, now came forward to challenge the great Dominican reformer to the ordeal of fire; but Savonarola declared that the truth of his teaching was proved by sounder evidence, and that he had other and better work to do. The challenge, however, was eagerly accepted by his zealous adherent, Dominic of Pescia;[4] and not only all his friars, but a multitude of men, women, and even children, proffered themselves for the trial. At length, as Francis refused to meet any one but Savonarola himself, the challenger's place was taken by another Franciscan, Fr. Rondinelli, and the eve of Palm Sunday was fixed for the ordeal (April 7th, 1498). All Florence flocked to the Place of the Signory, where two piles of wood were heaped up, each 40 feet long, with a passage between them only a yard wide. But the Franciscans raised objections, chiefly on the ground that Savonarola's boast of miraculous powers

[1] Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 587–8.

[2] The ground alleged was Savonarola's disobedience, as prior of St. Mark's, to the order uniting that society with the Tuscan congregation.

[3] Afterwards, however, Alexander treated the intrusion as an offence. Villari, ii. 32.

[4] Dominic had taken Savonarola's place in the pulpit, when his leader was forbidden to preach; and he had been engaged in disputations with Francis of Apulia. We have to speak afterwards of the bitter rivalry long since established between the two great orders of Mendicants.

might be made good by magical charms. The dispute had lasted for hours, when a heavy fall of rain soaked the piles, and the signory finally forbad the ordeal. The multitude of sightseers, who, according to their kind in all ages, cared most for the danger and cruelty of the spectacle, vented their disappointment on Savonarola, whose friends could hardly conduct him in safety to St. Mark's. Two days later the convent had to surrender to a mob, and Savonarola and Dominic were put in prison.

The signory who governed Florence were elected anew in alternate months, and the power which had protected Savonarola had now fallen into the hands of his enemies. A hostile commission was appointed for his examination, and he was repeatedly subjected to torture, which his frame, exhausted by an ascetic life, was unable to endure. "When I am under torture," he said, "I lose myself, I am mad; that only is true which I say without torture." The Pope wished him to be sent to Rome for trial; but, as the Florentines stood on the dignity of the Republic, and argued that the scene of the offence should also be that of the punishment, Alexander appointed the General of the Dominicans and another as his commissioners. Though it was found impossible to make good any charge of doctrinal unsoundness,[1] the predetermined judgment was pronounced (May 19th), and on the following day Savonarola, Dominic of Pescia, and Sylvester Maruffi, were hanged and burnt in the place of the Signory, and their ashes were thrown into the Arno. In the preliminary ceremony of degradation, the officiating bishop, who had formerly been a friar of St. Mark's, was so agitated that he misread the formula: "I separate thee *from the Church triumphant.*" Savonarola calmly corrected him: "*From the militant*, not from the triumphant, for that is not thine to do:" in those few words rebuking the whole usurpation of the power of binding and loosing.[2]

[1] The acts of the process seem to have been falsified with this view. See the original documents in Villari, and the authorities cited by Gieseler, v. 155 f., and Robertson, iv. 593.

[2] It was in the same year, and just after the death of Savonarola, that the active career of NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI began. Born of a noble Florentine family, in 1469, he was 25 years old when the Medici were expelled and Charles VIII. entered Florence. His decided Republicanism was rather of a heathen character than in any sympathy with the theocratic views of Savonarola, whom he charges with weakness in not destroying the "sons of Brutus" (*i.e.* the Medici). For fourteen years (1498–1512) he served the Repubic as Secretary to the Council of Ten, and also proved his high ability in the discharge of several missions to the King of France, the Emperor, and Popes Pius III., Julius II. and Leo X. It was at Rome, during the election of Pius III., that he conceived

§ 18. To return to Rome at the epoch of the Jubilee of 1500. In the midst of the celebration of Cæsar Borgia's triumph, news arrived of the birth, at Ghent (Feb. 24), of CHARLES, son of Philip of Austria and Joanna of Castile, grandson and heir of Maximilian and Ferdinand, around whom, as the Emperor Charles V., the coming religious contest was to centre. In the same year, Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain made a treaty at Granada for the partition of Naples (Nov. 11). The Pope sanctioned the treacherous scheme, on the old plea of preparing for a crusade; and Cæsar Borgia joined "the great captain" Gonsalvo[1] in expelling Frederick, who surrendered to Louis and received from him the duchy of Anjou (1501). A quarrel about the division of the spoil was arranged by another treaty at Lyon (April, 1503), providing for the marriage of the infant Charles, of Spain and Austria, to Claude, the daughter of Louis XII. But, in open disregard of this treaty, Gonsalvo, joined by Cæsar Borgia, overran Naples, to recover which Louis was preparing an expedition, when all was changed by the Pope's sudden death.[2]

§ 19. Alexander VI. seemed still in full vigour at the age of seventy-two, and an ambassador had admired his sonorous

a bitter hatred of "those rascally priests," to whom he ascribed the ruin of faith and morality in Italy. On the restoration of the Medici, he submitted, and even sought office, but in vain, and in the following year he was arrested on a charge of conspiracy, tortured, and banished. It was during his retirement of eight years that he composed his famous works, of which especially the *Principe* and the *Discorsi* illustrate the history of his times, and embody the then prevalent maxims of Italian policy which have become proverbial under his name, that "the means must be judged by the ends for which they are employed," and that a sovereign may use all arts of fraud and violence, the one crime being failure. It may be said that Cæsar Borgia was the original of his *Principe;* and his principles were acted out by Frederick the Great and Napoleon. His earnest endeavours for the favour of the Medici may be explained from his conviction that a despotism was the only hope for the state; and his cynical contempt for human nature set him free from all bonds of political morality. He died in 1527, just after the second expulsion of the Medici. The very valuable *Life and Times of Machiavelli*, by Professor Villari, has been translated by Linda Villari (1878 f.); and a complete English translation of his works has recently appeared.

[1] Gonsalvo was in Sicily, professedly preparing to aid the Venetians against the Turks.

[2] The French army was detained in the Roman States by the intrigues of Cardinal d'Amboise, as a candidate for the Papacy. The delay proved fatal; and the destiny of Naples was decided by the victory of Gonsalvo on the *Garigliano*, one of the greatest military disasters in the history of France (Dec. 27, 1503). This decision of war was confirmed by Leo X., and Naples remained united to Spain till their separation in the great War of Succession (1707).

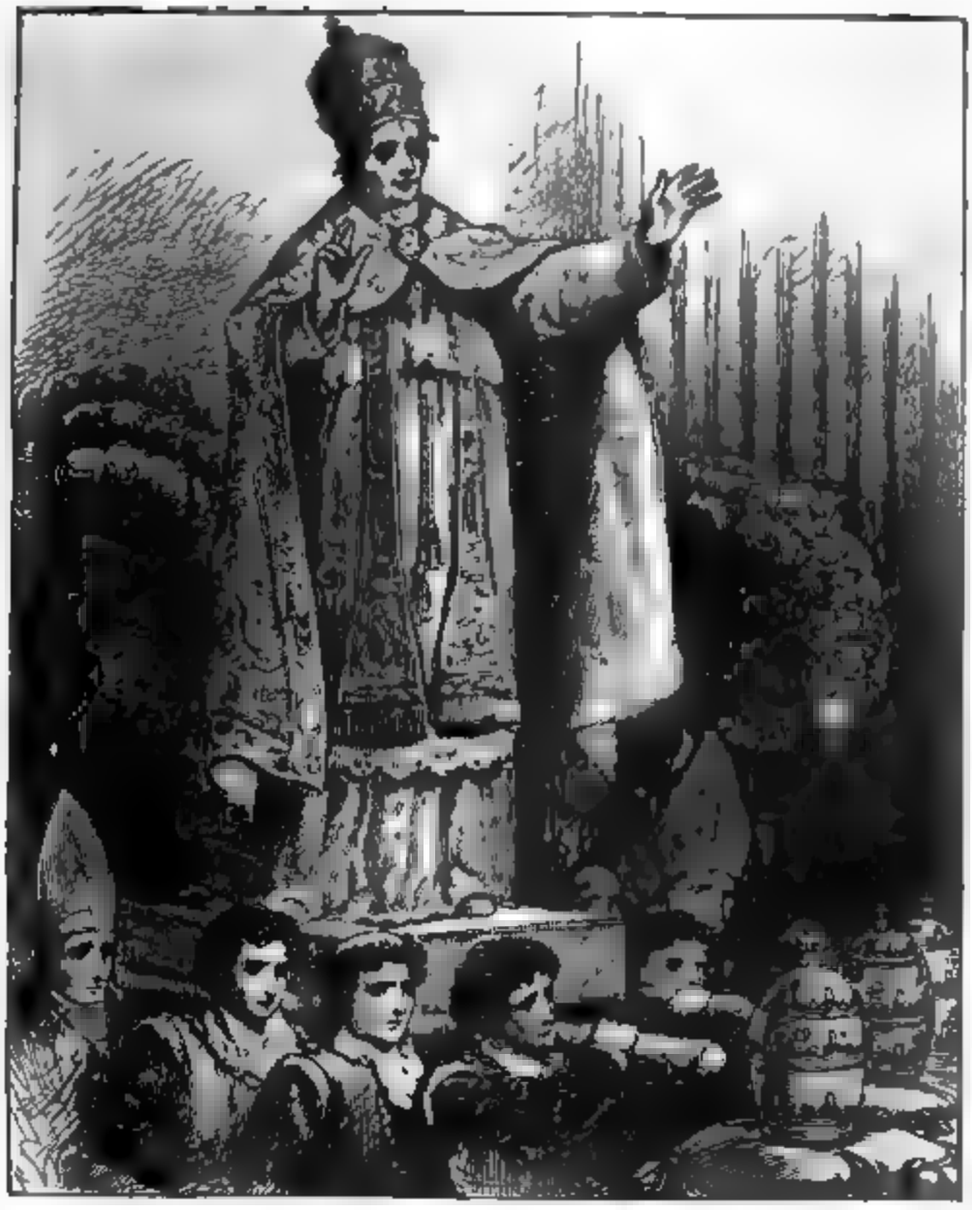
voice in celebrating mass at Easter. On the 12th of August, in his vineyard near the Vatican, he gave, with his son Cæsar, a supper to the wealthy cardinal of St. Chrysogonus and Bishop of Hereford,[1] who, according to the common belief, was to be "removed" by the usual practice of the Borgias. Whether by some mismanagement or by a counterplot,[2] all three were seized with illness, from which Cæsar and the Cardinal recovered after a frightful crisis; but the Pope died within a week, as was publicly given out, of a fever (Aug. 18, 1503).

§ 20. The preparations which Cæsar Borgia had made for such an event were hampered by his illness, and the cardinals were taken quite by surprise. As a temporary expedient, they chose the most respectable but most infirm of their body, Francis Piccolomini,[3] who, from respect to the memory of his uncle, Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), took the title of Pius III. (Sept. 22). The utter anarchy caused by the rising against the Borgias of the people of Rome, the nobles of the environs, and the cities of the Romagna, drove the Pope for refuge to the castle of St. Angelo, where he died on the twenty-sixth day after his election (Oct. 18, 1503).

[1] Adrian Castellesi, a native of Corneto, was made Bishop of Hereford in 1502, and translated to Bath and Wells in 1504. The architect Bramante built the splendid palace in the Borgo for the Cardinal, who gave it to Henry VIII., and it became the residence of the English ambassador. Under Leo X. Adrian retired to Venice, in consequence of having become privy to the conspiracy of Petrucci; and he is supposed to have been murdered on his way to Rome for the election of Leo's successor.

[2] Ranke cites, from a MS. of Sanuto, a story that Adrian, suspecting the design against his life (like the famous Cardinal Spada of romance) bribed the Pope's cook to serve up a poisoned dish to Alexander (*Hist. of the Popes*, iii. 253). The common report, that the Pope and Cæsar drank by mistake of the poisoned wine, is given by several original authorities, in vague terms, as is natural under the circumstances; and the hypothesis of an innocent accident seems quite untenable. The recovery of the Cardinal favours the supposition that he was on his guard. His whole skin is said to have been changed. The recovery of Cæsar is ascribed to the use of antidotes, aided by his youthful vigour. The belief that the Pope died of a fever contracted by supping in the garden is perhaps but a sign of what is now called "scientific criticism." Some very interesting revelations of the free use of poison in this age, as well as of other points in its history, are made in the recent publication of the secret archives of Venice—"*Secrets d'Etat de Venise.* Par Vladimir Lamansky, St. Petersbourg, 1884." Among seventy-seven eminent persons whose lives were thus attempted or threatened by the Republic, we find the Emperors Sigismund and Maximilian, Kings Charles VIII. and Louis XII., the Sultans Mahomet II. and Bajazet III., Cæsar Borgia and Julius II.

[3] He was 64 years old, and had been made a cardinal by his uncle in 1460.



The Pope in Procession.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PAPACY IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

JULIUS II. LEO X. CLEMENT VII. TO THE EPOCH OF THE CORONATION OF CHARLES V. A.D. 1503–1530.

§ 1. Parties in the Conclave—Capitulations—Election of Julian della Rovere as JULIUS II.—His portrait and character: love of war, and policy of Italian independence. § 2. Expulsion and death of Cæsar Borgia—The Pope's conquests in the Romagna. § 3. Power of *Venice* against both the Empire and Papacy—Maximilian styled "Emperor

Elect"—*League of Cambray* and war with Venice—The Venetians reconciled to the Pope—Henry VIII. of England. § 4. Quarrel of Julius with France—National Assembly of Tours—The *Gravamina* of Germany. § 5. Julius in the Field—The Keys of Peter and Sword of Paul—Siege of Mirandola. § 6. Demands of Maximilian and Louis—Anti-papal Council of Pisa—The *Holy League* against France—Battle of Ravenna—The French driven out of Lombardy. § 7. The *Fifth Lateran Council* (the 18th *Œcumenical* of the Romans)—Adhesion of the Emperor. § 8. Death of Julius II. (1513). § 9. Cardinal John de' Medici: his earlier life and election as LEO X. § 10. His character, a personification of the *Renaissance*—His patronage of arts and letters; splendour, luxury, and extravagance. § 11. Instability and selfishness of his policy—New League against Louis XII.—The French again driven out of Milan—Peace made by the Pope—Louis adheres to the Lateran Council. § 12 Accession and character of FRANCIS I. (1515)—His invasion of the Milanese and victory at *Marignano*—Interview with the Pope—The *Pragmatic Sanction* renounced—New *Concordat*: confirmed by the Council. § 13. Accession of CHARLES I. in Spain (1516)—His Alliance with France—Europe at Peace. § 14. End of the Council and *Beginning of the Reformation by Luther's* 95 *Theses* (1517). § 15. Death of Maximilian, and contest for the Empire—Frederick the Wise of Saxony—Election of Charles of Spain as CHARLES V. (1519). § 16. Francis renews the war—IGNATIUS LOYOLA—The Pope joins the Emperor—Death of Leo (1521). § 17. ADRIAN VI. (1522–3); his attempted reform and death. *A Pope denying Papal Infallibility.* § 18. Another Medicean Pope, CLEMENT VII. § 19. War in Lombardy—*Battle of Pavia* (1525)—New *Holy League* against Charles—Rome sacked by the Germans—French success in Lombardy and disaster at Naples. § 20. Peace of Cambray—Charles crowned by Clement at Bologna—Position of the Empire—Death of Clement VII. (1534), coincident with the epoch of the English Reformation—State of the Papacy.

§ 1. THE brief episode of Pius III.'s pontificate gave a breathing-space to test the strength of parties in the Sacred College. Cardinal d'Amboise,[1] the powerful minister of Louis XII., having found his own election hopeless, threw his influence into the scale of Julian della Rovere; and even Cæsar Borgia saw the policy of supporting that enemy of his family as the only hope of still maintaining some part of his own power. Among the capitulations sworn to, it would seem with more serious purpose than usual, the most important

[1] George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, the early friend of Louis XII. and his chosen minister on his accession, had been made a cardinal (as we have seen) by Alexander VI. on the occasion of Cæsar Borgia's mission in 1499, and he was now rewarded for his support of Julius II. by the appointment of Legate in France. But his great power and abilities made him a thorn-in-the-side to Julius, who, on the Cardinal's death in 1510, is said to have exclaimed, "Thank God, I am now the only Pope!"

was the promise to call a General Council, within two years, for the reformation of the Church. Without the formality of a conclave, 37 out of the 38 cardinals gave their votes for Julian, who retained his own name under the slightly altered form of JULIUS II. (Oct. 31, 1503).[1]

The lineaments of this remarkable man are preserved by Raphael's wonderful portrait in our National Gallery, which has no superior, if any equal, in that province of art.[2] We have had to notice the earlier career of this nephew of Sixtus IV., who was now above threescore years of age.[3] In contrast with the profligacy of some of his predecessors, his manner of life appears comparatively respectable; but only comparatively, for he was licentious and given to wine.[4] Even his great enemy, Alexander VI., allowed him the merit, then so rare, of sincerity and frankness. But Julius is most of all distinguished in history for the martial energy, untamed by old age, which he brought to the support of a high policy, in striking contrast to the nepotism of his predecessors. It was his great aim to restore the power of the Papacy, according to the principles of Hildebrand, and (in his own phrase) to drive the "barbarians" out of Italy—that is, the French, whom he had himself invited in his enmity to Alexander. This chief design furnishes the key to the apparently varying policy and alliances by which his history is complicated.

[1] His one predecessor of the name was the contemporary of Athanasius and the sons of Constantine (A.D. 337–352). It has been borne by but one Pope since, Julius III. (1550–5), who was elected by only two votes above Cardinal Pole. The chief original authorities for Julius II. are Guicciardini, Lib. vi.–xi.; Paris de Grassis, *Diarium Curiæ Romanæ*, 1504–1522; Hadrianus Castellensis, *Itin. Julii.*

[2] The picture represents him sitting in the attitude, and with the expression, described by Fr. Carpesanus (p. 1286): "Dum domi forte sedens contractione supercilii nescio quid secum mussitaret;" and the writer adds that Julius sometimes betrayed his secrets by this habit of thinking aloud.

[3] He was born near Savona about 1441, or perhaps a year or two later.

[4] Julius had a natural daughter, whom he married to one of the Orsini. "His love of wine is frequently mentioned in the Dialogue entitled *Julius Exclusus*, which is reprinted in the Appendix to Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, and in Münch's edition of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. In this bitter satire the Pope appears at the gate of heaven, attended by a 'genius,' and demands admission. A conversation with St. Peter ensues, in which the unlikeness of Julius—in his ambition, love of war, and personal character—to the true pastor of the Church, is brought out, and at last he is not admitted. Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten have been charged with the authorship of this piece. Erasmus strongly denied it (*Append. Epp.* 17). Münch attributes it to Hutten (422), but Dr. Strauss believes that the initials 'F. A. F.' mean Faustus Andrelinus Faroliviensis, who was a partisan of Louis XII." Robertson, vol. iv. p. 597.

§ 2. He had first to deal with Cæsar Borgia, who regretted his support of Julius as the only mistake he had ever made. In the agitation following the death of Alexander, the cities of the Romagna had for the most part recalled their old lords, while some had been seized by the Venetians. The armed force of Cæsar had been scattered by the Orsini and his other enemies; yet with the 400 or 500 soldiers left him he resolved to attempt the recovery of the Romagna. But he was arrested when about to embark at Ostia, and was kept a prisoner in the Vatican till he made over to the Pope the few Romagnese fortresses which still held out for him (Jan. 1504).[1] Rejecting scornfully the compromise offered by the Venetians,[2] Julius set out in person to reduce the fiefs of the Church (Aug. 1506). Perugia submitted; Bologna was retaken from the Bentivogli; and the Pope re-entered Rome in triumph on St. Martin's Day (Nov. 11).

§ 3. Julius now regarded the Venetians—even before the French in the Milanese—as the great immediate obstacle to his policy. The Republic was then at the height of its power. While its fleet placed it in the forefront of the Crusade which was still contemplated, and promised it the lion's share of any spoils won from the Turk,[3] it kept the French in check in Lombardy, and defied the Pope on one side and the Emperor on the other. When Maximilian, with a view to re-establish the imperial influence in Italy,[4] and with the support of a diet assembled at Constance, set out for his

[1] The sequel of Cæsar's career may be briefly told. Repairing to Naples, he was received with honour by Gonsalvo, but Ferdinand ordered him to be sent as a prisoner to Spain. Escaping after two years, he entered the service of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, and found his death in a skirmish at Viana, in his own former diocese of Pampeluna (March 1507).

[2] They offered to restore all their acquisitions in the Romagna, except Faenza, and to hold that city as a fief of the Holy See, on the same terms as its former lords.

[3] This was the ground on which Florence had refused to join the Crusade proposed by Pius II., alleging that whatever might be taken from the Turks would fall to the Venetians.

[4] This step was of special importance from the crisis which had arisen in the dynastic affairs of Austria and Spain. On the death of Isabella, in 1504, the crown of Castile passed to her only daughter Joanna, in consequence of whose mental incapacity her husband, the archduke Philip I. (King-consort of Castile), son of Maximilian, was co-regent with her father Ferdinand. Philip died in 1506, leaving his son Charles (now six years old), the only heir, on the one hand, to the united crowns of Spain, with its late acquisitions in the New World, and with Naples, which was now securely conquered by Ferdinand, and, on the other, to Maximilian's possessions of Austria and the Netherlands, besides the hereditary claim to preference in the election to the Empire.

coronation at Rome, the Venetians offered him a free passage for himself, but refused it to his army. After some fighting on his descent from the Tyrol, Maximilian was fain to accept the compromise offered by the policy of Julius, that, without the ceremony of coronation, he should have the title of "Emperor Elect" (1508), which was borne by all his successors, except his grandson Charles, who was Emperor in virtue of his papal coronation at Bologna.

Glad as Julius was to keep the Germans away from Rome, he shared the Emperor's hostility to the Venetians, and that from other causes of quarrel besides their encroachments in the Romagna. In a letter to Maximilian, he spoke of them as aggressive, as aiming at supreme domination in Italy, and even at re-establishing the imperial power in their own hands. But, for all this, he dreaded still more the strengthening of the French power in Italy, and he was jealous of d'Amboise, his probable successor. Accordingly, when the Cardinal, as Legate, invited the Pope to join the secret *League of Cambray* (Dec. 1508) between France and the Empire, with the promised adhesion of Spain, against Venice, Julius made a private offer of peace to the Republic, if the territories in dispute were given up to him. But the Venetians, confident in their mercenary troops and the discordant elements of the alliance, rejected all terms; and, while the French began a successful invasion of their territory, the Pope not only followed up a Bull against them by an interdict, but his troops, under his nephew, the Duke of Urbino, took Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and other towns (1509).

In this strait, the Venetians are said to have hesitated between submission to the Father of Christendom and an alliance with the Turk; but the Pope was moved by dread of French aggrandisement, and listened to the intercession of Henry VIII.,[1] notwithstanding the strong opposition of France and the Empire. The Venetians yielded the points in dispute about ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and their envoys received the Pope's absolution in the porch of St. Peter's "not as excommunicate or interdicted, but as good Christians and devoted sons of the apostolic see" (Feb. 1510).

§ 4. This reconciliation was followed by an open rupture with Louis XII., against whom Julius had ecclesiastical grounds of quarrel;[2] but his great object was to exclude the French from

[1] Henry VIII. had succeeded to the English throne during the crisis of the war with Venice (April 21, 1509). Already, as Prince of Wales, he was indebted to Julius for the dispensation for his marriage with Katherine, the widow of his brother Arthur. His envoy, who now interceded for the Venetians, was Bainbridge, archbishop of York, who was made a cardinal in March, 1511.

[2] One dispute, in which Julius had to give way, was about the appointment to the vacant see of Avignon: another arose out of the Pope's claim to the treasures of the Cardinal-Legate d'Amboise, on his death in May 1510.

Italy, and with this view he laboured to form alliances against them. He made private overtures to England; and decided the long-pending dispute for the crown of Naples by declaring that Louis had forfeited his claim, and granting investiture to Ferdinand (July 1510). The Swiss, whom their ally Louis had offended, were induced to allow the Pope leave to enlist soldiers from the confederation. His Italian allies and vassals were required to follow his change of policy; and when Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, refused to break off from the alliance against Venice, Julius issued a violent Bull, declaring that he had forfeited his fief, and that to punish him he would risk his tiara and his life (August).

At the same time the King of France convened a National Assembly of prelates and doctors at Orleans (soon removed to Tours), which denounced the whole conduct of Julius, the intrigues which obtained his election, and the love of war wherewith he troubled Christendom; declared the right of princes to resist an aggressive Pope, even to the invasion of his territory, and reaffirmed the principles of the Pragmatic Sanction (Aug.–Sept. 1510).[1]

About the same time a paper was drawn up in Germany, and received favourably by the Emperor, reciting under ten heads the "Grievances of the German Nation" (*Gravamina*) in regard to the long-standing abuses of the curia: interference with the election of bishops; reservation of the higher dignities for cardinals and papal officers; expectancies, annates, patronage, indulgences, tithes for pretended crusades, and needless appeals to Rome.[2] The grievances were followed by proposed "Remedies" and an "Advice to His Imperial Majesty," recommending a Pragmatic Sanction, on the principles of that of Bourges. The imperial ambassador to Julius, Matthew Lang, bishop of Gurk, returned complaining of the impossibility of moving the Pope's "obstinate and diabolical pertinacity."[3]

§ 5. Julius was now at Bologna, having taken up arms against Alfonso and the French, in spite of old age and serious illness. A famous epigram of the time represents him as throwing the harmless keys of Peter into the Tiber and girding on the sword of Paul.[4] After leaving his sick-bed to bless from a balcony the

[1] For the details, see Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 401–2.

[2] For the text of the ten *Gravamina* and the question of their authorship, see Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 402 f.

[3] On the other hand, Lang's own arrogance seems to have been enough to make his mission hopeless. (See Robertson, vol. iv. p. 606.)

[4] "In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gessurus acerbum,
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum;
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, et sævus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prœlia claves,
Auxilia Pauli forsitan ensis erit."

There is a tale that, when a bishop remonstrated with Julius for

troops mustered at Bologna, Julius was carried in a litter to the siege of Mirandola. Amidst the severity of winter, he took an active part in the operations, once narrowly escaping capture by the famous Chevalier Bayard. When the place fell, the warrior Pope refused to enter by the gate, but rode in, arrayed in helmet and cuirass, through a breach made for the purpose in the wall (Jan. 20, 1511).[1]

§ 6. Louis and Maximilian now joined in requiring of the Pope the fulfilment of his promise to convene a General Council; and the plan was aided by the defection of five cardinals,[2] who repaired first to Florence and then to Milan, and there declared their hostility to the Pope. On the 10th of May, three of the cardinals, in their own name and that of six others (who disavowed the act), convened a Council to meet on the 1st of September at Pisa, a place which suggested a threatening precedent for the Pope,[3] to whom it was notified at Rimini. Julius replied (July 18) by a Bull summoning a Council to meet at St. John Lateran on the Monday after Easter in the following year, with threats against the cardinals and all supporters of the rival Council. When that assembly met,[4] under the presidency of Carvajal, it was found to consist almost entirely of Frenchmen, the German prelates having refused their concurrence. The Florentine magistrates, and even the clergy of Pisa, showed their dread of the papal interdict; and the assembly removed to French territory at Milan (Dec. 7).

This schismatical movement furnished a ground for the new alliance which Julius formed with Spain and Venice against the French, under the name of the "*Holy League*" (Oct. 9, 1511),

causing war and bloodshed, and reminded him that Christ ordered Peter to put up his sword, the Pope replied, "True, but not till after Peter had cut off the ear of the High Priest's servant."

[1] For the episode of the revolt of Bologna, in May, and the murder of the obnoxious legate, Alidosi, by the Pope's nephew, the Duke of Urbino, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 607–8.

[2] The reason alleged for this step was the death of a cardinal at Ancona; and a charge of poison seems to have been implied, though not openly alleged, against the Pope. The leader of the secession was the Spanish cardinal Carvajal.

[3] See Chap. IX. Ferdinand of Spain refused the requests of Maximilian and Louis to join them in supporting the Council, and Henry VIII. wrote to the Emperor, expressing his horror at the prospect of a new schism.

[4] The attendance is said not to have exceeded 4 cardinals, who held proxies for 3 of their brethren, 2 archbishops, 13 bishops, 5 abbots, besides some doctors of law and deputies from Universities. The most distinguished of these was Dr. Philip Dexio (or Decius), who wrote in defence of the Council, and was therefore degraded by Julius II. His tracts are in Goldast, vol. ii. p. 1667 f., and Richer, vol. iv. p. 39 f.

and to which he obtained the accession of England, and afterwards of the Empire.[1] Louis at once poured his forces into Lombardy under his heroic young nephew, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, who on Easter Day gained a brilliant victory over the Papal and Spanish troops at Ravenna, but fell in the battle, at the age of twenty-four (April 11, 1512). "With him," says the contemporary historian Guicciardini, "disappeared all the vigour of the French army," and there ensued an instant and complete turn of the tide. The Cardinal John de' Medici, legate of Bologna, was carried a prisoner from the field to Milan, where many of the soldiers accepted the absolution he offered to all who would promise not to serve against the Church. The people declared against the antipapal party. The Emperor, having joined the League at this moment, withdrew 2000 men from the French army, which retreated from Milan, pursued by 20,000 Swiss, who came down through the Tyrol for the service of Venice and the Pope.[2] With the exception of the garrisons left in Milan, Cremona, and Novara, the barbarians were driven out of Italy, and the great object of Julian's civil policy was for the time achieved.[3] There was, of course, no longer a place in Milan for the schismatic Council, which held its last session on April 21st. Its decrees, modelled for the most part on those of Constance, and among them a sentence suspending the Pope, had no authority or effect.[4]

§ 7. By a noteworthy coincidence, the Pope's Council had been summoned for the 19th of April; and these events only postponed it for a fortnight. The *Fifth Lateran Council* (the 18th Œcu-

[1] Maximilian joined the League in April, 1512. The motives and special aims of the several allies belong to secular history. Concerning the strange proposal of Maximilian, on the occasion of the Pope's seemingly mortal illness (in Aug. 1511) to become the coadjutor and ultimately the successor of Julian, see Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 407, and Robertson, vol. iv. p. 609. The Emperor's pious ambition, as expressed in a letter to his daughter Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, went beyond the highest place in this world, to canonization and worship as a saint:—"de avoir le Papat et devenir Prester et après estre Saint, et que yl vous sera de necessité que après ma mort vous serés contraint de me adorer, dont je me trouveré bien gloryoes"!

[2] The Emperor claimed the duchy of Milan, but the Pope was stedfast for the right of Maximilian Sforza (son of Louis) who was restored in December. The Cardinal Ascanius Sforza had been a strong supporter of the election of Julius, in the hope of his family's restoration at Milan.

[3] Among the consequences of this campaign were the recovery of independence by Genoa, and the restoration of the Medici at Florence. The latter revolution was effected by the Spanish army under Cardona.

[4] An insignificant remnant of the Council met at Asti, and afterwards at Lyon. Its minutes are in Richerii *Concil. Gen.* Lib. IV. p. i. c. 3. For particulars, see Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 406.

menical,[1] according to the Roman reckoning), which lasted for nearly five years, may be regarded as the final act of the Latin Church before its great disruption. But, instead of representing the whole Western Church, it had a partisan character, being directed against France and the Pragmatic Sanction. The keynote was struck in a much-admired sermon, on the opening day, by Giles of Viterbo, General of the Augustinian Friars; and, after two formal sessions, the real business was adjourned for half a year. Meanwhile Julius issued an interdict against all France, except Brittany, and, having again quarrelled with Venice about territories on the Po, he concluded an alliance with Maximilian.[2] At the third session (Dec. 3) the Bishop of Gurk appeared as the Emperor's representative, to declare that he adhered to the Council and annulled the acts of the *conciliabulum* of Pisa. The Council adopted the Pope's Bull condemning that assembly and renewing the interdict against France. The fourth session (Dec. 10) was opened by the reading of the letter in which Louis XI. had promised to revoke the Pragmatic Sanction; and two Bulls annulling that Act were read and adopted by the Council.

§ 8. When the fifth session was held, Julius lay on his death-bed (Feb. 16, 1513); but he obtained the sanction of a Bull for checking simony in papal elections. "The Pope retained to the last his clearness of mind and strength of will. With regard to the cardinals who had been concerned in the Council of Pisa, he declared that as a private man he forgave them, and prayed that God would forgive the injuries which they had done to the Church, but that as Pope he must condemn them; and he ordered that they should be excluded from the election of his successor. On the night of the 21st of February Julius breathed his last, at the age of seventy."[3]

§ 9. Among the twenty-five cardinals, who met in conclave on

[1] That is, according to the authoritative reckoning, which does not recognize Pisa, nor Basle as a distinct Council (see p. 146). The Fifth Lateran Council was opened on May 3rd, 1512, and its last session was held on March 16th, 1517, the same year in which (Oct. 31) Martin Luther published his 95 Theses against the Papacy at Wittenberg. The character of the Council, as the mere instrument of a predetermined papal policy, is seen partly in the very moderate attendance, chiefly of Italians, but with some representatives of England, Spain, and Hungary. From first to last, the numbers did not exceed 16 cardinals and about 100 bishops and abbots. (Paris de Grassis, in Raynald. *Annal. Eccles.* 1512, 41; Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 622–3.)

[2] The Venetians now formed an alliance with France

[3] Robertson, vol. iv. p. 613.

March 4th, the desire prevailed for a change from the restless warlike policy of Julius II.; and the younger members, headed by Alfonso Petrucci, son of the lord of Siena, were disposed to assert their influence. It was not till two days after the meeting that John (Giovanni) de' Medici arrived from Florence. Born in December 1475,[1] the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he was made a cardinal at the age of thirteen by Innocent VIII. (1489). Driven from Florence five years later, in the expulsion of his family (1494), he travelled in Germany, France, and the Low Countries, courting the society of artists and men of letters. At Genoa, where he resided for some time,[2] he was associated with Julian della Rovere in an intimacy cemented by their common enmity to the Borgias; and on his friend's election to the Papacy he returned to Rome. There his palace was the home of Medicean splendour and patronage of art and letters, as well as of the boundless extravagance which caused it afterwards to be said of him that he had spent the revenues of three Papacies. He threw open to the public a splendid library, gathered in great measure by the purchase of MSS. dispersed from Florence, where he afterwards founded the great Laurentian Library. In 1512 the Cardinal was sent as Legate to reduce the revolted Bolognese; and was taken prisoner, as we have seen, at the battle of Ferrara. After the retreat of the French from Milan, he rejoined the Spaniards under Cardona, to whom Florence capitulated (Aug. 1512). Entering the city with his brother Julian, he obtained, by the device of the universal suffrage of the assembled citizens, called the Parliament (*parlamento*),[3] the reversal of all acts done since their expulsion of the Medici, and the appointment of a commission of their partisans, with dictatorial powers to reform the state (Dec.).

[1] Just 8 years before the birth of Luther.

[2] Genoa was the home of his sister, who was married to Franceschetto Cibo, a favourite son of Innocent VIII.

[3] The equivalent of the more modern *plébiscite*, of which Cavour said that it is a very good thing for those who know how to manipulate it; only the vote was given by a personal assembly in the great square of the city, not through ballot-boxes. During the pontificate of Leo, Florence was virtually subject to Rome. The sequel of its history may be noted here. After an effort to preserve its independence amidst the struggle between Charles V. and Francis I., the city surrendered to the combined imperial and papal forces in 1530. By another *parlamento* Alessandro de' Medici obtained his election as Duke, and his successor, Cosmo I., became lord of all Tuscany, as Grand Duke (1569). On the extinction of the Medicean line (1737), the Grand Duchy was given by the treaty of Vienna (1738) to Francis of Lorraine (afterwards the Emperor Francis I.), and remained an appanage of the house of Austria till the great Italian revolution of 1860.

On the death of Julius II., the Cardinal set out for Rome, leaving the government to his brother Julian and his nephew Lorenzo. An illness, which detained him on the journey, contributed to his election by raising the hope that his pontificate would be short; and, in announcing the election of Cardinal Medici to the people as Pope LEO X. (March 11th),[1] Cardinal Petrucci is said to have exclaimed, "Life and health to the juniors!" For himself the aspiration proved ironical. The Pope, indeed, died at the early age of forty-six (Dec. 1, 1521), but five years before (1516) he sent Petrucci to the gallows as the chief of a plot against his life. Being only in deacon's orders, Leo was ordained priest and bishop on March 15th and 17th, and enthroned on the 19th, reserving a more splendid coronation till after Easter.

§ 10. The nine years of Leo's pontificate were so crowded with great events in history and adorned by art and letters, as to have invested his name with a splendour far beyond his personal merits. The Medicean pope represented the spirit of the Renaissance enthroned as the head of the Church, which it was his destiny to rend asunder as the direct effect of that same spirit. We have often meditated on the problem, Can a Pope believe in himself? but Leo assuredly had no such faith. It seems doubtful whether he ever uttered the saying ascribed to him, "All ages well know how profitable *the fable of Christ* has been to us and ours;"[2] but no words could better express the state to which the Pope and Curia had now come. The gods of Olympus and other heathen emblems adorned the coronation procession, in which Leo rode to the Lateran on the Turkish charger which had borne him through the battlefield of Ravenna. His magnificence and expense were unbounded. His banquets, at which the newest and strangest luxuries were served, were enlivened by the wit of true scholars and the verses of the poetasters who amused and flattered him; and the comedies and other diversions, which he shared with the younger cardinals, often transgressed the bounds of decency. But he was a munificent patron of real learning and of the art which is

[1] The chief original authorities for his papacy are Guicciardini, Lib. XI.–XIV.; Paris de Grassis, *Diarium Curiæ Romanæ*, 1504–1522; Paulus Jovius, bishop of Nocera (*ob.* 1552), *Vitæ Virorum Illustr.* Among modern writers, besides Ranke and Gregorovius, the well-known work of Roscoe, *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, was written with the partiality of a biographer for his subject, at a time when men were dazzled by the splendours of the Renaissance.

[2] "Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus sæculis notum," are the alleged words of Leo to Cardinal Bembo, but on no better authority than Bale, bishop of Ossory, who was ready to believe anything against the Church of Rome.

still supreme in the modern world; for Michael Angelo and Raphael wrought for him at Florence and Rome. Himself an accomplished classical scholar, as the pupil of Politian, he encouraged the study of Greek; restored the University of Rome and the Laurentian Library at Florence; collected classical and oriental MSS. and antiquities; gathered about him a galaxy of scholars, and corresponded with such men as Ariosto, Machiavelli, and Erasmus. The necessities of his profusion drove him to all the old corrupt expedients for raising money. His zeal in advancing the rebuilding of St. Peter's became, through the indulgence preached by Tzetzel, the well-known *occasion* of the great religious revolution, of which the *causes* lay far deeper.

§ 11. But to all this splendour there was wanting—nay it was the very sign of its absence—a solid foundation of firm character and consistent policy. Leo's indolent good-nature did not, indeed, prevent his good administration of his own states, and his occasional severity is a quality often found with easy selfishness. But his chief objects were the advancement of his own family,[1] and the preservation of the Papacy by conciliating and cajoling the great contending powers of Europe, without any regard to principle or consistency.[2] At the moment of Leo's accession, Louis XII. made an alliance with the Venetians for the recovery of the Milanese (March 24); and the Pope joined the new league made at Mechlin between the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spain against France (April). The troops poured by Louis into Lombardy were joined by a strong Venetian army; Milan declared for the French, and Maximilian Sforza fled to the camp of his Swiss mercenaries at Novara, who, in their turn, surprised the French camp with a disastrous defeat (June 6), and drove the invaders out of Italy. At the same moment Henry invaded France, accompanied by Maximilian as a volunteer, and won the "Battle of the Spurs" (Aug. 16). These disasters inclined Louis to peace; while Leo was drawn

[1] Signal examples of this are seen in his taking the duchy of Urbino from the nephew of Julius II. to give it to his own nephew Lorenzo; his annexation of Perugia by treachery; and his attempt to create a principality for another nephew by the union of Parma and Piacenza with Reggio, and, when that plan failed, by the expulsion of Alfonso d'Este from Ferrara—a scheme frustrated by the Pope's death. The Romans were disgusted by the preference given to Florentines for all sorts of offices and employments.

[2] With England several causes concurred to keep Leo on good terms. His accession took place at the moment when Henry went to war with France; but the more permanent bonds of union were Henry's theological prepossessions and the influence of Wolsey, who was made a cardinal in 1515 and a legatec 1518.

towards him by fear of the aggrandizement of Spain and the Empire. The French King guaranteed Milan to Sforza, and agreed to renounce and expel the rival council;[1] and his accession to the Lateran Council was made at its 8th session (Dec. 17, 1513). Maximilian deserted England for France; and Henry, though deeply offended, was induced by the Pope to assent to the peace.

§ 12. A sudden change was made by the death of Louis XII. on New Year's Day, 1515, and the accession of Francis I. at the age of twenty.[2] The young King resembled Henry VIII. in his fine person, chivalrous accomplishments, joyous spirit, and graceful manners; but these brilliant qualities were marred by levity and faithlessness, addiction to gross pleasure, and hard-hearted selfishness. Martial ardour and ambition urged him to emulate the fame of Gaston de Foix, and to recover the ground lost in Italy. He at once proclaimed himself Duke of Milan, and entering Lombardy with a mighty army, aided by the Venetians, he defeated the hitherto invincible Swiss in what a veteran present called the "battle of giants" at *Marignano* (Sept. 13 and 14) near Milan, which became the prize of his victory.[3] Leo threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror, and hastened to conclude a peace;[4] and at a personal interview at Bologna (Dec. 10), chiefly it seems by holding out hopes about Naples on the death of Ferdinand, he induced Francis not only to sanction his designs in Italy, but to concede the one great vital point of the Pragmatic Sanction.[5] Francis entrusted the negociation to his Chancellor, Duprat, whom Leo had won over by the hope of a Cardinalate; and the terms of a new *Concordat* were settled at Bologna, in August 1516. The mutual compromises made had the curious effect (remarked by Mezeray) that the Pope abandoned to the civil power a purely spiritual privilege, and received a temporal advantage in return. Elections in cathedrals and monasteries were abolished, on the ground of the alleged evils

[1] That is, the remnant of the Council of Pisa, then sitting at Lyon.

[2] As Louis XII. died without male issue, Francis of Angoulême, duke of Valois, was the next collateral heir of the line of Valois-Orleans, being the grandson of John, count of Angoulême, the younger son of Louis, duke of Orleans, who was the younger son of King Charles V. Francis was also the husband of Claude, the eldest daughter of Louis XII.

[3] For the particulars, and an engraving of the battle, from the tomb of Francis at St. Denys, see the *Student's France* (pp. 292–4). The Duke Maximilian retired to France, and so ended the rule of the house of Sforza at Milan. The Swiss Republic transferred their friendship to France, by the *Paix Perpetuelle*, which was faithfully observed to the time of the Revolution.

[4] At Viterbo, Oct. 13.

[5] This question had occupied the Council, without any decisive result, at its 9th and 10th sessions in 1514.

attending them, and the King acquired the right of presentation to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities, subject to the Pope's veto on the ground of canonical disqualification. The rights thus surrendered were, in fact, at the expense of the Gallican Church rather than of the Pope. As to temporalities, Leo surrendered the papal reservations and *gratiæ exspectativæ*, but obtained a compensation in the recovery of the *annates*. The Concordat was ratified by the Lateran Council at its eleventh session (Dec. 19, 1516); the Pragmatic Sanction was annulled, being stigmatized as "the Bourges corruption of the kingdom of France;" and the apparent triumph of the Papacy in the struggle of two centuries was completed by the re-enactment of the famous Bull of Boniface VIII. "*Unam sanctam Ecclesiam.*"[1] Thus the doctrine was re-affirmed, that the Pope is the sole Head of the Church, invested with the power of the "two swords," spiritual and temporal, and that "it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."[2] And this within a year of Luther's first public protest against Rome!

§ 13. This same year brought a new and mighty element into the national and ecclesiastical relations of the European world. The death of Ferdinand the Catholic (Jan. 23, 1516) left the united kingdom of Spain, with the Indies and the Two Sicilies, to CHARLES I.; and, in place of Lord Bacon's *tres magi* of statecraft, Louis XI., Henry VII., and Ferdinand, Europe became the field for the rival ambitions of the three youthful sovereigns, Henry, Francis, and Charles.[3] But the youngest, though a mere boy, was already more than a match for the other two in policy and war. Never since the first founder of the Roman Empire has history shown such an example of precocious prudence, supported by deep dissimulation. At once, in the critical relations of the great powers, he saw the importance of quiet for the time; and a treaty of peace and alliance between France and Spain, signed at Noyon (Aug. 13, 1516), was soon concurred in by England and the Empire. The closing year

[1] See Chap. VI. § 17, p. 99. The Bull was adopted with the slight modifications made by Clement V.; see p. 108.

[2] In France the Concordat was received with manifestations of popular indignation; it was denounced from the pulpits and vehemently opposed by the University and Parliament of Paris; nor was it submitted to till Francis transferred the cognizance of ecclesiastical causes from the courts of law to the Great Council of State (1527). The spirit of the Gallican liberties survived, but the attempts made to re-assert them lie beyond our range. The *Concordat* of 1516 governed the relations of Rome and France down to the Great Revolution.

[3] At the beginning of 1516, Henry VIII. was 24 years old, Francis I. was 21, Charles was 15.

left Europe in the rare state of profound peace, which lasted for two years, till the rivalry for succession to the Empire gave the signal for new and furious wars.

§ 14. Leo might well be satisfied with his share in this result. The Lateran Council had done its one great work, as the mere instrument of the Papal policy: France was restored to the papal obedience, and the reforming efforts of Constance and Basle seemed brought to naught. "A few decrees for the reform of the Curia, and other such objects, were passed in the later sessions; but they were so limited by exceptions and reservations, that little effect was to be expected from them. There was also a project of an alliance between Christian sovereigns against the Turks. There was a condemnation of some sceptical opinions which had been vented as to the eternity of the world and the mortality of the soul; and, in order to check the indulgence in such speculations, it was decreed that no student in any university should spend more than five years in philosophical and poetical studies, without also studying theology or canon law, either instead of such subjects or together with them."[1]

The Council ended with its last Session on the 16th of March, 1517; little thinking how its accomplished work was to be disturbed in the same year by an obscure Augustinian friar. The Pope, intent on the completion of St. Peter's, had issued an Indulgence of unexampled compass, which was preached in Germany by the Dominican Tetzel with unprecedented boldness in the assertion of its power both in this world and the world to come. How these extravagant claims roused the opposition of MARTIN LUTHER, who published his famous 95 theses at Wittenberg on the 31st of October, has to be related in its place.[2]

§ 15. Meanwhile it is convenient here to follow the history to the epoch of what seemed for the moment the decisive supremacy of another great Emperor Charles in Europe. Leo showed at first a contemptuous carelessness about the contest between Luther and the Dominicans, to whose demand for his interference he replied, that Brother Martin was a fine genius and the whole dispute sprang from jealousy among the orders of friars.[3] He felt also the policy of not

[1] "Hard. ix. 1720. Under the name of poetry was included the study of classical literature in general." Robertson, vol. iv. p. 623.

[2] See Chap. XLI. § 4.

[3] "Che Fra Martino fosse un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche," are the words ascribed to Leo by the contemporary Matteo Bandello, bishop of Agen, the writer of episcopal annals (*Novel.* XXV. Pref., Lucca, 1554). Leo, as well as Bembo and other members of the Curia, is said to have spoken with habitual scorn of the friars as hypocrites.

offending Luther's protector, FREDERICK THE WISE, Elector of Saxony,[1] the most respected and powerful prince of Germany, in the near prospect of an imperial election. On the death of Maximilian (Jan. 12, 1519), it became clear that the hereditary claim of the house of Hapsburg would be strongly contested, not only by the ambition of Francis, but from a wide-spread jealousy of the vast power which would fall into the hands of Charles.[2] The administration of the Empire was committed to Frederick of Saxony, who at a later period of the contest declined the crown offered him by the patriotic party in Germany. Henry VIII. became a candidate, but rather to assert his dignity than with a serious purpose to press his claims.[3] The real competitor with Charles was Francis, who advanced the fallacious claim, so often since repeated, that the sovereign of France is the successor of Charlemagne, and wrote to his ambassador at the Diet, "I will spend three millions of crowns to gain my object." He even obtained the promise of four out of the seven votes; but, when the day of election came, other counsels prevailed. The refusal of the crown by Frederick the Wise, followed by his vote and cordial speech in favour of Charles, decided the election[4] (July 5th, 1519); and, after consenting to unusually stringent "capitulations," the King of Spain received the Roman and German crown as CHARLES V. at Aix-la-Chapelle in the following year.[5] We have described the vast possessions united under

[1] This famous prince, who soon became the leader of the Protestant party, was born in 1463, succeeded his father Ernest in 1486, and died in 1525. He founded the University of Wittenberg (1502), which became the focus of a moderate "Humanism;" and in 1508 he appointed Luther Professor of Philosophy.

[2] It should be remembered that Charles, though an Austrian archduke, was more of a Spaniard and a Fleming than a German, nor did he even speak the true German language. Born at Ghent, and brought up in the Netherlands, under the care of his aunt, the regent Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, he spoke only the Low German dialect, now called Dutch.

[3] There would have been a strange anomaly in the election of the King of England, which prided itself on being "a world by itself," completely independent of the Empire. Besides, Henry was too late in the field, and his envoy found all the votes promised. The chief object of his candidature was doubtless to strengthen his position as mediator in the inevitable conflict between Charles and Francis, whichever of them might be chosen.

[4] The chief motive, which overcame the objections to Charles and the dread of the vast power united in his hands, was the desire to oppose that power to the still greater danger from the Turks, a striking sign of which is preserved in Luther's hymn to his grand "Pope and Turk" tune.

[5] He was now "Emperor-Elect" by the grant of Julius II. to Maximilian; but in 1530 he received the imperial crown at Bologna from the humiliated but reconciled Pope, Clement VII. (See below, § 20.)

the young Emperor (he was still only in his 20th year); but the least part of his strength was in Germany, which was soon rent asunder by the Reformation:[1] his chief strength lay in his Spanish infantry, the industrial and commercial wealth of the Low Countries, and the riches of the New World.

§ 16. The year 1520 was one of preparation for both the conflicts, political and ecclesiastical. In the contest for the goodwill of Henry VIII., Charles outgeneralled Francis (in spite of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold"), chiefly by holding up the papal tiara before Wolsey. After Leo's vain attempts to win back Luther to obedience, his own bold assertion of his principles and the influence of his Dominican enemies at Rome called forth the Bull of excommunication (June 15th), which he burnt at Wittenberg (Dec. 10). In the next year, his appearance before the Diet at Worms was followed by the imperial ban against him and his abettors; but the Emperor's action was crippled by the outbreak of war with France both in Italy and the Pyrenees. The campaign for the recovery of Navarre on behalf of Jean d'Albret, whom Ferdinand had dispossessed, is memorable for the introduction of another great actor on the scene of ecclesiastical history; for it was in the defence of Pampeluna that a gallant young Spanish noble, IGNATIUS LOYOLA, received the wound which gave cause to the meditations that led him to a religious life and the foundation of the *Society of Jesus*.

At the same time war was renewed in Lombardy. The Milanese were alienated from the French by the oppression of the governor, Marshal Lautrec, who was also left without means to pay his Swiss mercenaries. Leo, always siding with the stronger party, made a secret compact with the Emperor, and their united forces recovered Milan (Oct.). But in the midst of the public rejoicings at Rome, the Pope was taken ill, and he died just before completing his 46th year (Dec. 1st, 1521).[2]

§ 17. The suspicion of poison, which attended his early death, was perhaps better founded in the case of his honest, pious, and

[1] For some excellent remarks on what might have happened if Charles had supported the Reformation, and on the necessity of the opposite course from the essential relations of the Empire to the Papacy, see Mr. Bryce (pp. 321 f.) who observes that, politically, Luther completed the work of Hildebrand and neutralized the power of Charles, though increased by his conquest of Italy.

[2] One of Leo's last acts (Oct. 11) was to confer on Henry VIII. the title of "Defender of the Faith," in recognition of the splendid MS. of his "Libellus Regius" on the Seven Sacraments, against Luther. The title was not new, having been granted to Henry IV. for his zeal against the Lollards.

reforming successor, ADRIAN VI. (1522–1523),[1] whose physician is said to have been pronounced by the malcontent Romans "the saviour of his country." This last Teutonic Pope, Adrian Florent, born at Utrecht, the son of an artisan, rose by his learning and high character to be Vice-Chancellor of the University of Louvain, and was chosen by the Emperor Maximilian as tutor to his grandson Charles. Ferdinand appointed the learned and zealous Dominican Bishop of Tortosa and Grand Inquisitor; and after the King's death Adrian shared the regency of Spain with Cardinal Ximenes. He was created a Cardinal by Leo, on whose death Charles V., evading his promise to Wolsey,[2] procured the election of his fellow-countryman and tutor, who kept his own name as one already famous in the Papacy (Jan. 2, 1522, but not crowned till Sept. 1). He has been called distinctively "the reforming Pope:" and he was the last who indulged the hope of a reformation of the Roman Church from within. A zealous Thomist, the Pope, who is himself now declared infallible, did not hesitate, in his Commentary on the Master's work, to deny the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and that not only in the abstract but in fact, for he declares that "many of the Roman pontiffs were heretics,"[3] as we have seen at least two pronounced by the authority of their own Church. His conviction of the need of a reformation was strengthened by his bitter hostility to the heresy of Luther, about the means of suppressing of which he corresponded with his old friend and countryman Erasmus, and invoked

[1] The chief authorities, besides the general works on the civil and ecclesiastical history of the time (especially Onuphrius Panvinus (the continuer of Platina), Du Chesne, Ranke, and Gregorovius, are Burman's *Vita Adriani VI.*, Utrecht, 1727; *Correspondence de Charles-Quint et d'Adrien VI.*, publiée par Gachard, Brux. 1859; Bauer, *Hadrian VI.* Heidelberg, 1876. (For other works, see Hase, pp. 470, 471).

[2] Charles succeeded in amusing Wolsey with hope for the next vacancy (to be equally disregarded), as well as the promise of a pension (which was never paid). Henry VIII. joined Charles this same year in the war against France.

[3] *Comment. in Lib. IV. Sentent.* Rom. 1522: "Dico primo, quod si per Ecclesiam Romanam intelligat caput ejus, puta pontificem, *certum est quod possit errare, etiam in iis quæ tangunt fidem*, hæresim per suam determinationem aut decretalem asserendo. *Plures enim fuerunt pontifices Romani hæretici*" (of course, it is indifferent whether the last word is adjective or substantive). Observe, from the *date*, that this is the declaration of Adrian *as Pope;* whether *ex cathedrâ* is a question perhaps beyond our discrimination; but, in the light of honest common sense, the Infallible Pope denying the doctrine of Papal Infallibility is very much like the scholastic problem of Epimenides and the Cretans, thus: Adrian says the Pope can err; he was infallible; ergo, Adrian could err; ergo, this dictum may be an error, and the Pope cannot err; ergo, Adrian did not err, and the Pope can err: and so on, *ad infinitum.*

the secular arm at the Diet of Nuremberg, while in his formal instructions to his legate he declared that "Many abominations had for a long time existed even in the Holy See, yea, that all things had been grievously altered and perverted."[1] Beginning his reforms at Rome, the change from Leo's splendour and prodigality to his frugal simplicity disgusted the people as well as the Curia; and his schemes of reformation, as well as of uniting Christendom against the Turks, ended with his premature death (Sept. 24, 1523).

§ 18. The abortive honesty of the Dominican Pope proved but an episode between the reigns of two Mediceans; for his successor, who took the name of CLEMENT VII.[2] (Nov. 1523–Sept. 1534), was Julius, a natural and posthumous son of Julian de' Medici, who was murdered in the Pazzi conspiracy, and a cousin of Leo X., who legitimated him and made him Archbishop of Florence and a Cardinal. Born in 1478, he was now about 55 years old. With the worldly and irreligious spirit of his cousin he united a more stedfast ambition, but without the ability to make it good. Owing his election to the imperial influence, for the sake of antagonism to France, he hoped to restore the old relations between the Empire and the Papacy.[3]

§ 19. The campaign of 1522 in Lombardy had been disastrous to the French, who were now for the third time driven out of the Milanese territory; but next year a greater disaster befel Francis in the defection of the Constable, Charles, duke of Bourbon,[4] who transferred his service to the Emperor, and arranged with him and England a combined attack on France. We must leave to civil history the vicissitudes of war which led to the defeat and capture of the King of France by the Constable Bourbon in the great *Battle of Pavia*, fought on Charles's birthday (Feb. 24, 1525).

After a year's captivity in Spain, Francis regained his liberty on terms so severe that he never intended to observe them; and the very greatness of Charles's success led to a new combination against him. The Pope absolved Francis from the obligations of the treaty of Madrid, and formed a league with him and the Venetians

[1] Instructions to Francesco Chieregati, *ap.* Raynald, *Annal. Eccles.* an. 1522, § 66, cited by Hardwick, *Hist. of the Reformation Period*, p. 3.

[2] This title had already been borne by the French Antipope, whose election in opposition to Urban VI. (1378) began the Great Papal Schism. See Chap. IX. p. 138.

[3] Clement's action with regard to the Reformation in Germany will be noticed in connection with that movement (Chap. XLI.). His part in the divorce case of Henry VIII., which resulted in the severance of the English Church from Rome, belongs to the History of England.

[4] The details of this event, and the offence which caused it, belong to civil history. (See the *Student's France*, Chap. XIV. § 6.)

and Florentines for the expulsion of the Imperialists from Milan, which was to be restored to Francesco Sforza. But while Francis, whose high spirit seemed crushed by his disaster, abandoned himself to pleasure at Paris, Bourbon overran the duchy, which had been promised him by Charles. His German soldiers, for the most part Lutherans, demanded to be led against Rome, which, for the second time in history, was sacked by a northern army, but now under the banner of the Holy Roman Empire (May 6, 1527). The death of Bourbon, from a shot as he was mounting a scaling ladder, added revengeful fury to the assault, and for seven months the city was given up to violence and rapine. The Pope, shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, was the object of perpetual insult, which Philibert, Prince of Orange, who had succeeded Bourbon in the command, was unable to restrain. "Soldiers dressed as cardinals, with one in the midst bearing the triple crown on his head, and personating the Pope, rode in solemn procession through the city, surrounded by guards and heralds: they halted before the castle of St. Angelo, where the mock pope, flourishing a large drinking-glass, gave the cardinals his benediction. They even held a consistory, and promised in future to be more faithful servants of the Roman Empire: the papal throne they meant to bestow on Luther."[1] And all this time the Emperor was enacting the solemn hypocrisy of ordering public prayers for the Holy Father's liberation!

A more practical way to that result was found in the alliance of England and France, in the name of outraged Christendom. A powerful French army under Lautrec again crossed the Alps, took Alessandria, Pavia, and Genoa, and, disregarding the interests and entreaties of Sforza and the other northern allies, marched southwards to attack Naples (April 1528). Their approach made Rome untenable, and the Prince of Orange fell back to defend Naples, while Charles set the Pope free for a large ransom and a promise not to take part against him. In striking contrast with this policy, the headstrong Francis threw away the advantage he had gained, by another blunder like his treatment of Bourbon. The army investing Naples was powerfully aided by the Genoese fleet, which had defeated the Spaniards off Salerno. As a just reward for this and former faithful services, the great admiral Andrea Doria petitioned for the restoration of certain franchises and commercial privileges to Genoa. Misled by his favourites, Francis not only refused, but sent out a French officer to supersede and arrest Doria, who thereupon carried his fleet over to the Emperor. The result

[1] Ranke, *German Hist. in the Age of the Reformation*, Book iv. p. 449.

was the relief of Naples and the capitulation of the besieging force, while Doria, returning with his victorious fleet to Genoa, expelled the French and became the head of the restored Republic, which retained its independence till the great French Revolution.

§ 20. These disasters, and the exhaustion of France by the long and repeated wars in Italy, had tamed the martial ambition of Francis; while Charles was threatened with a religious war in Germany and by the advancing conquests of the Turks under Solyman the Magnificent.[1]. The *Peace of Cambray* is still more famous by the name of the *Paix des Dames*, from its negociation between the Emperor's aunt, Margaret of the Netherlands, and Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis I. (July 1529). Its terms were based on those before accepted by the captive King at Madrid; but all that concerns us here is the absolute surrender of the French claims in Italy.[2] Charles, who was at Barcelona, had already come to terms with the Pope, to whom he restored the whole States of the Church, while he took the house of Medici under his special protection. He now proceeded to Italy, and, on the anniversary of his birth and of the victory of Pavia, he was solemnly crowned at Bologna by Clement (Feb. 24, 1530).

This last imperial coronation marks an epoch which, at first sight, might be compared with that of Charles's great namesake in 800. But, besides the long-standing erection of the Western and Middle Frank kingdoms into a great rival power, the imperial

[1] Solyman took Belgrade, the bulwark of Western Europe on the Danube, in Aug. 1521, and Rhodes, the last Christian possession on the coast of Asia, in Dec. 1522. In August 1526, he won the battle of Mohatz, in Hungary, where Louis II., the last Jagellon king of Hungary and Bohemia, was killed; and the Archduke Ferdinand, regent of Austria for his brother Charles, was more intent on securing the vacant crowns than on repelling the Turkish invasion. Espousing the rival claim of John Zapolya, Solyman overran most of Hungary, and for the second time took Buda, which he burnt (1529). It was after the Peace of Cambray that he was repulsed from Vienna, with the loss of 70,000 men, by Frederick the Prince Palatine (Sept. 1529).

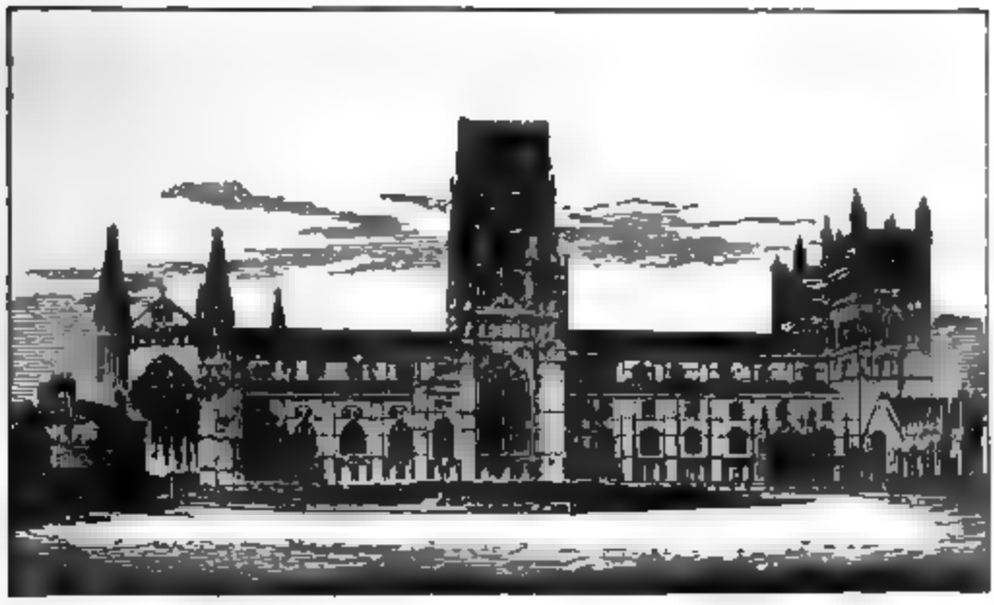
[2] The subsequent renewal and end of the contest belong to civil history. We have only to notice here the policy of Francis in courting the favour of the Pope, which gave a share in the French throne to a queen-consort most notorious in history. CATHERINE DE' MEDICI, daughter of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, was married by Clement himself at Marseille (Oct. 1533) to Francis's second son Henry, Duke of Orleans, who, in consequence of the death of his brother, the Dauphin Francis, succeeded his father as Henry II. (1547). The only important events in the few remaining years of Clement VII. belong to the history of the Reformation and of Henry VIII.'s divorce, his opposition to which occasioned (we do not say, *caused*) the severance of the English Church from Rome just at the time of his own death on Sept. 26th, 1534.

rule of Germany itself was little more than nominal. The severed states of that country were plunging into a religious war,[1] from which Charles himself withdrew twenty-five years later, to meditate in his convent on the folly of trying to force human thought and action to uniformity, when even mechanism defied his regulation; and, when another century saw an agreement at length affected by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the States of Europe had lost even the pretence of any likeness to the old civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the Holy Roman Empire under the double headship of the Pope and Emperor. There is no longer a united visible Church to occupy the historian.

Meanwhile the great contest between the autocracy of Rome, and the principles of ecclesiastical aristocracy and the independence of national Churches, seemed now to have been decided everywhere, except in England, in favour of the Papacy. But the allegiance rendered to the Pope was no longer that of deep religious conviction, much less the enthusiasm of united Christendom, as at the epoch of the Crusades. The reverence still preserved for the visible centre of Latin Christendom was mingled with the element, now stronger, of that policy by which the sovereigns of Europe found it prudent to take account of the Papacy as a great Italian power, and as a bulwark against the encroachments of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, and against genuine reform, in their several states. Nor did any fresh papal schism bring its authority into dispute.

But the vantage ground thus secured for the Roman see proved a growing temptation to the indulgence of those abuses which outraged public morality; the avarice, venality, and misgovernment, the luxury and personal vices, of the Popes and the papal curia. It was in vain that, through the whole fifteenth century, the most faithful counsellors urged a voluntary reformation from above as the only means of averting a compulsory reformation from below, which would not be effected without violence and schism. The events reviewed throughout this Book confirmed the conviction, that Rome herself would not undertake her own reform, and that neither the ecclesiastical aristocracy nor the temporal princes could enforce it, for want of union among themselves; and it was the sad confession of a man most honourably eminent, that a reformation was at once necessary and impossible. But "the things which are impossible with men are possible with God."

[1] It was in this same year that the great Protestant Confession (*Confessio Augustana*, or of *Augsburg*) was presented to the Diet of the Empire at Augsburg (June 25th, 1530).



Durham Cathedral.

BOOK III.

THE CONSTITUTION, WORSHIP, AND DOCTRINES OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH.

Centuries XI. to XVI.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PAPACY, HIERARCHY, AND CLERGY.

§ 1. Character of the Period—Revival from the Darkness of the Tenth Century—The Middle Ages in their Glory—New Creations of the Age. § 2. Relations of the Church to the State—The Threefold Alternative: independent, national, or Catholic—Imperial Œcumenical Church—National Churches of Europe. § 3. The Church of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire—Internal State of the Church—Era of its supreme sovereignty. § 4. Power of the Papacy—Causes of the general submission—The Pope's despotic authority—First claims to Infallibility—Supremacy over Councils and Canons—The Pope's dispensing power—Canonization. § 5. The Episcopate subject to the "Universal Bishop"—Oath of obedience imposed on Metropolitans—Power and Oppressions of the Papal Legates—Testimony of John of Salisbury and St. Bernard. § 6. The Curia Romana—Its ubiquitous and ravenous agents—John of Salisbury and Adrian IV.—The Mother-Church a Stepmother—The Pope and Cardinals. § 7. Episcopal Eles-

tions by Cathedral Canons—Interference of the Pope: *Preces*, *Mandata*, and *Plenaria Dispositio*—Papal Reservations or Provisions, and Exemptions—Attempts to restore free Elections—Character of the Bishops—Titular or Suffragan Bishops—Power and Tyranny of the Archdeacons and "Officials." § 8 Increase of Church Property—Feudal Claims of Sovereigns: the *Regale*, *Jus Exuviarum*, and *Jus Primarum Precum*—Taxation of the Clergy—Papal Exactions from them—*Annates* and *Expectancies*. § 9. Worldly motives and spirit of the Clergy—Abuses of Patronage—Income of the Clergy—Tithes—Simony and Pluralism—Secular Business and Ambition. § 10. Degraded state of the parochial clergy—Caricatures and more serious testimony—*Acephali* and Chaplains—Popular preference for the Friars.

§ 1. THE title of the *Dark Ages*—indiscriminately applied to the Medieval Period of History by the pride of the *Renaissance* and the self-complacency of modern progress—is truly characteristic of the Tenth Century. The great intellectual revival, fostered by the government of Charles the Great on the Continent, and renewed by Alfred in the island which had been one of its chief sources, had spent its force amidst the conflicts of the kingdoms into which the new Empire was again split up, and the sacred centre at Rome had become the seat of corruption. But already, before the end of the tenth century, we have seen the efforts of the great Saxon Emperors to reform the Church and Papacy; and the following centuries, from the eleventh to the thirteenth, are marked by the outburst and growth of new light and life, religious and intellectual energy, none the less powerful and fruitful of ultimate results, though their elements were as yet working in disorder, and repressed by the despotism which the See of Rome now succeeded in establishing. These three centuries are justly described by Archbishop Trench[1] as "the Middle Ages in their glory and at their height"—as "their *creative period*, to which belong all those magnificent births which they have bequeathed, some to the admiration, and all to the wonder, of the after-world—the *Crusades*, the rise of *Gothic Architecture*, the *Universities*, the *Schoolmen*, the *Mystics*, the *Mendicant Orders*:" to all of which must be added the still newer forces of free religious thought and worship—new in form, but springing from the primitive sources of Christianity itself—that were destined to transform the Church, though now the civil and ecclesiastical powers suspended their deadly strife to join in crushing this common foe. The seeds of purer truth and holier life, which were mingled with much that was evil in the medieval heresies, the efforts for reformation within the bosom of

[1] *Lectures on Medieval Church History*, pp. 16–17.

the Church, and even the growing worldliness and corruption of the Papacy, when it seemed to have crushed or evaded those attempts, all converge to the great crisis of Reformation in the sixteenth century.

§ 2. The threefold alternative in the relations of the Church to the civil power and the life of the people—*independence, nationality*, or a *Catholic despotism*—is now fairly presented to us in its historic working. The pure ideal of a Church independent of all worldly power had been of necessity maintained so long as the civil government was anti-christian; and the revived aspiration for "a free Church in a free State," prompted by the corruption and tyranny of both powers, became a great problem of the future. The close union and theoretical identity of the Church with the Christian state, established by Constantine, was practicable while the Roman Empire was co-extensive with Christendom, and so long as the decrees of Œcumenical Councils could be regarded as expressing the mind of the universal Church under the civil control of one imperial ruler.

In the ensuing disruption, this constitution furnished a type for the several National Churches, at the necessary sacrifice of œcumenical action, though with the attempt to preserve the Catholic unity of doctrine, ritual, and discipline. But the bishops of the old capitals still clung to those œcumenical claims, of which, after the severance of the East and West and the revival of the Holy Roman Empire, ROME became the unrivalled centre for the Latin Church. We have seen how the generally admitted claim of *precedence* was pressed forward, step by step, first to the Pope's spiritual authority over the Western Church (and in theory over the whole), and then to his supremacy over the civil power in all matters, temporal as well as spiritual; in short, a personal Catholic despotism, equally opposed to the ideas of a free spiritual Church, and of nationally constituted Churches: for the claim of Rome to embody the former is perpetually contradicted by her assumptions of temporal power and control.

§ 3. While the idea of national churches, with rights more or less independent of papal control, was maintained in England and France—to be asserted with signal vigour in the latter part of the period we have reviewed—the great region still included in the Empire had received the doctrine, that God had divided all power on earth between the Emperor and the Pope. The question then arose, whether these "two swords" were held each by an independent commission, in virtue of which the Emperor was supreme in civil matters even over ecclesiastics, or whether—as the Hildebrandine doctrine held—the ecclesiastical power was independent,

and the civil power was derived from and responsible to the Pope as Christ's vicar upon earth. In the foregoing chapters we have followed the external aspect of "the struggle, so grand and terrible, between the world-king and the world-priest, the Emperor and the Pope, with the triumph, complete though temporary, of the latter, the Papacy, in the most towering heights to which it ever ascended."[1] We have seen how the overbuilt edifice, weakened by its own loftiness, was shattered by the Babylonian Captivity and the great Papal Schism; and how, evading the demands for internal reformation, it regained a deceptive splendour amidst the corruptions that brought on the final crisis. We have now to trace the working of the power won by the Papacy on the internal constitution of the Church, together with the whole character of its worship and discipline, its doctrines and controversies, its religious and intellectual life, during the Middle Ages. The general character of the period is admirably summed up by Schaff:[2] "This may be termed the age of *Christian legalism*, of Church authority. Personal freedom is here, to a great extent, lost in slavish submission to fixed traditional rules and forms. The individual subject is of account only as the organ and medium of the general spirit of the Church. All secular powers, the state, science, art, are under the guardianship of the hierarchy, and must everywhere serve its ends. This is emphatically the era of grand universal enterprises, of colossal works, whose completion required the co-operation of nations and centuries; the age of *the supreme outward sovereignty of the visible Church.*"

§ 4. That supreme sovereignty was vested in the see of Rome by the efforts of Hildebrand and his successors, with the general assent of the clergy and the people. To understand this submission, it must be remembered that the Hildebrandine claim to papal ascendancy went hand in hand with that effort to reform the deep corruptions of the clergy, which won the mass of the people to the side of Gregory VII. It might well seem to earnest men that the work could only be achieved by a central power invested with absolute spiritual authority; and, in yielding up a portion of their liberty, the clergy saw their order strengthened against the civil ruler. In an elective hierarchy, every member naturally sympathizes with the aggrandisement of the head, especially as the triumph of spiritual power over worldly might. From a president or *primus*, acting as an authoritative counsellor and arbiter according to the canons, the Pope became the autocrat of the Latin Church, according to the principles of the false Decretals,[3] the supreme and ulti-

[1] Trench, *l. c.*

[2] *Church Hist.* Introd. p. 51.

[3] See Pt. I. p. 560 f. The gradual adoption of the autocratic principle

mate source of jurisdiction, as the one representative of Christ on earth, wielding a kind of power above that belonging to human rulers.[1] Though the claim to *infallibility*, which has been retrospectively affirmed in our own day,[2] was only beginning to be heard, the supreme authority of Councils was more and more distinctly usurped. The old imperial authority to summon General Councils was now claimed by the Pope;[3] they sank to the position of deliberative assemblies, whose decrees derived their force from the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and (from the time of Innocent III.) were published in his name.[4] He was placed so far above the laws of the Church, as to be not only not bound by them himself, but able to release others from obedience; and this *dispensing power*, which was at first applied only in extreme cases, as an indemnity for offences already committed, was extended to prospective infractions of the canon-law.[5] Such dispensations, and

is one great distinction between Western and Eastern Christendom. It was never admitted in the Greek Church.

[1] Though it was reserved for later and worser Popes to assume actual Divine titles, we find Innocent III. describing himself as "citra Deum, *ultra hominem*," and as "minor Deo, *major homine*,"—where the disclaimer is scarcely less arrogant than the assumption. The same pontiff plainly puts forward the claim to be the Vicar, no longer of St. Peter only, but of the true God and of Jesus Christ (*Epist.* i. 326). These growing claims were symbolized by the *triple crown*. Boniface VIII. added to the papal tiara a second crown, to denote the Pope's twofold lordship, spiritual and temporal; and Urban V. added the third crown, to signify that the Pope is the representative of Christ. The climax of titular assumption is seen in the worst age of the Papacy, when, at the 5th Lateran Council (1512), such a Pope as Julius II. was addressed as "another God upon the earth": "Tu enim pastor, tu medicus, tu gubernator, tu cultor, tu denique *alter Deus in terris*." (See Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 432.)

[2] By the Vatican Council, 1870. The doctrine was chiefly founded on Luke xxii. 32, "I have prayed for thee, that thy *faith fail not*," and as such it is cited in the Vatican decree of 1870 (chap. iv.). For examples of the claim, in a greater or lesser degree, by Leo IX., Gregory VII., and Innocent III., see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 164, n.

[3] Thus, as early as 1095, Urban II., relying on the enthusiasm for the Crusade, summoned the Councils of Piacenza and Clermont by his own authority (see above, p. 26).

[4] Thus he says of the 4th Lateran Council (1215):—"Sacra universali Synodo *approbante*, sancimus;" and the formula is duly repeated in the Vatican Decrees of 1870; "Pius Episcopus, &c., *sacro approbante concilio*."

[5] The earlier and more restricted form of dispensation, which gave "veniam canonis *infracti*," but not *infringendi*, was granted by ordinary bishops. The wider power dates from Innocent III., who, for example, absolved King John from his oath to observe the Great Charter (see his *Epist.* lib. xvi. 154; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 163). But the power was not held to be unlimited. As defined by Thomas Aquinas, the Pope's plenary authority in the Church gave him the power to dispense with the

especially the Pope's absolution from the laws of marriage and from oaths, struck at the foundation of social and political order, in the same proportion as they exalted and extended his authority over the common life of persons, families, and nations. The power of *canonization*, which had formerly belonged to bishops, was vested in the Pope by a decree of Alexander III. (A.D. 1170).

§ 5. As an inference from his authority as the Vicar of Christ, the Pope claimed to be the "universal bishop" and head of the episcopate in all countries.[1] As a necessary consequence, the metropolitans, who had been the heads and champions of their national and provincial churches, became the vicars of the Pope. An oath of obedience to him was imposed on them as the condition of receiving the *pallium*, from the time of Gregory VII., who regarded the relation of metropolitans to the Holy See as that of vassals to a suzerain.[2] This authority was soon extended to the confirmation of all episcopal elections, and the Pope often even nominated the bishops, from whom and from the exempted abbots the oath imposed on the metropolitans was also exacted. The Pope further claimed the right to remove and depose bishops, and to receive appeals from episcopal decisions. The growing frequency of these appeals to Rome was not only a serious interference in national jurisdiction, but a cause of the decay of discipline, which the bishops were deterred from exercising by the constant fear of a mandate from Rome reversing their decisions.

The relation thus claimed was made a practical power by the papal Legates (*legati a latere*), who, according to Gregory VII., "were to be heard even as the Pope himself." Such representatives had been at first only sent from Rome on special occasions; but from the time of Leo IX. their commissions were unlimited both in time and subject. Under Gregory VII. a regular legate was established in every country, either as an emissary direct from Rome (generally a Cardinal), or by a commission conferring the full power of the Pope on a local ecclesiastic. The Legate, who, although usually a bishop, might even be a deacon or archdeacon, at once superseded

institutes of the Church, as the ordinances of *man* or of *positive law*, but not with those of *divine* or *natural law*; or, as others put it, not against the Gospel or articles of faith, or the precept of an Apostle, though, according to one authority, "tamen contra Apostolum dispensat."

[1] This was a main point of contention in the reforming effort of the 15th century. While Gerson and his party at Constance held that the episcopal and papal authority rested on a common foundation, the champions of Rome claimed that the Pope was the source and perpetual dispenser of all episcopal powers.

[2] For a full account of the *Pallium*, see the article in the *Dict. of Christ. Antiqq.*

the full authority of the metropolitan, or, if the latter held the office, the danger to the national church was still greater. Besides this usurpation on the ancient system of episcopal authority, the power entrusted to the legates, in an age of great worldliness and corruption among the clergy, was used as the instrument of oppression and rapacity, to such a degree that John of Salisbury (the close friend of the English Pope Adrian IV.) speaks of them as "raging in the provinces as if Satan had gone forth from the presence of the Lord for the scourging of the Church."[1] St. Bernard, who often mingled his championship of Rome with faithful warnings of her corruptions, has left a picture of the behaviour of a cardinal named Jordanus, as legate to France:[2] "Your Legate has passed from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people, everywhere leaving foul and horrible traces among us. Travelling about from the foot of the Alps and the kingdom of the Germans through almost all the churches of France and Normandy, and all round as far as Rouen, the apostolic man has filled them, not with the Gospel, but with sacrilege. He is reported everywhere to have committed disgraceful deeds, to have carried off the spoils of the churches, to have advanced pretty little boys[3] to ecclesiastical honours where he was able, and to have wished to do where he was unable. Many have bought themselves off, that he might not come to them; those whom he could not visit he taxed and squeezed by his messengers. In schools, in courts, at the cross roads, he has made himself a by-word. Seculars and religious, all speak ill of him."[4]

§ 6. Nor is a better character given to the numerous body of ecclesiastics at Rome, whose aid and advice the Pope found necessary for the exercise of his authority, and whose very name, which has since become a byword, was regarded from the first as a sign of worldliness, oppression, and corruption. In the middle of

[1] *Policrat.* lib. v. c. 16, *ap.* Gieseler (vol. iii. p. 179), who gives a number of similar testimonies.

[2] *Epist.* 290; *ad Episcop. Ostiens.* (1152); Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 177; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 216. For St. Bernard's strong warning of the moral danger of the Papacy, especially from its growing secularization, addressed to his former pupil, Eugenius III., in his work on *Self-Consideration*, see Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.* p. 280.

[3] We can scarcely mistake what is veiled under the words "*formulosos* pueros."

[4] For the resistance to the intrusion of Legates into England, see Chap. III. § 11. The objection appears to have been not so much to the office itself as to its exercise by Italian cardinals. From the year 1195 to the Reformation it was generally held by the Archbishops of Canterbury. We have seen the dissatisfaction caused by the appointment of Cardinal Beaufort in the 15th century (Chap. X. p. 163, n.[3]).

the 12th century, Gerhoh, Bishop of Reichersperg[1] complains to the reigning Pope of the stain (*macula*), that the venerable name of the *Church of Rome* had been exchanged for that of the *Roman Court* (CURIA ROMANA). The vast growth of business consequent on the extended power and jurisdiction of the Pope created a ubiquitous host of ravenous *Officials* of the Curia. John of Salisbury tells us that when, on a visit to Adrian IV. at Benevento, the Pope asked him what men thought of the Church and himself, he frankly exposed the evil reports which he had heard in various provinces.[2] "For, as was said by many, the Roman Church, which is the mother of all the Churches, shows itself to the rest not so much a mother as a stepmother.[3] The Scribes and Pharisees sit in it, laying on the shoulders of men burthens not to be borne, which they do not touch with a finger. They shatter churches, stir up strifes, set clergy and people against one another, have no sympathy with the toils and miseries of the afflicted, revel in the spoils of the churches, and account all gain godliness. They render justice not so much to truth as to a bribe." From this character he excepts "a few, who fulfil the name and duty of the pastor," but he describes the Roman pontiff himself (to whom he said all this) "as almost intolerably oppressive to all," and of his chief agents he says, "The palaces of the priests are splendid, while the Church of Christ is made sordid in their hands. They plunder the spoils of provinces, as if it were their business to replenish the treasuries of Crœsus." In the next century, a greater Englishman, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, warned Innocent III. that the extravagant claims of the Roman Church were tending to open schism. The monastic orders were still, for the most part, a sort of papal garrisons in every land, and we have presently to describe the vast reinforcement brought to the power of Rome by the mendicant orders, who have been called the Pope's militia.

§ 7. In the time of Gregory VII., and as a part of his reforming efforts, the election of bishops was transferred from the people to the clergy; and, after the pattern of the papal elections, it passed into the hands of the canons of each cathedral.[4] But the change

[1] *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu ad Eugenium III.*; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 178. The formal council of the Pope was the College of Cardinals. The actual administration of affairs was in the hands of the Curia. The department of finance was called the *Rota Romana*.

[2] *Policrat.* lib. vi. c. 24; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 179.

[3] The same figure was used by the Emperor Frederick II., in a letter to Henry III. of England (Matt. Paris, A.D. 1254, p. 293).

[4] The secular canons (*canonici*) were a class of ecclesiastics attached to particular churches, intermediate between the ordinary parish clergy

from lay patronage, instead of doing away with the corruption which had been the subject of such indignant denunciations, had only the effect of transferring it from courtiers to the canons; and in its new form it worked worse than before, inasmuch as the clergy might choose a bishop with a view of benefiting by his defects, or might make a bargain with him more injurious to the Church than any that could be made by a layman. Jealousies, intrigues, and disputed rights, which led to long and ruinous suits, and sometimes to open war, now became rife; and Frederick Barbarossa had probably good reason for declaring, in a well-known speech, that the bishops appointed by the imperial power had been better than those whom the clergy chose for themselves.[1]

The Popes now began to interfere in the elections of bishops, and the appointment of the clergy in general, first by requests (*preces*), from which Innocent III. advanced to mandates (*mandata*), and Clement IV. (ob. 1268) claimed the full right of disposing of vacant benefices (*plenaria dispositio*). These abuses reached their climax during the residence of the Popes at Avignon, when, being separated from their estates, they made their claims of patronage a source of revenue. Clement V. began the system of appropriating rich bishoprics and benefices to the use of the Pope, his kinsmen and favourites, under the name of papal *Reservations* or *Provisions*, in contempt of the rights of sovereigns and chapters; and John XXII. claimed to reserve for himself all the benefices in Christendom! Besides that interference with the rights of national churches, which was vigorously resisted in England,[2] the system

and the monastic orders. They were so called either from living under a regular rule, or, as is more probable, from the enrolment of their names in the lists of officers of the Church (κάνων, in Latin *matricula*, *albus*, *tabula*). The institution sprang from the practice which arose even before the 4th century, and of which we have examples in Ambrose, Augustine, and other bishops, who gathered a body of clergy round them in a common domicile, under strict rules of life; but it received its definite form in the latter part of the 8th century, from Chrodegang, archbishop of Mainz, and cousin of King Pepin. "The essential difference between a *cathedral* with its *canonici* and an *abbey-church* with its *monks* has been well expressed thus: the *canonici* existed for the service of the cathedral, but the abbey church for the spiritual wants of the recluses happening to settle there (Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 443)."—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* art. *Canonici*. For the growing corruption of the secular canons, and the foundation of the "canons regular of St. Augustine," see below, Chap. XX.

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 218. See what is there added on the partly successful efforts of sovereigns, especially in England, to retain influence over the episcopal elections. The contest about *Investiture* has been fully related above (see Chaps. II. and III.).

[2] By the famous *Statute of Provisors*, visiting the introduction of papal

tended to deprive the episcopate of the increased power due to the weakening of the Papacy by the great schism. The rights and disciplinary authority of the Bishops were also infringed by the habitual exemptions of churches, monasteries, chapters, and even individuals, besides the Mendicant Friars as a body, from episcopal jurisdiction.[1] The kindred of the Pope were loaded with preferments, and Clement VII., when remonstrated with for these abuses, replied, "Our predecessors knew not how to play the Pope."

The *theory* of episcopal elections, however, was still maintained. After the settlement of the great contest on Investitures, the bishops were almost universally elected by the cathedral canons; and this system, with the exclusion of the ancient assent of the laity, was enjoined by decrees of Innocent III. and Gregory IX. The Council of Basle endeavoured to restore the practice "according to the ancient laws" (1433); and free elections were stipulated for by the German *Compact* of 1448; but they fell more and more into the hands of sovereigns. In the *Concordat* with France (1516) the appointment of bishops was conceded to the King by Leo X., who set a higher value on the revenues that were yielded to him in return.[2] The whole character of the times leaves little ground for wonder that the bishops, with some admirable exceptions, grew worldly and corrupt, idle in their own office but ambitious of secular power, and covetous of wealth; and few were willing or even able to take the lead in the work of reformation by means of the diocesan synods, which the Council of Basle directed to be held in every diocese at least once a year.

Since the order of country bishops (*Chorepiscopi*[3]) had died out, their functions devolved partly on the *Archdeacons*, and partly on the *Titular* or *Suffragan Bishops*, whom (especially from the thirteenth century onward) the Popes ordained for sees in the hands of the Saracens (*in partibus infidelium*). The order of Archdeacons acquired a new character and growing importance onwards from the eighth century, when, instead of only one under each bishop, every diocese was divided into several archdeaconries, in which those who were still but deacons exercised jurisdiction over the presbyters, and were tempted to make themselves independent. They are complained of as defying the authority of their bishops,

instruments for such "provisions" with the penalties of *præmunire* (25 Edw. III. c. 6).

[1] Martin V., in his Bull for remedying such abuses (1418), confesses that they had been created by his predecessors "in grave ipsorum ordinariorium præjudicium." In the case of the monasteries, however, the primary cause of their exemptions may be traced to the exactions and oppressions of the bishops upon them.

[2] See Chap. XV. § 12.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 296.

tyrannizing over the clergy, and vexing the people by their exactions, especially on the pretext of penance, by which they were said to make a gain of sins. New abuses were the sole result of the attempts of the bishops to check these troublesome dignitaries by setting up courts of their own under the presidency of "officials," whom Peter of Blois (himself, it is true, an archdeacon) designates "Bishops' leeches."

§ 8. All these evils were aggravated by the increased wealth of the Church and the contests of the clergy with the people and the state respecting temporalities and taxation. "It was not to any regard for their persons, but to the superstition and circumstances of the age, that the clergy were indebted for the remarkable increase of their property. It was brought about partly by the vindication of tithe-law, partly by wills, partly by advantageous purchases and mortgages (obtained mostly from nobles who took the cross), partly by compact with the oppressed free commonalty, who received their own property in copyhold from them. From time to time, however, this immoderate increase of ecclesiastical wealth began already to attract attention and receive some restrictions from secular law."[1] By long contests, and much firmness, the sovereigns of England, France, and Germany, succeeded in maintaining the right to tax the clergy,[2] which was first called in question during this period, as well as the feudal dues styled *Regale* and *Jus Exuviarum* or *Spoliorum*. The former was the "royal title" to the income of vacant sees; the latter was the inheritance of the personal property of deceased bishops, which the King's claim had at least the advantage of saving from lawless plunderers. This claim was constantly contested by the Popes, who enforced it in their turn when they had the power. In 1198 both rivals for the Empire, Otho and Philip, renounced it to obtain the Pope's support, and so did the electors; and the renunciation was

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[2] This right was limited in Germany to one year, but in France and England it appears to have been enjoyed at the King's pleasure. We have seen (Chap. III. § 15) how shamefully it was abused by William Rufus, who seems first to have established it in England. Its origin in France is traced back to the 7th and 8th centuries, when the Frank kings interfered to rescue the property of vacant bishoprics from seizure by dukes or counts, and to hold it as the chief *advocatus ecclesiæ*; so that the seeming exaction was, in fact, a remedy for worse evils. The English clergy were severely taxed by Edward I. for his wars; and when the Archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Winchelsea) attempted resistance on the ground of the Bull of Boniface VIII. (*Clericis laicos*, see p. 95), Edward put the whole of the clergy under a virtual outlawry till they yielded. (For details, see *Student's Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 386 f.)

repeated by Frederick II. (1213), and by the envoys of Rudolf at the Second Council of Lyon (1274). The *Jus Primarum Precum* was a compensation to sovereigns (first granted in 1242), entitling them to claim one piece of patronage from each new bishop or abbot, in lieu of their former share in the appointment of bishops.

While resisting these imposts of the secular powers, the Popes themselves claimed the right to tax the clergy for special objects, such as a war against the infidels, or a conflict with an Emperor or Antipope. A remarkable example is furnished by the "Saladin's tithe," which was exacted long after the Crusade was abandoned. It was significant of the free spirit which survived to bear future fruit, that this tithe "was at first resisted by the clergy and monks, on the ground that their prayers were their proper and sufficient contribution towards the holy cause; those who fight for the Church," said Peter of Blois, "*ought rather to enrich her with the spoils of her enemies than to rob her.*"[1] A new and vast development of these abuses was caused by the wants of the Popes in their banishment at Avignon, and of their rival courts during the great papal schism. Besides exercising more severely the *Jus Exuviarum*, which their predecessors had resisted in the hands of sovereigns, they devised new engines of exaction. In addition to the *reservations* or *provisions*, spoken of above, the *Annates*, or first year's revenue of benefices, brought in an immense treasure to John XXII., who first invented them.[2] During the great schism, the Pope at Avignon, Clement VII., began the grants of *Expectancies* (*gratiæ exspectativæ*), by which the reversion of benefices was conferred during the life of their incumbents (*comp.* p. 140); and the abuse was carried to such lengths, that the same reversions were granted over and over again to each who would bid higher than another. These exactions were repeatedly condemned by the great reforming Councils, the University of Paris, and the civil powers both of France and Germany; till by the *Concordat* of 1516 Leo X. gave up *reservations* and *expectancies*, but the *Annates* were secured to the Roman see. Meanwhile the practical pressure of these claims had been the most fruitful source of discontent against the Papacy.

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In the early medieval age the *Income of the Clergy* was still derived from the voluntary offerings of their flocks and the endowments of the churches. Generally, in the Western Church, these funds, thrown into a common stock in each parish, were divided into four portions: (1) for the poor; (2) for the clergy; (3) for maintaining the fabric of the church and the expenses of its service; while (4) the remnant went to the bishop, in whose hands rested the entire administration of the property. The endowments were largely increased by testamentary bequests, by advantageous purchases of land and other arrangements made with Crusaders in want of funds, and by the contracts called *feuda oblata*, in which a holder made over his property to the Church, on condition of receiving it back in fee, whereby, besides the present consideration, the Church had the chance of the reversion. To these revenues were added the perpetual source from *Tithes*, which were claimed from early times on the ground of Scriptural precedent, but not generally paid by Christians of the West till the close of the sixth century; and from the eighth they were enforced as a legal obligation by Charles the Great and other sovereigns. Like the earlier voluntary offerings, they were allotted to the poor, as well as to the clergy and the maintenance of worship, the allotments being prescribed by the diocesan. From the produce of the land, tithes were extended to the earnings of trade and professions and military service, and it was even held that they ought to be paid on the receipts of beggars and prostitutes; but the full enforcement of such rules was of course impracticable. Among the reforms contemplated by Gregory VII. was the entire recovery of those portions of the tithes which had fallen into the hands of laymen, but he was

[1] See Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

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The vast multiplication of *pluralities*[2] was a natural consequence of a state of things in which preferment was regarded chiefly as a source of ample income for churchmen who devoted themselves to secular affairs, maintaining the state of nobles and princes, playing an ambitious part in the service[3] or humiliation of sovereigns, and were even forward to distinguish themselves in battle. This martial spirit was partly due to the prevalent reign of physical force, and partly an inheritance from the Crusades, where, for example, "Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, attracted the admiration of the lion-hearted Richard himself, and after his return found exercise for his military talents in the feuds of his own country. And the story is well-known how Richard, having taken prisoner Philip, count-bishop of Beauvais, met the Pope's interference on behalf of the warlike prelate by sending to him Philip's coat of mail, with the scriptural quotation, 'Know now whether it be thy son's coat or not.'"[4] But yet, besides the bright individual exceptions to this abandoned worldliness, the reformatory injunctions of synods, from which we learn much of the evil, attest the continued acknowledgment of a higher standard of piety and duty.

§ 10. With such examples among the higher clergy, we do not wonder to find St. Bernard complaining that "the insolence of the clergy, of which the negligence of the bishops is mother, everywhere disturbs and molests the Church."[5] Prelates of such a character,

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and absorbed in the worldly pursuits and conflicts of those troublous times, were not likely to be choice in conferring orders, nor careful in the exercise of discipline, even if they had had better material to work with. But the state of corruption, intellectual darkness, and moral depravity, pervaded all classes; nor had the great intellectual movement which we have presently to trace, among the few higher minds of the age, any considerable effect on the character of the clergy in general. Indeed, the earliest efforts of reviving letters, outside the range of ecclesiastical and scholastic literature, are largely occupied with a satirical exposure of the ignorance, indolence, and vices of the clergy;[1] and the truth which underlies these caricatures is confirmed by the testimony of eminent churchmen, such as Herbert of Boseham, the friend and biographer of Becket, John of Salisbury, Ivo of Chartres, Gerhoh, St. Bernard, and many others, as well as by the frequent acts of councils, which vie with one another in denouncing the evils which they vainly strove to correct. The reformation attempted by Gregory VII. missed the mark; and its special direction in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy only provoked the growth of concubinage and gross vice.[2] The cathedral canons became especially notorious for their immorality. Among the most disorderly of the clergy were those called "*Acephali*," whom the bishops ordained without a title, and the stipendiary chaplains in the families of great men, who were appointed without the sanction of bishops, and withdrawn from their supervision. But, in truth, even over the parish clergy the superintendence and discipline of such bishops as we have described was of little worth, and any honest desire to exercise it was checked by

[1] It belongs to the history of literature to give a full account of the works referred to, such as the famous *Reinecke Fuchs* ('Reynard the Fox'), and the satiric writings of Walter von der Vogelweide in Germany, the *Confessio Goliæ* and *De Nugis Curialium*, ascribed to Walter Map, or Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, about the end of the 12th century, and many others in England and France (see Mr. Wright's *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, and *Collection of Political Songs*, &c.).

[2] It was only by degrees that clerical celibacy was enforced. In England the rule was mitigated by a decree of the Council of Winchester (1076). Clerical marriage, though everywhere discredited, did not entirely cease till the middle of the 13th century; and it was only after a protracted contest that celibacy was enforced on the subdeacons and inferior orders (see Hardwick, p. 241). Efforts were made at Constance and Basle to abate the scandal, not only by severe decrees against concubinage, but the marriage of the clergy had powerful advocates in Zabarella and others, while Gerson stood firm against it. Pius II. himself said, according to Platina (*Vit. Pii II.* p. 311), that, if there were good reasons for prohibiting the marriage of priests, there were stronger reasons for allowing it. (See Gieseler, vol. v. pp. 15–18, for numerous other opinions of writers in the 15th century in favour of clerical marriage.)

the 12th century, Gerhoh, Bishop of Reichersperg[1] complains to the reigning Pope of the stain (*macula*), that the venerable name of the *Church of Rome* had been exchanged for that of the *Roman Court* (CURIA ROMANA). The vast growth of business consequent on the extended power and jurisdiction of the Pope created a ubiquitous host of ravenous *Officials* of the Curia. John of Salisbury tells us that when, on a visit to Adrian IV. at Benevento, the Pope asked him what men thought of the Church and himself, he frankly exposed the evil reports which he had heard in various provinces.[2] "For, as was said by many, the Roman Church, which is the mother of all the Churches, shows itself to the rest not so much a mother as a stepmother.[3] The Scribes and Pharisees sit in it, laying on the shoulders of men burthens not to be borne, which they do not touch with a finger. They shatter churches, stir up strifes, set clergy and people against one another, have no sympathy with the toils and miseries of the afflicted, revel in the spoils of the churches, and account all gain godliness. They render justice not so much to truth as to a bribe." From this character he excepts "a few, who fulfil the name and duty of the pastor," but he describes the Roman pontiff himself (to whom he said all this) "as almost intolerably oppressive to all," and of his chief agents he says, "The palaces of the priests are splendid, while the Church of Christ is made sordid in their hands. They plunder the spoils of provinces, as if it were their business to replenish the treasuries of Crœsus." In the next century, a greater Englishman, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, warned Innocent III. that the extravagant claims of the Roman Church were tending to open schism. The monastic orders were still, for the most part, a sort of papal garrisons in every land, and we have presently to describe the vast reinforcement brought to the power of Rome by the mendicant orders, who have been called the Pope's militia.

§ 7. In the time of Gregory VII., and as a part of his reforming efforts, the election of bishops was transferred from the people to the clergy; and, after the pattern of the papal elections, it passed into the hands of the canons of each cathedral.[4] But the change

[1] *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu ad Eugenium III.;* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 178. The formal council of the Pope was the College of Cardinals. The actual administration of affairs was in the hands of the Curia. The department of finance was called the *Rota Romana.*

[2] *Policrat.* lib. vi. c. 24; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 179.

[3] The same figure was used by the Emperor Frederick II., in a letter to Henry III. of England (Matt. Paris, A.D. 1254, p. 293).

[4] The secular canons (*canonici*) were a class of ecclesiastics attached to particular churches, intermediate between the ordinary parish clergy

from lay patronage, instead of doing away with the corruption which had been the subject of such indignant denunciations, had only the effect of transferring it from courtiers to the canons; and in its new form it worked worse than before, inasmuch as the clergy might choose a bishop with a view of benefiting by his defects, or might make a bargain with him more injurious to the Church than any that could be made by a layman. Jealousies, intrigues, and disputed rights, which led to long and ruinous suits, and sometimes to open war, now became rife; and Frederick Barbarossa had probably good reason for declaring, in a well-known speech, that the bishops appointed by the imperial power had been better than those whom the clergy chose for themselves.[1]

The Popes now began to interfere in the elections of bishops, and the appointment of the clergy in general, first by requests (*preces*), from which Innocent III. advanced to mandates (*manduta*), and Clement IV. (ob. 1268) claimed the full right of disposing of vacant benefices (*plenaria dispositio*). These abuses reached their climax during the residence of the Popes at Avignon, when, being separated from their estates, they made their claims of patronage a source of revenue. Clement V. began the system of appropriating rich bishoprics and benefices to the use of the Pope, his kinsmen and favourites, under the name of papal *Reservations* or *Provisions*, in contempt of the rights of sovereigns and chapters; and John XXII. claimed to reserve for himself all the benefices in Christendom! Besides that interference with the rights of national churches, which was vigorously resisted in England,[2] the system

and the monastic orders. They were so called either from living under a regular rule, or, as is more probable, from the enrolment of their names in the lists of officers of the Church (*κάνων*, in Latin *matricula*, *albus*, *tabula*). The institution sprang from the practice which arose even before the 4th century, and of which we have examples in Ambrose, Augustine, and other bishops, who gathered a body of clergy round them in a common domicile, under strict rules of life; but it received its definite form in the latter part of the 8th century, from Chrodegang, archbishop of Mainz, and cousin of King Pepin. "The essential difference between a *cathedral* with its *canonici* and an *abbey-church* with its *monks* has been well expressed thus: the *canonici* existed for the service of the cathedral, but the abbey church for the spiritual wants of the recluses happening to settle there (Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 443)."—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* art. *Canonici*. For the growing corruption of the secular canons, and the foundation of the "canons regular of St. Augustine," see below, Chap. XX.

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 218. See what is there added on the partly successful efforts of sovereigns, especially in England, to retain influence over the episcopal elections. The contest about *Investiture* has been fully related above (see Chaps. II. and III.).

[2] By the famous *Statute of Provisors*, visiting the introduction of papal

tended to deprive the episcopate of the increased power due to the weakening of the Papacy by the great schism. The rights and disciplinary authority of the Bishops were also infringed by the habitual exemptions of churches, monasteries, chapters, and even individuals, besides the Mendicant Friars as a body, from episcopal jurisdiction.[1] The kindred of the Pope were loaded with preferments, and Clement VII., when remonstrated with for these abuses, replied, "Our predecessors knew not how to play the Pope."

The *theory* of episcopal elections, however, was still maintained. After the settlement of the great contest on Investitures, the bishops were almost universally elected by the cathedral canons; and this system, with the exclusion of the ancient assent of the laity, was enjoined by decrees of Innocent III. and Gregory IX. The Council of Basle endeavoured to restore the practice "according to the ancient laws" (1433); and free elections were stipulated for by the German *Compact* of 1448; but they fell more and more into the hands of sovereigns. In the *Concordat* with France (1516) the appointment of bishops was conceded to the King by Leo X., who set a higher value on the revenues that were yielded to him in return.[2] The whole character of the times leaves little ground for wonder that the bishops, with some admirable exceptions, grew worldly and corrupt, idle in their own office but ambitious of secular power, and covetous of wealth; and few were willing or even able to take the lead in the work of reformation by means of the diocesan synods, which the Council of Basle directed to be held in every diocese at least once a year.

Since the order of country bishops (*Chorepiscopi*[3]) had died out, their functions devolved partly on the *Archdeacons*, and partly on the *Titular* or *Suffragan Bishops*, whom (especially from the thirteenth century onward) the Popes ordained for sees in the hands of the Saracens (*in partibus infidelium*). The order of Archdeacons acquired a new character and growing importance onwards from the eighth century, when, instead of only one under each bishop, every diocese was divided into several archdeaconries, in which those who were still but deacons exercised jurisdiction over the presbyters, and were tempted to make themselves independent. They are complained of as defying the authority of their bishops,

instruments for such "provisions" with the penalties of *præmunire* (25 Edw. III. c. 6).

[1] Martin V., in his Bull for remedying such abuses (1418), confesses that they had been created by his predecessors "in grave ipsorum ordinariorium præjudicium." In the case of the monasteries, however, the primary cause of their exemptions may be traced to the exactions and oppressions of the bishops upon them.

[2] See Chap. XV. § 12.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 296.

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[4] Matt. Paris; Robertson, iii. 233.

[5] *Epist.* 152.

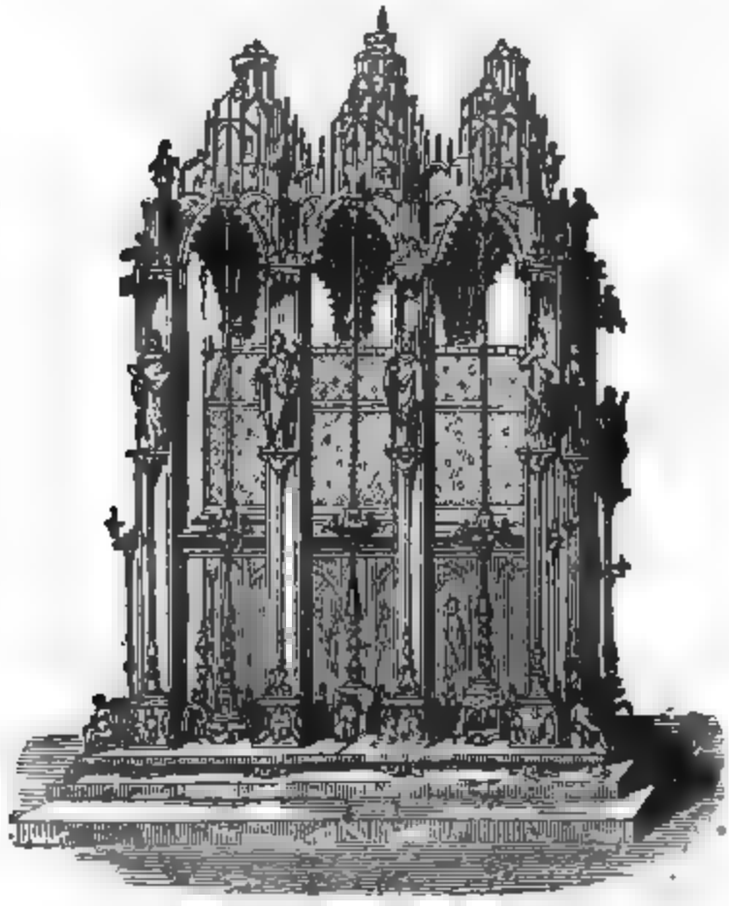
and absorbed in the worldly pursuits and conflicts of those troublous times, were not likely to be choice in conferring orders, nor careful in the exercise of discipline, even if they had had better material to work with. But the state of corruption, intellectual darkness, and moral depravity, pervaded all classes; nor had the great intellectual movement which we have presently to trace, among the few higher minds of the age, any considerable effect on the character of the clergy in general. Indeed, the earliest efforts of reviving letters, outside the range of ecclesiastical and scholastic literature, are largely occupied with a satirical exposure of the ignorance, indolence, and vices of the clergy;[1] and the truth which underlies these caricatures is confirmed by the testimony of eminent churchmen, such as Herbert of Boseham, the friend and biographer of Becket, John of Salisbury, Ivo of Chartres, Gerhoh, St. Bernard, and many others, as well as by the frequent acts of councils, which vie with one another in denouncing the evils which they vainly strove to correct. The reformation attempted by Gregory VII. missed the mark; and its special direction in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy only provoked the growth of concubinage and gross vice.[2] The cathedral canons became especially notorious for their immorality. Among the most disorderly of the clergy were those called "*Acephali*," whom the bishops ordained without a title, and the stipendiary chaplains in the families of great men, who were appointed without the sanction of bishops, and withdrawn from their supervision. But, in truth, even over the parish clergy the superintendence and discipline of such bishops as we have described was of little worth, and any honest desire to exercise it was checked by

[1] It belongs to the history of literature to give a full account of the works referred to, such as the famous *Reinecke Fuchs* ('Reynard the Fox'), and the satiric writings of Walter von der Vogelweide in Germany, the *Confessio Goliæ* and *De Nugis Curialium*, ascribed to Walter Map, or Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, about the end of the 12th century, and many others in England and France (see Mr. Wright's *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, and *Collection of Political Songs*, &c.).

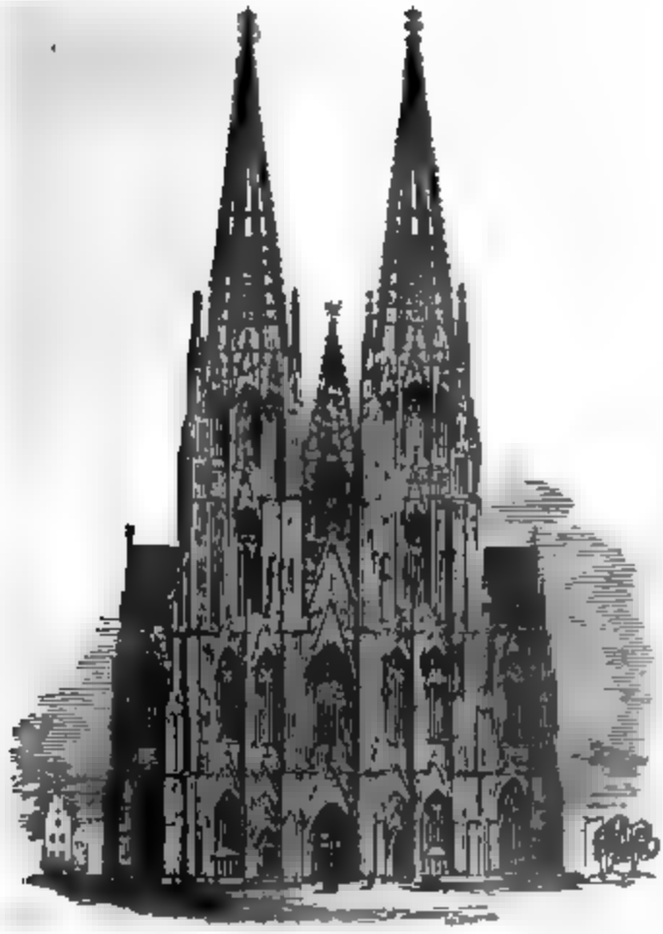
[2] It was only by degrees that clerical celibacy was enforced. In England the rule was mitigated by a decree of the Council of Winchester (1076). Clerical marriage, though everywhere discredited, did not entirely cease till the middle of the 13th century; and it was only after a protracted contest that celibacy was enforced on the subdeacons and inferior orders (see Hardwick, p. 241). Efforts were made at Constance and Basle to abate the scandal, not only by severe decrees against concubinage, but the marriage of the clergy had powerful advocates in Zabarella and others, while Gerson stood firm against it. Pius II. himself said, according to Platina (*Vit. Pii II.* p. 311), that, if there were good reasons for prohibiting the marriage of priests, there were stronger reasons for allowing it. (See Gieseler, vol. v. pp. 15–18, for numerous other opinions of writers in the 15th century in favour of clerical marriage.)

the interference of the Pope's emissaries, mandates, and dispensations. The contempt of the masses of the people for the parochial clergy is attested by the general rejection of their ministrations for those of the monks, and afterwards of the mendicant friars. There were bright exceptions to this prevalent gloom and deadness; and the true life of the Church was maintained, not only by the great reforming lights of the age, but by many an obscure and humble parish priest, whose ministrations, teaching, and example guided and comforted his flock, and preserved among them the "incorruptible seed of the word," to bear fruit in a better age. Meanwhile, apart from the indignant utterances of reformers and satirists, we have the emphatic testimony of a Committee of Cardinals, appointed by Paul III. to consider what could be done *De Emendanda Ecclesia* (in 1538), to the incompetence and crying vices of the clergy as the chief cause by which not only had their order fallen into contempt, but reverence for divine worship was not so much lessened as all but extinct.[1]

[1] Le Plat, *Mon. Conc. Trident.* ii. 598.



Shrine of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg.



Cologne Cathedral.

CHAPTER XVII.

MINISTRATIONS OF THE CHURCH.

CENTURIES XI. TO XVI.

§ 1. **Ministrations of the Church**: formality and sacramentalism — Latin Service — Vernacular Preaching and Teaching — The Holy Scriptures—Scarcity of Copies—Vernacular Versions and other religious books—Lives of the Saints—Theological Literature—Books of "Sentences"—Prohibition of the Scriptures by the Council of Toulouse —Observance of the Lord's Day. § 2. Miracle Plays, Mysteries, and Moralities—Mock Festivals: turned against the Church of Rome. § 3. Mechanical Views of Rites and Ordinances—The Sacraments: change in the meaning of the word—The *Opus Operatum*—The Seven Sacraments. § 4. Doctrine of Repentance and Forgiveness of Sins —More Spiritual Views of Gregory VII., Hildebert of Tours, and Peter Lombard — The three parts of penitence: contrition, confession, satisfaction. § 5. Different opinions on Confession — Pre-

scribed by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)—Confession held necessary to Salvation. § 6. Doctrine of sacerdotal Absolution new to the Church—The old *formula deprecatoria*—Views of Peter Lombard, Albertus Magnus, &c.—The Absolution of Faith and Charity—Lay Confession and Absolution—The Victorine School—Thomas Aquinas on Absolution—Popular view—The new formula—Authority of the Priest. § 7. Penitential Discipline—Commutations of Penance—Asceticism — Flagellation. § 8. Indulgences: special and Plenary —Objectors: Abbot Stephen; Abelard—Doubts and Limitations—The *Treasury of Supererogation*—Power of the Keys—Special Forms of Indulgence — Sale of Indulgences: Questuaries and Pardoners. § 9. Traffic in *Relics*— Impostures— Multiplication of *Saints:* new and fictitious ones. § 10. *Pilgrimage:* protests against it – Multiplication of *Miracles:* opposed by Abelard and others.

§ 1. THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages, the ministrations of the clergy, and the teaching and worship of the Church, were hampered by a system in which forms were substituted for spiritual thought and feeling, and the assumed efficacy of sacramental rights and priestly functions interposed between the conscience and God. In Western Christendom, the great movements which had created the new nations of Europe had strangely severed the one link of intelligence between the Church and people, *language*, the chief organ of all thought and feeling, through the adherence to forms of worship and ministration of the sacraments in Latin. Councils, Popes, and bishops, indeed, recommended preaching in the vernacular tongues, and specified the great Christian doctrines that were to be taught; but their directions were generally neutralized by the ignorance and indifference of the priesthood. But there were bright exceptions among the parish clergy to the prevalent neglect of vernacular preaching; and a vast and wide influence was exerted by the sermons of St. Bernard. We shall see presently how great a change was effected by the voluntary itinerant preaching of the mendicant friars. The parish priest was bound to teach children the elements of the faith contained in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed,[1] in the vulgar tongue; and the range of instruction was much widened where town and village schools were established, especially by the Benedictines.[2]

But the fountain-head of light and life in the Holy Scriptures was little resorted to by the clergy, and was almost entirely closed to the common people, though not at first so much from the set purpose of

[1] To these were added expositions of the other creeds, and, as Mariolatry advanced, the *Ave Maria.*

[2] On the other hand, the monks showed great jealousy of the secular and lay schools, and often succeeded in getting them closed.

blinding them to the corruptions of the Church, as from other more natural causes. The Bible was held in the highest reverence; copies were multiplied by transcription in the monasteries; and there were vernacular translations (for the most part only of portions, as the Gospels, Psalms, and Pentateuch), dating from the ninth and tenth centuries.[1] The clergy were enjoined to study the Scriptures, and to make them the basis of their teaching of the people.[2] But copies were few and costly; a complete Bible—which has become to us a marvel of cheapness in the smallest compass—formed then a collection of several MS. volumes, seldom found complete except in the conventual libraries; and many of the clergy were content to possess only a few books of Scripture, generally the Gospels and the Psalms. Besides the lack of means, the sacred text was more and more thrust into the background by works on the theological controversies of each age, and especially by the growing taste for the *Lives of the Saints*,[3] which, though to a great extent pure inventions, and often evidently intended to be accepted only as edifying religious fictions, were received as historically true. For the laity, besides the vernacular editions of these legends,[4] the chief provision con-

[1] To this period belong, besides King Alfred's efforts for the translation of the Scriptures, the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, printed in Dr. Bosworth's excellent edition, in parallel columns, with the Gothic version of Ulphilas and the English translations of Wyclif and Tyndale (1865); the extant fragments of Ælfric's *Heptateuchus*, a translation of portions of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, &c.; the metrical version of the SS. made under the direction of Louis the Pious (probably the *Heliand*, about A.D. 830); *Gospel Harmonies*, both in Anglo-Saxon and German; a Low German version of the Psalms, besides fragments of other translations and glosses in High German (see Von Raumer, *Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache*, 1845; Hardwick, pp. 89, 194, 195). Slavonic versions of the Bible and Service-Book were current in Moravia, Russia, and Servia.

[2] The following was a question put to bishops at their consecration: "Vis ea quæ *ex Divinis Scripturis intelligis* plebem docere et præceptis et exemplis?"—Soames, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 95; Hardwick, p. 194.

[3] The great collection of this literature is the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Jesuit "Bollandists," as the compilers are called, from JOHN BOLLAND, a Belgian, who began to publish the work at Antwerp, in 1643, and wrote the 1st and 2nd volumes. It was interrupted in 1794 by the French Revolution, when 54 vols. had appeared. The Society of Bollandists was re-organized at Brussels in 1837, and 6 more vols. were published (1845–1867), bringing it down to October 12th; the work being arranged in order of the Calendar of Saints' Days. It has been lately resumed on a grand scale at Rome (1882).

[4] Ælfric translated two large volumes of *Lives of the Saints* for the English people, and compiled a third for his own monks. See Hardwick, p. 195, and his edition of an Anglo-Saxon *Passion of St. George* for the Percy Society, No. lxxxviii.

sisted of the translations of fragments of Scripture as interlinear glosses in the Service-Book, paraphrases, harmonies of the Gospels, and hymns.

The later intellectual movements of the age, instead of promoting the study of the Scriptures as the supreme and ultimate authority, led to their being neglected for the pagan writers of philosophy and poetry, for the great treasury of the civil law, and the books of *Sentences*, in which the schoolmen aimed to formulate all knowledge, human and divine. The direct hostility of Rome to the reading of the Scriptures by the people was at length avowed when they were appealed to by the sectaries, especially the Albigenses and the Waldenses; and in 1229 the Council of Toulouse formally condemned vernacular translations of the Bible,[1] and forbad the laity to have in their possession any books of the Old and the New Testament, except perhaps the Psalter, and those parts of the Bible contained in the Breviary and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin. The same council prescribed the attendance of all persons at church, under penalty of a fine, on Sundays, Saturday evenings, and the greater festivals; and during this period the strict observance of the Lord's Day was enjoined by councils and by preachers, and enforced by pretended revelations and the threat of special judgments on those who profaned the Sabbath.[2]

§ 2. A remarkable plan devised by clerical ingenuity for the religious instruction of the uneducated people was that of the *Mysteries* or *Miracles*, in which a rude presentation was given on the stage of subjects taken from the whole range of Scripture history, the interest and attention of the uncultivated audience being maintained by the admixture of a sufficiently broad grotesque and comic element.[3] The popular taste for such comedy was also exhibited in a form to which the clergy at first found it prudent to condescend as a harmless amusement for the vulgar, in the *mock festivals*, such as the Feast of Fools, with its Bishop of Fools, at Circumcision

[1] Canon 14. This prohibition was especially directed against the Romaunt translations in use amongst the Waldenses; and it is remarkable that a new edition of the French Bible was put forth by authority under King Charles V. (1364–1380), expressly to supplant those versions (Hardwick, p. 290). In the *Greek Church* the Scriptures were forbidden to the laity as early as the 9th century.

[2] See the particulars in Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 262–263. The Calendar of Church Festivals was enlarged during this period by the addition of Trinity Sunday, in the 12th century, and the Feast of Corpus Christi (1264, confirmed in 1311) to commemorate the full establishment of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, besides many new Saints' Days.

[3] An account of these plays, and of the *Moralities* and *Interludes* which formed a link between them and the regular drama, is given in the *Student's History of English Literature* (chap. vi. § 1–3).

or Epiphany, the "Feast of Asses" (referring to the infant Saviour's flight to Egypt), and the election of the "boy-bishop," or "boy-abbot" on Innocents' Day, or at the Feast of St. Nicholas, the patron of children. This burlesque of sacred things, with the profanation of churches by the attendant revelries, became the object of condemnation by numerous councils; but they failed to put down a taste which at last grew into a formidable instrument of satire on the Church of Rome at the time of the Reformation.

§ 3. In the ministrations of the Church to the spiritual life and conscience of the faithful, especially for the forgiveness of sins and peace with God, there was a constant growth of what may be called the *mechanical* (in some cases we might even say *magical*) efficacy of external acts and priestly functions. The sacramental system was fully developed by investing the chief acts of a Christian's life with the mysterious sanctity which now became attached to the word. In its primitive meaning, "sacrament" was a general term for any symbolic act,[1] the sign of some sacred reality, leaving a wide scope for different views as to the lesson which it taught, or the spiritual operation with which it was connected. Gradually the idea of intrinsic efficacy in the rite itself prevailed more and more, till it reached the hard and fast form denoted by the significant phrase, *opus operatum*, as clearly embodied in the words of Duns Scotus: "A sacrament confers grace *through the virtue of the work which is wrought*, so that *there is not required any good inward motion such as to deserve grace;* but it is enough that the receiver place no bar" in the way of its operation.[2] In its original sense, the name was applied especially to *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, as the sacraments instituted by Christ himself, a pre-eminence which was still admitted when the schoolmen of the 12th and 13th centuries, influenced by a mystic view of the number, established the doctrine of *Seven Sacraments*, namely, *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, the *Eucharist*, *Penitence*, *Extreme Unction*, *Holy Orders*, and *Matrimony*.[3]

[1] St. Augustine's definition was *sacræ rei signum* or *invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma*. Among the acts to which he applies the word, are exorcism and the giving salt to the catechumens; and the like comprehensive sense survived to the period now under review. Thus a writer early in the 12th century says that the episcopal ring and staff, salt and water, oil and unction, and other things essential to the consecration of men and churches, are sacraments of the Church; and St. Bernard applies the term to the washing of feet, which our Lord used as symbolical of an act essential to salvation (John xiii. 9).—Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 327.

[2] Duns Scotus, *Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. i. qu. vi. § 10; Robertson, iii. 608.

[3] The first distinct trace of this number is found in a discourse of Otho, the apostle of the Pomeranians (A.D. 1124; Hardwick, pp. 208, 301). It

§ 4. The foundation of Christian life, in the evangelic doctrine of the forgiveness of sin, was now more and more undermined by the corruption of the penitential discipline of the Church. On the vital questions of *repentance* and *penance*, *confession* and *absolution*, we trace a remarkable conflict between mechanical and more spiritual views in the teaching of the great masters of the Church; but its practical application to the life of the people was all in the downward direction. The better side of Gregory VII.'s character is shown in the earnestness with which he combatted the prevalent tendency to substitute outward acts of penance for genuine repentance towards God and amendment of the life. In a remarkable letter to the bishops and faithful of Brittany, he argues that true repentance is nothing less than a return to such a state of mind as to feel oneself obliged hereafter to the faithful performance of baptismal obligations; while other forms of penance, if this state of heart be wanting, are sheer hypocrisy.[1] Hildebert, bishop of Tours in the early part of the 12th century, was the author[2] of the famous definition of penitence, which was adopted by the great "master of sentences," Peter Lombard,[3] and other scholastic divines, as consisting of three parts, the *contrition of the heart*, the *confession of the mouth*, and the *satisfaction of the work*.

§ 5. As the outward evidence of the first, the Church required the second and third, confession and penance; but the proper forms of both were subject to long discussion and development in practice. The primitive doctrine was, that open sin cut off members from the Church, and public confession was the condition of restoration to communion. But now the wider question had arisen respecting secret as well as open sins. The necessity of confession to a priest in order to the forgiveness of sins; its sufficiency if made to a layman in the absence of a priest; the obligation of confessing venial as well as mortal sins; these and other questions are discussed

was established by the authority of Peter Lombard (*Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. 1 f.), followed by Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae*, lib. iv. qu. 60). The reader is reminded, once for all, that a full account of the great scholastic divines, whose opinions are quoted throughout this and the ensuing Chapters, is given below (Book V.). Meanwhile it should be remembered that Thomas Aquinas is recognized by the general voice of Romanists, and most emphatically of late by Pope Leo XIII., as the chief doctrinal authority of their Church.

[1] *Epist.* lib. vii. 10; so also Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.* 47, 228; Hardwick, p. 307.

[2] *Sermo* 23.

[3] *Sentent.* lib. iv. 16, c. 1. We find a significant variation in Peter of Blois (ab. A.D. 1180), who gives as the third part *carnis afflictionem*, and describes the three as *purgatoria* mercifully assigned to us by Christ, while Himself making purgation of sins (*De Confessione Sacramentali*, p. 1086, ed. Migne; Hardwick, p. 307).

by the great scholastic theologians.[1] Duns Scotus held the extreme view, that confession falls under a positive Divine command; but Thomas Aquinas agreed with Bonaventura, that it did not become heretical to deny its necessity, until the decision of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which prescribed to every Catholic Christian the duty of confessing to his own parish priest once a year at least.[2] The enormous power thus conferred on the priest, with all its liability to abuse, failed of the one good object intended—namely, to strengthen the discipline of the pastor over his flock—through the preference of the people for confessing to the mendicant friars rather than to their own priests. But the decision established the great principle of sacerdotalism, which invests the priest with the full authority of God over the penitent sinner; and "from that time forth the confessional began to be considered as the only means of obtaining forgiveness for deadly sin, which the priest as the representative of God actually granted, and which he alone could grant."[3]

§ 6. The necessity of confession, thus established in the fullest

[1] For a summary of opinions on the whole subject, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 357–364. The whole subject is admirably treated in Dean Reichel's Sermon before the University of Cambridge (June 10th, 1883) on *The History and Claims of the Confessional*, with a valuable collection of original authorities.

[2] The extremer views, which at last found utterance in this Canon, derived their chief support from the work *De vera et falsa Pœnitentia*, which was fathered upon Augustine in the 11th or 12th century, and embodied almost in its entirety in the *Decretal* of Gratian and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and hence quoted by the schoolmen generally. It exhorts to confession on the ground of the full absolving power committed to the priests, and teaches that sins mortal in themselves are made venial by confession.

[3] Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 360. Among other important testimonies he quotes the decisive authority of Thomas Aquinas on the question, *Utrum confessio sit necessaria ad salutem?* The answer is, that the passion of Christ, without the virtue of which neither original or actual sin is remitted, operates in us through the reception of the sacraments, by baptism for the former and penitence for the latter. And as he who seeks baptism thereby commits himself to the minister of the Church, to whom it belongs to dispense the sacrament, so by the very act of confessing his sins he submits himself to the minister of the Church, to obtain through the sacrament of penitence the remission dispensed by him, who cannot apply the fit remedy unless he knows the sin, which he only does through the confession of the sinner. "*And therefore confession is necessary for his salvation, who has fallen into mortal sin.*" Gieseler adds that "confession was universally believed to be indispensably necessary *only* for the forgiveness of *deadly sins*; with reference to *venial* sins the judgment of St. Augustine, quoted by Lombard, was received, 'For those daily and light sins, without which our life is not led, the daily prayer of the faithful makes satisfaction.'"

sense, involved that extreme view of the authority of *sacerdotal absolution*, which was a doctrine as new to the Church as it was a mighty engine of command over freedom of action as well as conscience. Nothing is more certain, as a matter of fact, than that down to the 13th century the form of absolution used in the service of the Church was not *authoritative*, nor even *declaratory*, but (as it was called) *deprecatory*—that is, a *prayer*, implied in the priest's address to the penitent on his confession, recognizing the remission of his sins as in the power of God alone.[1] In accordance with this formula, the doctrine is distinctly explained by the great authority of Peter Lombard, but in terms which mark the beginning of a tendency to magnify the authority of the priest:[2] "This we are able fully to say and think, that God alone remits and retains sins; and yet He has conferred on the Church the power of binding and loosing. But He himself binds and looses in one way (or 'sense'), the Church in another (*aliter . . . aliter*). For He himself of himself alone remits sin, because He both cleanses the soul from its inward stain, and frees it from the debt of eternal death. But *this* He has not granted to the priests, to whom however He has granted the power of binding and loosing, that is, of *showing men bound or loosed*. Because, though a man be loosed in the sight of God, yet is he not regarded (*habetur*) as loosed in the face of the Church, except through the judgment of the priest." That judgment, then, is the outward recognition, for the sake of the penitent's position in the Church, of the real state in which he is placed by the Divine forgiveness; as is further shown by the comparison of his case with that of the lepers, whom Christ commanded to *shew themselves to* the priests, according to the law,[3] for the cure of the outward disease of which all were cleansed, though only the one who obeyed was *made whole through his faith*. The resort to the priests was necessary, both as they were the appointed ministers of the leper's exclusion or restoration, and to this end they had diligently to examine (a parallel to confession), and pass judgment on the signs of his condition. "Therefore (says Lombard) in loosing or retaining sins[4] the evangelical priest acts (*operatur*) and judges in the same manner as did the legal priest of old in the case of those who were contaminated with leprosy, which is the

[1] For the proofs and examples, see Gieseler (iii. 358), and Reichel.
[2] *Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. 18; quoted by Gieseler, iii. 358.
[3] Luke xvii. 14; see Lev. xiii. 2 and xiv. 2.
[4] Here *culpis*, the word which signified the *guilt of sin*, subjecting to eternal death, in contrast with *pœna*, its temporal penalty. This distinction is of the utmost importance for understanding the views of the scholastic theologians on the whole subject.

outward mark of sin." All this goes to explain and qualify the sense in which he argues from God's committal to the priests of the power of binding and loosing, that "*to those to whom they give remission, God also gives it;*"[1] and he distinctly holds that their absolution is only valid in so far as it accords with the Divine judgment. And how completely his whole view of absolution rests on this foundation is shown by his at once subjoining, "If, however, a priest be not at hand, confession is to be made to *the nearest neighbour or companion.*" Such confession is distinctly held to be *sacramental* by another of the greatest schoolmen, Albertus Magnus,[2] who regards the ministration committed to the priests as *only one of five kinds of absolution*, the last being described in the most widely comprehensive terms as "*from the unity of faith and charity*; and this in the case of necessity devolves *on every man for the relief of his neighbour;* and this power the *layman* has in case of necessity." Had Albert been asked "*Who* is the neighbour" qualified to grant this "absolution of faith and charity"?—he might perhaps have replied in the confession which his Master's parable drew from the scribe, "He that shewed mercy on him," when the priest and Levite had passed him by.[3] It is true that these opinions were not universal; but even their strongest opponents in the 12th century did not venture to maintain the absolute power of the priest to remit the guilt of sin as with the authority of God. In the *Victorine* school, for example,[4] the founder Hugh held a high sacramental view of absolution,[5] and his follower Richard described the opinion of Lombard—that the priests had not the power of binding and loosing, but of showing men bound or loosed—as frivolous and almost too ridiculous for refutation.[6] But his own

[1] It is to be particularly observed that, wherever Lombard approaches the extreme views of confession and absolution, he is following the treatise falsely ascribed to St. Augustine (see p. 277). On the *locus classicus* respecting the power of binding and loosing in heaven as well as earth (Matt. xvi. 19), he quotes Jerome's condemnation of the authority assumed by bishops and presbyters "*who did not understand the text.*"

[2] *Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. 17, art. 58, 59, where we have the true echo of the apostolical precept, so often perverted into an argument for auricular confession to a priest: "Confess your faults *one to another*, and *pray for one another, that ye may be healed.* The effectual fervent *prayer* of a righteous man *availeth much*" (James v. 16). As late as 1310 confession to a Catholic layman by a person in danger of death, when no priest was at hand, was sanctioned by the Synod of Trèves; and we have an example of its practice in the confession of Joinville and his companions to the Constable of Cyprus, when prisoners in the hands of the Saracens (Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, quoted by Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 364).

[3] Luke x. 37.

[4] See Chap. XXVIII. § 14.

[5] Hugo a S. Victore, *de Sacrament*, lib. ii. pars. xiv. c. 8.

[6] Ricardus a S. Vict., *de Potestate ligandi et solvendi*, c. 12

view fell far short of that which ultimately prevailed, for the absolute power which he ascribes to the priest extends only to the *temporal penalty* of sin (the *pœna*), while he reserves for God the "deliverance from its *guilt* (*culpa*) by *the inward supply of grace from God.*"

But in the 13th century the same great distinction is as clearly drawn, only to be decided the other way by the authority of Thomas Aquinas, expressing the prevalent opinion of his age.[1] Propounding the two questions—*Whether the power of the keys extends to the remission of guilt, and whether the priest can remit sin as respects its penalty*:—he replies to the former, that *the virtue of the keys operates for the remission of guilt, just as also does the water of baptism.* But still the great master's scholastic subtilty avoids the purely mechanical view of an *opus operatum.* In both cases the work is not that of a *principal agent*, for God alone of Himself remits guilt, and by virtue of His power baptism and the priest act each as an *instrument*—an inanimate instrument in the water, a living instrument in the power of the keys—and, even as an instrument, not causing, but disposing to the reception of grace and the remission of guilt. At first sight, this *disposing* might appear to be a spiritual operation; but he further explains it as operating in the sacrament itself, in such a manner that, "if before absolution the person had not been perfectly disposed for receiving grace, he would obtain grace in the sacramental confession and absolution itself, if he opposed no obstacle"—for the loss of the benefit of a sacrament by its unworthy reception was a doctrine never abandoned, at least in theory.

But such refinements were not likely to reach the understanding of the vulgar, who were even told by some of their priests that they were cleared of their sins as a stick is peeled of its bark.[2] The popular confidence in so comfortable a doctrine was strengthened by the change which was made about this time from the old form of absolution into the formula, "I absolve thee" (*Ego te absolvo*), not without strong objections, as we learn from the pains taken by Aquinas to answer them. As late as 1249, William, bishop of Paris,[3] distinctly testifies to the continued use of the *formula deprecatoria*: "Nor does the confessor, after the manner of judges in the

[1] "Secundum opinionem quæ sustenetur communius."—*Summa Theologiæ*, pars. iii. qu. 18, art. 1, 2. There is no reason to doubt this testimony to the growth of opinions so much in accordance with human nature, as well as with the spirit of the times.

[2] This expressive figure was used with reference to the virtue of a local indulgence, and was condemned by Honorius III. (1255).

[3] *De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, sub fin.*; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 363.

courts, pronounce the sentence, *We absolve, we do not condemn;* but rather he offers prayer over him, that God would give him absolution and remission and grace." Thomas Aquinas quotes the statement of a writer, to whom he is replying, that it was scarcely thirty years since all had used the form, "May God grant thee absolution and remission," and that the priest ought not to say "I absolve thee," both because this lies within the power of God alone, and because the priest could not be sure that the person was really absolved. Thomas decided for the formula, "I absolve thee," as alone effective, the deprecatory formula being retained only as an introductory prayer that the penitent might be rightly disposed to receive the formal absolution.[1] As to the authority of the priest alone to grant absolution, Thomas Aquinas argues thus:—"The grace, which is given in the sacraments, descends to the members from the Head: and therefore the only minister of the sacraments in which grace is given, is he who has the ministry over Christ's true body; which belongs to the priest only, who has power to consecrate the Eucharist. And therefore, since grace is conferred in the sacrament of penitence, the priest alone is the minister of this sacrament; and to him alone, therefore, is to be made the sacramental confession, which ought to be made to the minister of the Church." In such reasoning we see how completely the character of the Church, as the body of Christ, in which all believers are united as members to Him,[2] their living head, had been usurped by the priesthood.

§ 7. The power of absolution from the temporal penalty (*pœna*) of sin was connected with the whole penitential discipline, which fell during this age into depths of abuse, corruption, and superstition. To the question, *Whether the priest can remit sin in respect of its punishment*, Thomas Aquinas replies, that those who through penitence obtain remission of guilt and of the sentence of eternal death receive increase of grace and remission of the temporal penalty, a part of which had still remained. For penitence is not, like baptism, a regeneration, but a healing, a process in its nature gradual and imperfect; and, after contrition, absolution, and confession, there is a remnant of penalty (*residua pœna*), for which satisfaction has still to be made. Hence the effort to maintain true repentance and amendment of life was overpowered by the idea that penance was a *satisfaction* for sin to God, required of the

[1] *Summa*, pars. iii. qu. 84, art. 3: "Utrum hæc sit forma hujus sacramenti, *Ego te absolvo.*" The *formula deprecatoria* was retained as the absolution in some places down to the 14th century; afterwards it was used only as an introduction (Gieseler, iii. 363).

[2] See Rom. xii. 4, 5; 1 Cor. vi. 15, xii. throughout; Ephes. iv. 25, v. 30.

sinner as his part over and above the atonement of Christ and the absolution of the Church. In this new sense of satisfaction we find the key to a vast system of abuse. For the evangelic duty of "bringing forth fruits meet for repentance" and making reparation for the wrong done so far as it was possible, was substituted a system of acts, burdensome or frivolous, not for the benefit of the injured person, but for the quieting of the offender's conscience. The primitive doctrine of penitential discipline and self-denial, to combat and remove the sin incurred from day to day, was now corrupted into a system of "indulgences" and "commutations of penance," in which the Church made profit from the vices of the people. Penance was commuted for some less onerous task, of which pilgrimage was one most in favour; pecuniary gifts, the building of churches and founding of monasteries, and even the vicarious observance of fasts and other penances by the dependants of the great, who thus laid their sins on others. But while the worship, discipline, and sacramental system of the Church grew more and more mechanical, many were moved all the more by dissatisfaction with such a system, and especially with the easy modes of penance, to the sterner practice of asceticism. Such persons for the most part found refuge in the stricter monastic orders; and we shall have to speak presently of the special provision made for them.

Among various modes of self-mortification, sometimes vying with the cruellest ingenuity of torturers, besides protracted fasts, special virtue was attributed to flagellation, whether self-inflicted or voluntarily submitted to. One of the most vehement advocates of this discipline was Peter Damiani, who regarded self-mortification as a meritorious anticipation of purgatory on earth.[1] The practice grew, though protests were made against its excess.[2] In the year 1260 it broke out into a sort of epidemic, originating at Perugia, which should, however, rather be accounted among the irregular fanatical movements of the age, than as example of ascetic discipline. The fanatical Flagellants of the 14th century have been spoken of above (Chap. VIII. § 7).

§ 8. The chief form of commutation, which now arose and was afterwards developed into an elaborate system, was that of *Indul-*

[1] Damiani, *Opusc.* xliii. *De Laude Flagellorum et Disciplinæ.*

[2] Thus in England the author of the *Ancren Riwle* ('The Rule of Female Anchorets'), a sufficiently stern disciplinarian, enjoins upon the nuns of Tarent, in Dorset: "Wear no iron, nor hair-cloth, nor hedgehog skins; and do not beat yourselves therewith, nor with a scourge of leather thongs, nor leaded; and do not with holly nor with briars cause yourselves to bleed without leave of your confessor; and do not, at one time, use too many flagellations." (Morton's translation, p. 419; quoted by Hardwick, p. 307.)

gences, pardons of sin granted in consideration of particular acts of piety and services to the Church. At first they referred only to specific offences already committed, and were granted by bishops; and the abuses attending them were rebuked by the very Popes who developed the system on a gigantic scale.[1]

Plenary Indulgences[2] began to be granted for all sins, without limitation to special acts; such as Gregory VII. promised to those who supported the rival of Henry IV. (1080); but the first grand example of a general plenary indulgence was that which Urban II. proclaimed at the Council of Clermont to all who would join in the First Crusade (1095). "These indulgences, indeed, were intended as remissions of those temporal penalties only, which it was believed that the sinner must undergo in this life or in purgatory; but the people in general understood them, and persisted in understanding them, as promises of eternal forgiveness, while they overlooked any conditions of repentance or charity which had been annexed to them. And the licence which marked the lives of the Crusaders, and of the Latins who settled in the Holy Land, is an unquestionable proof of the sense in which the papal offers were interpreted."[3] There were not wanting those who saw these evil consequences, and contended that the graces of penitence and devotion were essential to the benefit of indulgence; but others, more practically if less piously, regarded the popular view as necessary to the indulgence having any value, and held that, if the people were deceived, the deceit was lawful for its good effects. The fatal doctrine was now propounded, "*The Church deceives the faithful, and yet she doth not*

[1] Among the acts for which indulgences were granted by bishops were "the recitation of a certain prayer before a certain altar, visiting a church on a certain day, pilgrimages to relics or miraculous pictures, or the like; and in furtherance of local undertakings, such as the building or enlargement of a church, the building of a bridge, or the enclosure of a forest" (Robertson, iii. 271). An interesting example of the system in a state of transition is furnished by the *promise* of Gregory VI. (1044), in gratitude for the offerings made towards the restoration of churches in Rome, of his *prayers* and those of his successors on behalf of the donors for the remission of their sins, that they might be brought to everlasting life.—D'Achery, *Spicileg.* iii. 398; Gieseler, iii. 366, n.

[2] "At first plenary indulgence was only granted for services undertaken on behalf of the Church at the risk of life. Thus the idea of the power of martyrdom to eradicate sin entered into the conception of indulgence."—Gieseler, iii. 366, n.

[3] "Those who remained at home also received the benefit of the indulgence in proportion to the amount of their contributions to the cost of the Crusade; but Gregory IX. was the first who allowed such a payment as a commutation for fulfilling the vow of the Crusader."—Robertson, vol. iii. p. 270.

lie;"[1] and Thomas Aquinas says that, if inordinate indulgences are given, "so that men are called back almost for nothing from the works of penitence, he who gives such indulgence sins, yet, nevertheless, the receiver obtains full indulgence."[2]

In fact, something like doubt about the whole system is betrayed by the elaborate discussions respecting both the foundation and the extent of the efficacy of indulgence, which some altogether denied as inconsistent with the fundamental doctrine, that God only can forgive sin. This seems to have been one of the points on which the purer religion surviving in the monasteries withstood the corruptions countenanced by the bishops and Popes from motives of interest.[3] Thus Stephen, abbot of Obaize, in laying the foundation of a new church (1156), resisted the bishop's offer of letters of indulgence to the assembled people, refusing to introduce a custom which (he said) was a stumbling-block to the people and a disgrace to the clergy, by making them a present of indulgences which none but God had the power to give.[4] "We"—said the pious abbot to the bishop, on another like occasion—"are still burthened by our sins, nor have we power to lighten the sins of others."[5]

In his own sharper spirit of sarcasm, Abelard denounces "priests who deceived those put under them, not so much through error as covetousness, so that for offerings of money they condoned or mitigated the penance enjoined for satisfaction, regarding not so much the Lord's will as the power of money. And we see" (he adds) "not only priests, but also the very princes of those priests (I mean the bishops) so shamelessly inflamed with this covetousness, that when, at the dedications of churches, or the consecrations of altars, or the blessing of cemeteries, or any solemnities, they gather assemblies of the people from which they

[1] William of Auxerre, quoted by Neander, vii. 487.

[2] *Summa Theol.* suppl. qu. xxv. art. 2; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 610.

[3] In the 12th century, and even later, all bishops had the right to grant indulgences in their own dioceses, unless it were limited by the Pope (Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 368, n.). Innocent III., by a decree at the Fourth Lateran Council, imposed restrictions on the granting of "indiscreet and extravagant" (*superfluas*) "indulgences by the prelates," who thereby "contemned the power of the keys, and weakened penitental satisfaction"—a plea for the papal prerogative as much as for holy discipline.

[4] It is clear from other evidence, as well as from the testimony of Abelard next quoted, that the indulgences granted on such occasions were not a gracious reward for pious acts, but a stimulus and enticement to obtain contributions from the people.

[5] *Vit. Steph. Opaz.* ii. 18; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 168.

expect copious oblations, they are prodigal in the relaxation of penance, granting to all in common the indulgence, sometimes of *a third*, sometimes of *a fourth part* of the penance, under a certain semblance forsooth of benignity, but in truth from the greatest covetousness. And in vaunting themselves of the power which, as they say, they have received through Peter or the Apostles,[1] when the Lord said to them, Whosesoever sins ye remit, &c. (John xx. 23), they boast above all that *the act is theirs*, when they confer this benignity on those put under them. And I would that they at least did this for their own sake and not for money, that it might seem at all events to be benignity rather than cupidity. But, indeed, if it is to redound to the praise of their benignity, that they remit a *third* or a *fourth* of the penance, much more would their piety deserve proclaiming if they were to remit the *half* or the *whole* completely, as they profess to have the right entrusted to them by the Lord, as if heaven were placed in their hands. While, on the other hand, they seem chargeable with great impiety, because they do not absolve all those put under them from all their sins, so as to suffer none of them to be damned: if, I say, it has been thus put in their power to remit or to retain what sins they will, or to open or shut heaven to those for whom they decide: nay, they might well be proclaimed most blessed, if they could open it *to themselves* when they would. But if this is beyond either their power or their knowledge, they certainly incur, as I think, the censure of the poet,

Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, artes.

Let who pleases covet that power—not I—by which he is able rather to profit others than himself, as though he had power over the souls of others rather than his own."[2]

The sarcastic boldness of this language, so characteristic of Abelard, is scarcely more damaging to the doctrine of indulgence than the doubts and limitations with which the doctrine was accepted.[3]

[1] It is very interesting to observe, in the frequent references of this age to the leading texts on the remission and retention of sins, how little stress is laid on that commission of the power of the keys to ST. PETER, on which the Papacy rests its highest claims (Matt. xvi. 19; comp. xviii. 18, where the same commission is given to *all the Apostles*). It is evident also that Abelard's reasoning applies *à fortiori* to Papal indulgences, and even to the whole extreme theory of sacerdotal absolution.

[2] Abælardi *Ethica*, cc. 18, 25; *ap.* Gieseler, iii. 365-6.

[3] See, for example, Paulus Presbyter, who recites *seven* probable opinions (*Summa de Pœnitentia*, 15; about A.D. 1200). and Gulielmus Episcop. Altissidor. (*Sentent.* iv. tract vi. c. ix. qu. 1), who discusses the question, *Whether in truth the remission avails as much as the Church promises?* (Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 368-9). Albertus Magnus (*Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. 20, art. 16) says that *three* opinions were anciently held about

The original and moderate notion was, that the remissions granted in reward of contributions and services to the Church availed only through securing the prayers of the Church; and even the highest views attached some conditions and limitations to their efficacy. But much more than this was not only commonly understood, but often promised. Thus of the indulgence by which many were induced to take the Cross, they were told by the bishops that the vowed Crusader, on his death, would immediately fly away to heaven; upon which a writer[1] observes that "the prelates make many promises which are not performed; wherefore this sort of remissions should be made with great discretion, and not at random."

But the high theory, which ultimately prevailed, was that the Church had at its disposal an accumulated treasure of merits won, the good deeds, sufferings, and penitential exercises of the faithful, especially of Christ himself, to impart to deserving penitents, in virtue of which, like the "Mammon of unrighteousness" in the parable, they would be "received into everlasting habitations."[2]

The scholastic divines of the thirteenth century gave this notion the form in which we find it taught by Alexander Hales and Albertus Magnus, and fully elaborated by Thomas Aquinas, of the "*Treasury of Supererogation*"[3] of the merits of those made perfect (*thesaurus*

indulgences: the first, that they were of no effect at all, but a pious fraud which the mother uses to entice her children to goodness, such as pilgrimage, and alms, and hearing the word of God, and the like; but this, he thinks, perverts the acts of the Church into mere child's-play, and almost savours of heresy. Others, going too far in their eagerness to contradict that view, have said that indulgences avail simply as they are pronounced, without any other condition declared or understood. He himself agrees with the third opinion, namely, that indulgences avail just as the Church declares them to avail; but six conditions are required, which are either supposed or expressed by the Church. Two of these are on the part of the *giver:* authority and a pious cause; two are presupposed on the part of the receiver: contrition with confession, and faith that this can be done for him through the power of the keys, wherefore letters of indulgence always (?) contain the clause "to those who are contrite and have confessed"; the other two are required on the part of *grace* or of the *Church*, namely, *the superfluity of the treasury of merits* (abundantia thesauri meritorum), and the just estimation of that remission for which the indulgence has been instituted.

[1] Gulielmus Altissidor, *l.c.*

[2] We find the germ of this doctrine in the first of the seven "probable topinions" enumerated by the Presbyter Paulus (*loc. sup. cit.*), who quotes he parable (Luke xvi. 1–9).

[3] The verb *erogo*, "to obtain by asking," had the secondary sense of *expending* grants thus obtained from the people, and then generally of *spending* and *paying*. Hence, in Roman law, *supererogo* signified "to make a payment over and above the sum due," and *supererogatio* any excess of payment so made.

supererogationis perfectorum, also *meritorum*), on which (to use the modern phrase) the Church could draw, *in virtue of the power of the keys*, for the remission both of the temporal and eternal penalties of sin, not only for the benefit of the living, but also of the dead in purgatory. The doctrine of some, that such remissions regard only the judgment of the Church, and not the judgment of God, is expressly rejected by Alexander Hales,[1] because, if the Church remits punishment and God does not, this would be more of a deception than a remission, and cruelty rather than piety; and he holds that God confirms the remission granted by the Church. To the question, whether the merit of one man can avail in satisfaction of the penalty incurred by another, he replies that, so far as punishment is a remedy (*medicamentum*), it cannot, but if we speak of it as a price (*pretium*), in this sense one man can make satisfaction for another. But this can only be done by the authority of a superior; and his conclusion is, that "indulgences and remissions are made in consideration of the supererogatory merits of the members of Christ, *and principally those of Christ himself*,[2] which are the spiritual treasure of the Church. But to dispense this treasure does not belong to all, but only to those who are chiefly the vicegerents of Christ, that is, the Bishops." Thus he leads up to the Pope's prerogative of indulgence by the power of the keys, which is more fully developed by Thomas Aquinas.[3] And that power was now held to rule over the unseen world of purgatory, as well as over the Church on earth; so that those who had died in penitence, but without receiving absolution, even though absolved by God, might still obtain the absolution of the Church; as Alexander Hales says, "It is presumed probably and most truly that the Pontiff can grant indulgences to those who are in Purgatory." But he adds, with special emphasis, that several conditions are required for the efficacy of such indulgence, which he regards as availing chiefly through the faith and prayers of surviving friends and of the

[1] *Summa Theol.* pars iv. qu. 23, art. 1.

[2] It would be an injustice to the views of the scholastic divines to overlook the stress they lay upon this point, not merely that the treasure of supererogation consists chiefly of the merits of Christ, but also that those of the saints avail (as Aquinas puts it), "because of the mystic unity of the members of His body . . . just as the apostle says that he filled up what was wanting of the sufferings of Christ in his body for the Church to which he writes (Col. i. 24); and so the aforesaid merits are the common merits of the whole Church"; and (he adds), as common property, they are distributed to the individuals of the community at the pleasure of him who presides over it, namely, the Pope, in virtue of the power of the keys (*Summa Theol.* suppl. pars. iii. qu. 25, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 375–6).

[3] *Loc. sup. cit.*

Church. Aquinas infers the benefit of the dead from the community of the whole Church in the merits on which indulgences depend.[1]

This final form of the doctrine of indulgence, both for the quick and dead, brought a vast increase and awful sanction to the authority of the Papacy, as holding the supreme power of the keys. The attempts of Popes[2] to check the abuse of the episcopal power of indulgence tended to strengthen their own prerogative. During the 13th century, plenary indulgences were renewed for every crusade, not only against infidels, but against heretics and contumacious princes, as the Albigenses and Frederick II. At the Jubilee of the year 1300 Boniface VIII. proclaimed to all penitent visitors to the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome "not only a full, but more abundant, nay the fullest pardon of all their sins." When at length the system reached the climax which provoked Luther's opposition, Leo X. declared that the *temporal penalty* (*pœna*) could be remitted to the living and the dead alike, by means of the indulgences which he was empowered to distribute as the almoner of Christ and of the Saints; the *guilt* (*culpa*) being graciously forgiven through the sacrament of penance. Lesser indulgences were granted on the most trivial pretexts; and they were dispensed throughout Christendom, in the Pope's name, by his devoted agents the monks, and especially by the friars, who used them in return for easy and mechanical services as the means of attracting popular devotion to their respective orders. Thus the Franciscans gathered crowds of visitors every year, on the feast of St. Peter's chains (Aug. 1), to receive the benefit of the indulgence which their founder's prayers had obtained from the Saviour himself for the church called Portiuncula at Assisi (*cf.* p. 418); while the Dominicans established the use of the *rosary*, by proclaiming indulgences for the prayers reiterated by the aid of that instrument.[3]

[1] See his full answer to the question, *Utrum indulgentiæ Ecclesiæ prosint mortuis?* (Quæst. 71, art. 10, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 377).

[2] As Innocent III. at the 4th Lateran Council (1215), and Honorius III. (1225). Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 372.

[3] Though the rosary (*capellina*, *paternoster*, *preculæ*, *psalterium*) now became the special property of the Dominicans, it had certainly been in use much earlier, and it appears to have been derived from the "muttering chaplet" (in Sanscrit, *japamatá*), or "remembrance" (*smarani*), in use among Hindoos and Buddhists long before the Christian era (see the article in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* vol. ii. p. 1819). "The manner of performing the devotion of the rosary was by reciting the angelic salutation, with a prayer for the Blessed Virgin's intercession in the hour of death. A rosary of 150 beads represented a like number of *aves*, which were divided into fifteen portions, and between these portions a recitation of the Lord's Prayer was interposed. Some mystery of the Christian faith

The abuse of the system reached its climax in the open sale of indulgences, for which the way was prepared, first by such grants to those who contributed money for a Crusade, in place of personal service; next by the pecuniary commutation of a Crusader's vow; and finally by the grant of indulgences for small contributions without reference to any special pious object. The function of making such collections was abused by a set of impostors in the garb of friars, often of abandoned character—called *Questuarii*, from their trade[1]—who went about preaching in rivalry with the regular mendicant orders, and offering for sale an unlimited supply of briefs of indulgence, as well as forged relics. Their practices were denounced by several Councils,[2] and in most vehement terms by the friars on whose special province they intruded. Thus the Franciscan Berthold (*ob.* 1272) inveighs against them as "newly sprung up, for when I was a little child there was never a one of them. They are called *penny-preachers*: the devil has no more favourite servants. For one of these goes out among the simple folk, and preaches and shouts, till all weep who stand before him. And he says he has power from the Pope to take off all thy sins for one mite. And he lies, saying that a man is thereby made free from sin before God. Thus he crowns the devil every day with many thousand souls. Ye must give him nought: ye must stand off from the fraud. The while you are giving to him, he is selling to you eternal death. And they slay you, and turn you away from true repentance, which God has hallowed, so that ye never may have the will to repent." Thus far the Franciscan; and the General of the Dominicans[3] is equally emphatic: "about

was proposed for meditation during the performance of this exercise, and the whole was concluded by a repetition of the Creed" (Robertson, vol. iii p. 609).

[1] Or, more fully, *Quæstuarii prædicatores*, "trafficking preachers."

[2] See, for example, the declaration of the Council of Mainz (A.D. 1261, Mansi, xxiii. 1102; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 372), "*Contra Quæstuarios maledicos*," whose monstrous abuse of base gain had made them as odious to the world as persons infected with the plague; who exhibited as relics the bones of profane persons and of brutes, and boasted of lying miracles; and then spent the money thus sacrilegiously acquired in feasts and drunkenness, games and luxury. The Council orders them to be delivered over as prisoners to the bishops. In the following year Urban IV. issued a Bull to the inquisitors to restrain the "prædicatores quæstuarios" from the function of preaching, "which in no way belongs to them," while recognizing their proper business of "merely collecting charitable contributions, and exhibiting (*exponere*) the indulgence, *if they happen to have any*" (Gieseler, *ib.*).

[3] Humbertus de Romanis, in his book drawn up at the request of Gregory X., on the questions to be treated of in the General Council of Lyon (1274), lib. iii. c. 8; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 373.

the questuary preachers, who infect almost the whole Church in every land and are a scandal to the whole world: . . . . for they are for the most part persons dishonoured and of ill fame." And their influence over the common people was encouraged by the superior clergy; for he adds that "they corrupt Prelates and officials, and Archpresbyters and Presbyters to such a degree by their obsequiousness,[1] that they let them loose to say and do whatever they please. . . . . Moreover they are wont to tell many lies both about relics and about indulgences; and, what is the crowning mischief, these and many other evils have been so turned into sport and derision, that scarcely any one grieves over them for the sake of Christ."[2]

§ 9. The traffic in *Relics* was a means of meeting a demand which had grown chiefly out of the Crusades and the passion for pilgrimage as a penance and a form of indulgence. While the moral and religious results to the pilgrims and Crusaders themselves are pithily summed up in the contemporary testimony, "I have scarcely, nay never, seen any who returned better, either from the parts beyond sea or the shrines of the saints,"[3] they returned at once to corrupt their friends and to stimulate in them new devotion by the visible signs of their own, in the shape of portions of the body and blood, and even of the tears, of Christ, the Apostles, and Saints, the instruments of His passion and their martyrdom, and other objects connected with them, often in a way almost grotesque.[4] These

[1] *Servitiis* seems to imply the acting as their servants and tools in various ways. Of course, the jealousy between the secular and regular clergy, especially the friars, must be borne in mind.

[2] This testimony is confirmed by the prominent part played by the quæstionary or "pardoner" in satiric literature from this time to the Reformation—a matter which, as well as the mock festivals, is graphically introduced by Sir Walter Scott in the *Abbot*.

[3] Albertus Stadensis, ap. Gieseler (vol. iii. p. 367), who quotes other striking testimonies to the abandoned character of many of the Crusaders, and its aggravation by the system of indulgences; the worst of them going so far as to say "I will work wickedness, because by taking up the Cross I shall not only be blameless, but shall free the souls of many from their crimes." Innocent IV. (1246) found it necessary to desire the French prelates to warn the Crusaders against presuming on indulgence to commit the thefts, homicides, rapes, and other crimes, of which the King had made complaint to the Holy See. But the climax of *enormity* (the testimony of Gregory X.) was reached by the Christians in Palestine, whose devotion was repaid by the amplest indulgences.

[4] Among the most memorable are the dish, said to be of emerald, but really of green glass, still preserved in the cathedral of Genoa, whither it was brought from the capture of Caesarea, in 1101, as the *Holy Grail* used in our Lord's last supper (William of Tyre, x. 16); the likeness of the Saviour (*vera icon*) on a napkin, the name of which was at last trans-

relics were not merely reverenced as memorials, but (following a heathen superstition of high antiquity) they were trusted in as charms, by which evils might be warded off and diseases cured. More important than a vain attempt to specify the vast number of such relics are the testimonies borne by Councils[1] and by writers of high character to the many gross impostures, for the sake of gain, as well as the protests which were still raised against the honours paid, not only to the relics but to the Saints themselves, whose number was now so vastly multiplied, that one writer likens the multitude of patron saints to the idolatries of the heathens settled in Samaria: "Howbeit *every nation made gods of their own*, and put them in the houses of the high places, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt.[2] Many stories were now invented to supply the silence of Scripture and of primitive Church History concerning the part borne by the Apostles and their contemporaries in the conversion of the several nations; such as that which brought Joseph of Arimathea to Britain and invented the legend of the sacred thorn of Glastonbury, with many others of the like sort. Churches discovered new patrons, and the monks muted into *St. Veronica* (see Part I. p. 27); the seamless coat of Christ, which (like many other relics single in their nature) was multiplied into several, among which the "Holy Coat of Treves" raised a new controversy not long ago; the bodies of the three Magi, or "Kings," brought first to Milan, and translated by Archbishop Reginald to Cologne, where also the church of St. Ursula is still lined with the bones of the British princess and her 11,000 virgin comrades who were martyred by the Huns, a legend conjecturedly traced to the "XI. M. V." (11 *martyres virgines*) of some ancient martyrology. We may cite among the more grotesque examples—a feather of the angel Gabriel, a portion of Noah's beard, a flame of the burning bush, and the sword that Balaam—*wished for!*

[1] As that of Poitiers (1100), the Fourth Lateran (1215), and that of Bordeaux (1255): Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 334; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 268. The multiplication of false relics suggested testing their genuineness by the ordeal of fire.—Mabillon, *Vet. Analecta*, p. 568; Hardwick, p. 198.

[2] 2 Kings xvii. 29. Guiberti, abbot of Nogent († 1124), ap. Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 334-5. This writer, after demonstrating the imposture of the tooth of Christ, which the monks of St. Medard pretended to possess, proceeds to an uncompromising denunciation of the worship not only of relics, but of saints, and the frequent falsity of the current legends, by very many of which (he says) their preaching among the heathen would rather be blasphemed than glorified. He declares avarice to be the chief cause of these abuses, and implies that the custodians of the relics made use of their gold and silver settings, which they replaced as new offerings came in. "Assuredly" (he says) "if the bodies of the saints had the places belonging to them by nature, I mean their sepulchres, they would have been spared these errors. . . . Let each man say what he thinks, I feel quite sure of my conclusion, that it would never have pleased God or the saints themselves, that any of their sepulchres should be opened, or their bodies taken away piece by piece."

found special saints to glorify their respective orders. The Crusades brought into the Western Church saints hitherto unknown, and some who probably never had any existence, such as St. Catherine of Alexandria, whose alleged relics were imported by Simeon of Trèves (*cir.* 1030).[1]

§ 10. Even after the failure of the Crusades, the practice of *Pilgrimage* retained its popularity as a proof of devotion and penitence, often by way of commutation for severer forms of penance; and this also was connected with the abuses of indulgences and forged relics.[2] For the longer pilgrimages—such as to Rome and the shrine of St. James at Compostella, plenary indulgences were granted, as well as for that to Jerusalem; and these again were commuted for easier journeys.[3] Against reliance on such acts weighty protests were uttered, especially by the monastic reformers, who held it better to "follow Christ in His burial" by entering a convent than to run after His burial-place at Jerusalem.[4] They also re-

[1] Baronius, *ad Martyr. Rom.* d. 25 Nov.; Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. lix. s. 27; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 334; Hardwick, pp. 198, 424. Respecting the various forms of the legend of *St. George*, who supplanted Edward the Confessor as the patron saint of England, see the *Dict. of Christian Biog.* s. v. Many of the most extravagant legends in the Greek hagiographies of Simeon Metaphrastes (fl. cir. 900) were copied into the works which became permanently popular in the West. Among these the title of *Golden Legend* was given to the *Lombard History*, or *Legends* of the Saints, by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (*i.e.* of Viraggio or Varese), archbishop of Genoa (b. cir. 1292). The system of allegorizing the saints' lives was carried to absurd lengths in the *Rationale of Divine Offices* by William Durantis, or Durandus (b. 1237; d. 1296), an eminent Professor of Law at Bologna, and afterwards Bishop of Mende. The lasting popularity of his *Rationale* is attested by the fact that it was the earliest work printed by Fust.

[2] Pilgrims became naturally carriers of false relics, but some also forged them in order to claim the character. "Innocent III. complains that, for the sake of the privileges connected with the Compostella pilgrimage, the scallop-shells which were the tokens of it were counterfeited (*Epist.* x. 78)."—Robertson, vol. iii. p. 269.

[3] "Thus Calixtus II. allowed the English and Scots, instead of going to Rome, to content themselves with resorting to St. David's (William Malmesb. *Gest. Reg.* 435)." Robertson (*l. c.*), quoting old Fuller (i. 298), "Witness the ancient rhyming verse: 'Roma semel quantum bis dat Menevia tantum': not that St. David's gives a peck of pardons where Rome gives but a gallon, as the words at the first blush may seem to import, but that two pilgrimages to St. David's should be equal in merit to one pilgrimage to Rome." A favourite pilgrimage was to "St. Patrick's Purgatory," the place in Ireland where the saint had carried more than one visitor beneath the earth, whether in person or in vision, to see the terrors of Purgatory.

[4] Hildebert, i. 5; Peter of Clugny, *Epist.* ii. 15. So Anselm "held that a vow of pilgrimage was fulfilled by entering a monastic order; that

proved the neglect of ordinary duties consequent on these long journeys.[1]

But only a few of the more daring spirits ventured to question the *Miracles*[2] which were now multiplied far and wide; like Abelard,[3] who explains the cures of diseases by the mixture of ordinary remedies with food and drink, while the priests made a display of their prayers and benedictions and sanctified bread and water; and he cites the ridiculous failures of those who took on themselves to raise the dead, like Norbert and his fellow-apostle Farsitus; every failure, great or small, being ascribed to want of faith on the part of the people. A grammarian at Bologna, Buoncompagno, ventured on a practical ridicule of the miracles of a Dominican friar, John. He gave out that he also would perform a miracle; and having drawn a crowd of people out of the city to see him fly, he kept them waiting there a long time, and then dismissed them with the words, "Depart with the divine blessing, and let it content you to have seen the face of Buoncompagno."[4]

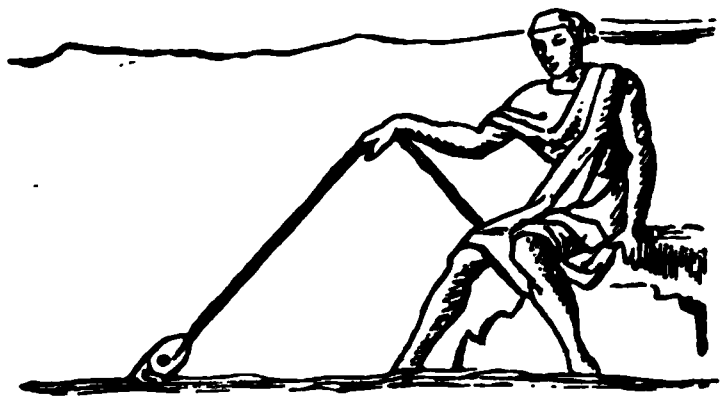
thus to vow one's whole life to God was more than the partial vows of pilgrims (*Epist.* iii. 33, 116)."—Robertson, *l. c.*

[1] Hildebert to Fulk, Count of Anjou (*Epist.* xv.); Bernard, *Epist.* lii., 264, 399.

[2] The accounts of such miracles were collected by Peter the Venerable, of Clugny (*de Miraculis sui Temporis*, lib. ii.); Herbert, archbishop of Torre, in Sardinia; and Caesarius of Heisterbach (cir. 1227: *de Miraculis et Visionibus suæ Ætatis*, libri xii.); besides the accounts of the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury, by William of Canterbury and Benedict of Peterborough. Among the most remarkable of these miracles were those which enforced the doctrine of transubstantiation by the visible appearance of flesh (sometimes dropping with blood) assumed by the consecrated wafer. (See further in Chap. XIX.)

[3] *Sermo XXXI. de S. Joanne Baptisto;* Gieseler, iii. 337.

[4] *Chron. Fr. Salimbeni de Adam.* ad. ann. 1229; *ap.* Gieseler, iii. 337. It would certainly seem that there must have been a strong popular sympathy with the grammarian's scepticism to allow him to play off his jest with safety to himself.



St. Peter Fishing. (From the Calixtine Catacomb.)

The Virgin Enthroned.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SAINT-WORSHIP AND MARIOLATRY. HYMNOLOGY AND SACRED ART.

1. Worship of Saints and Images—Progress of *Mariolatry*—Festivals and Titles of the Blessed Virgin—Orders in her honour—the Servites and Cistercians. § 2. Language of Peter Damiani—Deification and Mediation of the Virgin. § 3. St. Bernard—Views of the Schoolmen: doctrine of *hyperdulia*. § 4. Hymns and Office of St. Mary—The *Ave Maria*—The *Marian Psalters*—Scriptures applied to the Virgin. § 5. Feast of the *Conception*—Development of the Doctrine—View of Anselm—Opposition of Bernard and others. § 6. The Immaculate Conception rejected by Thomas Aquinas, but maintained by Duns Scotus and the Franciscans—Finally promulgated by Pius IX. (1854). § 7. Latin Hymns: *Dies Iræ; Stabat Mater;* Adam of St. Victor. § 8. Great Impulse to Church-building. § 9. The Architecture miscalled *Gothic*—The Romanesque or Norman style—Pointed Architecture: Early English; Decorated; Perpendicular. § 10. Carving, Painting, and other works of art—The Renaissance.

§ 1. The miraculous powers referred to in the preceding chapter were often attached to the images and pictures, the worship of which had now been long established in the Latin as well as the

Greek Church.[1] The worship of the Saints, as if they were the tutelar divinities of persons and places, assumed a form scarcely distinguishable from polytheism; and, as they were exalted, the VIRGIN MARY was exalted higher and higher above them, and nearer and nearer to an equality with the Godhead. The spirit of *Mariolatry* among all classes betrays a strange mixture of religious doctrine, monastic devotion, popular feeling, and chivalric idealism, often of a character really erotic.[2] We have seen the germ of the virtual deification of the Blessed Virgin[3] in the early use of the title "*Mother of God*" (Θεοτόκος), which provoked the great Nestorian controversy;[4] and we have traced the growth of her worship, especially in the Eastern Church, as a female mediator, replacing in the minds of men and women the lost goddesses of heathenism.[5] Its progress is marked by the new festivals established in her honour, especially that of the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* (Aug. 15), which commemorated her being taken up into heaven without death, as if to equal her with her divine Son in His resurrection. This feast was instituted by the Council of Mainz (A.D. 813).[6]

The great development of Mariolatry belongs to the time of Gregory VII., in connection with the revived energy of religious life in the monasteries. Among the new orders,[7] the monks of Cluny chose the Virgin as their patron, in conjunction with John

[1] See Part I. Chap. XXI.

[2] For the popular German songs in honour of the Virgin, and the mixture of knightly courtesy with her worship, assuming the form even of love-songs by the Troubadours, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 339–341. In some cases we trace a sensuousness little short of Paphian.

[3] Her usual ecclesiastical titles are *Beata Maria* or *Virgo* (or both combined), *Sancta Maria*, &c.

[4] Part I. Chap. XV. § 3, p. 352. [5] *Ibid.* p. 452.

[6] The first great festival of the *Annunciation* (March 25th, commonly called *Lady Day*) is referred to the 5th or even the 4th century: and it is worth remembering that *this* (rather than the *birth* of Christ, Dec. 25) was the epoch first used in chronology as that of the Incarnation. The *Nativity* of the Virgin (Sept. 8) was celebrated at an early period both in the East and West; and while the growing honour paid to her is marked by the change of the feast of Christ's *Presentation in the Temple* into the *Purification of St. Mary* (Feb. 2, *Candlemas*), her own *Presentation* (her imaginary dedication to the service of the Temple, Nov. 21) was made a feast of the Greek Church, though it was not adopted in the West till the 14th century. The legend commemorated by the feast of the *Assumption* originated in a mere conjecture of Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxviii. 11) that she never died, supported by sermons falsely ascribed to Jerome and Augustine (see Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 231–2). The word *assumptio* (&c. *in cœlum*) was originally applied to the death of saints, without any suggestion of a miracle (Du Cange, *s. v.*). For a full account of the Feasts of the Virgin see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, art. MARY, FESTIVALS OF; see also the article MARY (in Art). [7] Respecting these, see Chap. XX.

the Baptist; the Carmelites were styled the "hermit friars of St. Mary;" the Servites adopted their name to express their servitude to her (*servi B. Mariæ Virginis*); but the Cistercians are described as, from their first foundation, distinguished above all the other religious orders for their special devotion to the glorious Virgin,[1] and all their churches were dedicated to her.

§ 2. The extravagantly hyperbolic language, with which writers and especially preachers now vied in *inflaming* the minds of men with adoration and *something more*, is first found in the Sermons of the rigid ascetic, Peter Damiani, the great friend of Gregory VII.[2] Though regarding Mary as a created being, he places her above all the greatest of God's other creatures, both in the excellence of her nature and the special object of her existence. "The works of God's fingers made nothing so excellent, so glorious." "When God made all His works very good, He made this one (Maria) better, consecrating in her for Himself"—a relation in which the mystery of the incarnation is expressed in language too daring to be plainly quoted.[3] Following up this idea, he represents God as announcing the design of man's redemption, and the renewal of all creation, to a council of admiring and rejoicing angels—not as in Milton's sufficiently bold description of the covenant between the Father and the Son, but—"from the treasure of divinity the name of MARY is brought out (*evolvitur*), and *through her*, and *in her*, and *of her*, and *with her*, all this is decreed to be done, that, as without Him nothing was made, so without Her nothing should be made!"[4]

And as her part in the new creation is thus made, if not equal, certainly co-ordinate with that of the Father and the Son, so her entrance into heaven is even more glorious than His.[5] The *Assumption* is "that sublime day, on which the royal Virgin is carried to the throne of God the Father, and, enthroned on the very seat of the Trinity, invites also the angelic nature to behold her glory. The whole concourse of Angels is gathered around to see the QUEEN[6] seated on the right hand of the Lord of virtues

[1] These are the express words of the *Privilegium* granted to the order by Gregory IX. (Gieseler, iii. 340).

[2] *De Nativitate* and *de Annunciatione Mariæ*, ap. Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 427.

[3] *Sermo* xi. *de Annunciatione B.V.M.* Nor is Damiani alone in thus applying the Song of Solomon to Mary, who is thereby made the bride as well as the mother of God.

[4] Referring to John i. 3.

[5] *Sermo* xl. *de Assumptione B. V. M.*

[6] The constant application to the Virgin of the title *Regina cœli* not only shows the growing tendency to invest her with a co-ordinate share of God's power in heaven and over creation, but betrays the hankering after the old heathen idea of female divinities, the "survival" of which, perhaps, formed the chief root of Mariolatry. She was also called *Mother of Mercy*, *Blessed Queen of the World*, &c.

in her golden robe. . . . . When the Lord ascended, all that glorious company of blessed spirits went out to meet Him. Now lift up your eyes to the assumption of the Virgin, and—*saving the majesty of the Son*—you will find the concourse of this procession even much more worthy! For only angels could meet the Redeemer, but when the Mother entered the palace of heaven, the Son himself going out in state to meet her, with the whole court both of Angels and of the Just, carried her to the assembly of the blessed session,[1] and says 'Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee' (*Cant.* iv. 7)."[2]

This exaltation is distinctly declared to be a real *apotheosis* of the Virgin's human nature, in which she is again likened to the risen Saviour in the retention of human sympathy. In a direct apostrophe to her, Damiani says,[3] "Because *thou art thus deified*, hast thou forgotten our humanity? By no means, O Lady (*Domina*)," a title which means more than the mere reverence of "*our* Lady."

As the relations of God to man were made more and more an awful mystery, in which perfect love was cast out by fear, and recourse was had to the mediation of Saints, what mediation could be so powerful as hers, who had now become fully recognized as the *Mother of God*, and who had womanly sympathy with mankind? But Damiani goes so far as to ascribe to her a sort of mediation, not only omnipotent through the power of God, but even directing His power by her authority! Not content with applying to her the mediatorial prerogative of the Son—"All power is given to thee, in heaven and in earth; nothing is impossible to thee, to whom it is possible to raise up the despairing to the hope of blessedness"—he adds this as the reason: "For how can that power, which took its origin from the flesh of thy flesh, resist thy power? For thou approachest to that golden altar of man's reconciliation,[4] *not only asking but commanding*, as a *mistress* (*Domina*), not a handmaid (*ancilla*)."

[1] We give, as safest, the literal rendering of the phrase *ad beatæ consistorium sessionis;* that it means the throne of the Trinity seems clear from the first sentence above: "Sublimis ista dies, in qua Virgo regalis ad thronum Dei patris evehitur, et in ipsius Trinitatis sede reposita," &c.

[2] This passage of the Song of Solomon was afterwards used to support the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

[3] *Sermo* xlv. or i. *de Nativ. Mariæ, ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 427.

[4] Referring to *Hebrews* ix., where the mediatorial office of Christ is set forth as the antitype of the High Priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies on the great Day of Atonement; another example of applying to Mary what belongs in Scripture to Christ only.

§ 3. The like ideas were afterwards expressed even more clearly in the more measured language of St. Bernard,[1] calling on his hearers to venerate Mary with their inmost hearts and affections and all their prayers, because God "has willed that we should have all things through Mary." He represents fallen man hiding from the face of the Father (Gen. iii. 7, 10), who gives him Jesus as Mediator: "But even in Him, perhaps, you fear the Divine Majesty, because though He was made man, He still remained God. Would you have an advocate also with Him? *Have recourse to Mary. . . . He will hear her as a Son his Mother, and the Father will hear the Son;*"[2] and the impossibility of His refusing her mediation is argued from the angelic salutation, "Fear not Mary, for *thou hast found favour with* God" (Luke i. 30). When the relation of the Blessed Virgin to the Son and the Father was once put thus, what limit could be placed to her power with God on behalf of man, or to the honour due to her and the adoration by which her aid was invoked?

In answering this question, the scholastic divines drew a distinction, which tended rather to obliterate than define the limit. There was already vagueness enough in the old difference attempted to be made between the adoration of *worship* (λατρεία, *latria*) due to God alone, and the adoration of *service* (δουλεία, *dulia*), which might be rendered to the Saints. Peter Lombard was the first to imagine an intermediate form of adoration (a higher *dulia*), as due to the *human nature of Christ*, full *worship* (*latria*) being reserved for His Divine nature; but from this higher *dulia* he expressly excludes *every other created being*.[3] When, however, his followers abandoned this distinction as applied to the worship due to Christ, they claimed the higher sort of *dulia* for the Virgin,[4] under the name of *hyperdulia*, which is thus finally explained by Thomas Aquinas: "Since then the Blessed Virgin is a mere rational creature, the *adoration of latria* is not due to her, but only the *veneration of dulia*; but yet in a more exalted degree than to other creatures, inasmuch as she is the Mother of God. And therefore it is said that what is due to her is not any mere form of *dulia*, but *hyperdulia*;" which he elsewhere defines as "a mean between *latria* and *dulia*."[5]

[1] *Sermo in Nativ. B. Mariæ*, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 340–1.

[2] Compare the language of the *Psalterium Majus B. Maria Virginis*, Psalm xciii.: "God is the Lord of vengeance, but thou, Mother of Mercy, turnest Him to pity"!

[3] *Sentent.* lib. iii. dist. 9, *ap.* Gieseler, iii. 341.

[4] Alex. Halesius, *Summa*, pars. iii. qu. 30; Bonaventura, *Sentent.* lib. ii. dist. 9, art. 1, qu. 3; Thom. Aquin. *Summa*, pars. iii. qu. 25, art. 5.

[5] *Secunda secundæ*, qu. 103, art. 4.

§ 4. This attempted refinement vanishes when we turn to the honours actually paid to the Virgin and the forms of worship addressed to her; beginning in the monasteries, and afterwards adopted throughout the Church. As early as the tenth century, we find in the convents a weekly service "in honour of Mary, the Mother of God;"[1] and the hymns of praise to her were developed into a form of service, the *Officium Sanctæ Mariæ*, which is still in use. Its full establishment is due to the zeal of Peter Damiani,[2] who gives the assurance of eternal hope to those who paid their daily vows of "hours" to the Blessed Queen of the World, and says that it was already a good old custom in some churches to celebrate offices of Masses in her honour every *Sabbath* (i.e. Saturday); so that there were three sacred days in every week (besides the Sunday), one in commemoration of the Cross of Christ, another of Mary, and another of all the Saints. Damiani's rule was resisted as an innovation in the Italian monasteries, especially by Gozo, a Benedictine, who even persuaded his brethren to discontinue their accustomed hymns to the Virgin; but thereupon the convent met with great disasters, which only ceased when the monks promised unanimously to resume the wonted praises of the Mother of God. As early as 1095, it was decreed by Urban II. at the Council of Clermont that the Hours of St. Mary should be said daily, and her Office on Saturdays. The Council of Toulouse (1229) prescribed also to the laity devout visits to their churches on Saturday evenings in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. And as, besides Sundays, the great feasts were dedicated to the Lord, so, besides Saturdays, their vigils were consecrated to His mother.[3]

It was also in the time of Damiani that the "Angelic Salutation," which the humble Virgin of Nazareth heard with fear and trembling,[4] began to be addressed to her in countless repetitions

[1] See Gebhard's *Life* of Udalric, bishop of Augsburg (923–973), *ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 428. For the general use of the service in monasteries from the time of Hildebrand we have this testimony in the 12th century: "In Cœnobiis canticum novum celebratur, cum *a tempore Papæ Septimi Gregorii* cursus b. Mariæ frequentatur. Gerhoh, *Comm. in Ps.* xxxix. 4, *ap.* Gieseler, iii. 342.

[2] Damiani himself composed an *Officium S. Mariæ.*

[3] In the 13th century many kept a fast of forty days before the festival of the Assumption; and the forms of devotion to the Virgin were multiplied in the convents. See the examples given by Robertson, vol. iii. p. 616.

[4] Luke i. 27–30. The novelty of the practice is proved by Damiani's mentioning it as something singular, that an ecclesiastic had daily saluted the Virgin with the words of the Angel (Luke i. 28): "Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus." This was the original formula of the *Ave Maria*; the fuller form was framed little by little

every day, and, soon afterwards, by the aid of the rosary, *Ave Marias* and *Pater Nosters* divided the mechanical form of prayer between God and Mary.

The high-flown language of these forms of devotion to the Virgin culminates in the *Marian Psalters*, the Lesser and the Greater,[1] the latter being for the most part a parody of the Psalms of David. The mingling of female perfections with divine power is seen in the 1st Psalm: "Blessed is the man who loves thy name, O Virgin Mary: thou shalt comfort his soul with thy grace. . . . Thou excellest all women in beauty: thou surpassest Angels and Archangels in the excellence of thy holiness." Nor does the imitator hesitate to apply to her the words which express the exaltation of the Son of God above all created beings[2] (Ps. 109): "The Lord (*Dominus*) said to our Lady (*Domina*), Sit, Mother, on my right hand: Goodness and holiness have pleased thee: therefore thou shalt reign with me for ever." In the same spirit the Bible was searched for passages to be transferred from Christ to Mary, and for figures, the application of which is often either ridiculous or profane, or both combined. Thus she was said to be the *Rock* on which Christ was to build His Church, because she alone remained firm in faith during the interval between His death and resurrection.[3] She was said to be typified by the *tree of life*, by the *ark of Noah*, by *Jacob's ladder* which reached to heaven, by *Aaron's rod* that budded, and by other Scriptural figures, down to the Apocalyptic woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon under her feet.

§ 5. Amidst all this excess of reverence and adoration, Mary was still acknowledged to be a created being, though above all other creatures. It remained still further to distinguish her nature from theirs, and to make it equal with the human nature of Christ, by the doctrine which has been finally developed into that of her *Immaculate Conception*. The first step had been taken long before, of supposing the Blessed Virgin free from any taint of actual sin;[4] but it was still

after the beginning of the 16th century, and was first honoured with universal acceptance by the Church by the *Breviarium Pii V.*"—Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 342–3.

[1] The *Psalterium Minus* and the *Psalterium Majus B. Mariæ Virginis*, both of which were ascribed to Bonaventura, as a similar work, the *Biblia Mariana*, was to Albertus Magnus, but, it seems, equally without good reason. The works, however, certainly belong to their age.

[2] Comp. Ps. cx. 1 with Matt. xxii. 44; Mark xii. 36; Luke xx. 42; Acts ii. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 25; Heb. ii. 13; 1 Pet. iii. 22. See also Ps. xxxiii. 5, xlv. 6, 7.

[3] Bonaventura, *Speculum B. Virginis*, 12; a work full of the most high-flown language in her honour.

[4] The primitive doctrine, down to the end of the 5th century, taught not only Mary's subjection to actual as well as original sin, but that she

held that she shared with all humanity the guilt of original sin, which Anselm, for example, emphatically applies to her in the language of the Psalmist,[1] saying that "though the conception of Jesus was pure, . . . yet the Virgin was *conceived in iniquity*, and *in sin did her mother conceive her*, and *she was born with original sin*, because she herself also sinned in Adam, in whom all sinned."[2] And this continued to be the prevalent opinion among the great schoolmen (with the exceptions to be presently noticed) throughout the Middle Ages.

It seems strange, with this clear expression of Anselm's views before us, that he should have been represented as sanctioning,[3] or even himself instituting, the *Feast of the Conception* (Dec. 8) in England; but this account is legendary. The festival does not appear in history till the following century (the twelfth); and at first it was only a commemoration of the *fact* of the conception of St. Mary, the Mother of Christ, in imitation of the festival of the Annunciation, which commemorates the conception of her Son.[4] The superadded idea of something beyond the ordinary case of humanity was at first that of *holy* conception, that is, free from the guilt of original sin, but not *supernatural* like that of Christ; and when the latter idea was first started, as we shall presently see, about the end of the 13th century, it was long before the term *immaculate* was adopted. The opposition to the new festival, as exhibiting the new doctrine of a holy conception, was led by no less a

did in fact fall into sins of infirmity. (See the testimonies of Tertullian, Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, &c., cited in the *Dict. of Christian Biog.* vol. ii. p. 1145.

[1] Ps. li. 5.

[2] But he seems to regard her nature as freed from all possibility of sin, though her sanctification took place after birth, and by some mysterious working of faith. *Cur Deus Homo*, ii. 16, 17, 18; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 343.

[3] The *Legenda Aurea* quotes Anselm as the authority for the story that the Abbot Helsinus, being sent on a mission to Denmark by William the Conqueror, was caught in a storm on his return, and, praying for help to St. Mary, saw a vision of a grave ecclesiastic on the waves, who assured him of safety on condition of his founding the *Feast of the Conception of St. Mary* on Dec. 8 (1067). In England it was only in 1328 that a Council at London accepted its imposition by Simon Mepeham, archbishop of Canterbury, who then ascribed its institution to Anselm, doubtless on the authority of the *Legenda Aurea*. The passages in its favour quoted from Anselm by recent controversialists are really in works by other authors or interpolated. (See *Dict. of Christian Biog.* vol. ii. p. 1145; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 264.) A Council at Oxford, in 1222, had prescribed the keeping of "all the feasts of S. Mary, *except that of the Conception*, the celebration of which is not *imposed of necessity*."—Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 344.

[4] For the way in which this parallel was worked out, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 344–5.

person than ST. BERNARD, who condemned it as alike *novel, heterodox,* and *unauthorized.* His views are fully expressed in a letter of sharp rebuke to the canons of Lyon,[1] because "*some of them* had wished to change what was already excellent by introducing a celebration unknown to the ritual of the Church, not approved by reason, nor recommended by ancient tradition." He had learnt from the Church to regard the *birth* of the Virgin as undoubtedly holy and to be kept as a feast, "holding with the Church that she received in the womb the privilege to be born without sin." Others had been made holy before their birth;[2] but he will not venture to say how far this sanctification availed against original sin. "*Beyond all doubt also the Mother of the Lord was holy before she was born*;" and therefore the Church is right in keeping the day of her birth as a joyful festival throughout the world, because "a more abundant blessing of sanctification came down upon her, not only to sanctify her own birth, but also to keep her life thenceforth free from all sin; which is believed to have been granted to none else of those born of women. *What* (he asks) *do we suppose is still to be added to these honours?*" To the reply, "that her conception should be honoured, which preceded her honourable birth," he rejoins; "that the same reason would apply to all her ancestors in an infinite series." As to the doctrine itself, he adds: "Although it has been given to some. however few, among the sons of men to be *born* holy, yet to *none* to be also thus *conceived*, that the prerogative of a holy conception might be reserved for *One only*, who should sanctify all and make a cleansing of sins, being Himself the only one who comes without sin. It is the Lord Jesus Christ alone that was conceived by the Holy Ghost, for He alone was holy before His conception. Excepting Him, the humble and true confession (quoting Ps. li. 5) applies to every one else of Adam's children. *Then what can be the meaning of a Festival of her Conception?* How can a conception be said to be holy, which is not of the Holy Spirit, not to say, *which is of sin?* or how can it be regarded as a matter for festive celebration, when it is not holy? The glorious woman will be ready enough to go without an honour, which seems either to honour sin, or to attribute a holiness which did not exist."

The protest of Bernard was supported by various eminent contemporaries;[3] and the general rejection of the festival, up to or beyond

[1] *Epist.* 174, cited by Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 343, and the Rev. F. Meyrick, n the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* vol. ii. p. 1145.

[2] He names Jeremiah, as he had read in Jer. ii. 5; John the Baptist (Luke i. 41); and possibly David (on the ground of Ps. lxx. 6; xxi. 11, 12).

[3] For example: Potho, a presbyter of Prüm, after questioning the reasonableness of introducing the Feast of the Trinity and that of the

the end of the 12th century, may be inferred from the language of the ritualist Belethus:[1] "*Some* have *sometimes* celebrated the Feast of the Conception, *and still* perhaps celebrate it; but it is not authorized (or genuine, *authenticum*) and approved; nay, it seems that *it ought rather to be prohibited*, for *she was conceived in sin*;" and this conclusion is expressly adopted by his follower Durandus, the great ritualist authority of the 13th century.[2]

§ 6. During that century, however, the celebration made steady progress;[3] and even Thomas Aquinas[4] allows that, "although the Roman Church *does not celebrate* the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, yet she *tolerates* the usage of some churches which celebrate that feast. Wherefore such celebration is not to be wholly blamed." But yet, he forthwith adds, it must not be understood from the fact of the celebration, that the Virgin was holy in her conception; but, *because it is unknown at what time she was sanctified*, the feast of her sanctification, rather than of her conception, is celebrated on the day of her conception. Of her sanctification in the womb nothing is delivered to us in canonical Scripture, neither does it mention her Nativity; but the doctrine may be reasonably inferred.[5] He defines this sanctification to be a cleansing from the original sin in which she had been conceived; and he argues that if her soul (or "life," *anima*)[6] had never incurred the stain of original

Transfiguration, says: "To these is added by some *what seems more absurd* —a feast also of the Conception of St. Mary (*De Statu Domus Dei*, lib. iii.). Peter of La Celle, abbot of St. Remigius at Rheims, defended Bernard's views against the vehement attack of Nicolas, a monk of St. Albans (cir. 1175).—Gieseler, iii. 344.

[1] *Divin. Offic. Explicatio*, c. 146 (*ap.* Gieseler, *l. c.*). Belethus appears to have flourished at Paris or Amboise (or both) about 1182. His work is frequently appended to the *Rationale* of Durandus (*ib.* p. 313).

[2] *Rationale*, lib. vii. c. 7 (Gieseler, *ib.* p. 345).

[3] See the examples cited by Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 344, n. 18. Observe that it was still simply the *Feast of the Conception*, without any such epithet as *Immaculate* or even *Holy*.

[4] *Summa*, pars iii. qu. 27; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 345–6.

[5] Just as (he says) the fact of her being taken up to heaven in the body may be reasonably inferred, for which he quotes Augustine in that (*spurious*) Sermon on the Assumption, which greatly influenced the schoolmen's views of the honours due to the Virgin. As to the little weight given to the authority of Scripture, St. Bernard had already dismissed the Scriptural arguments for the higher view of the doctrine as of no weight if unsupported by reason and the authority of the Fathers: "Ipse mihi facile persuadeo *scriptis talibus non moveri*, quibus nec ratio suppeditare, nec certa invenitur favere auctoritas" (in the *Epist.* 174, referred to above).

[6] This was the point on which the controversy turned, Aquinas holding, with the other great schoolmen of the 13th century, that the Virgin was not made holy *ante animationem* (see the passages cited by Gieseler, *l.c.*). Such are the subtilties of the scholastic divinity!

sin, she would not have needed the redemption and salvation which is through Christ, which would derogate from the dignity of Christ as the universal Saviour of all mankind. As to her own sinlessness, he concludes that "it is simply to be confessed that the Blessed Virgin committed no actual sin, so that thus is fulfilled in her, what is written in *Canticles* iv. 7: 'Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee.'"[1]

In these views the "Angelic Doctor" of the Dominicans gave the weight of his authority to the opinion prevalent in the 13th century, even among the Franciscans,[2] whose "subtile Doctor," at the end of the century, became the great teacher of the higher doctrine, though even Duns Scotus did not venture to affirm it as *certain*. He states this threefold alternative:[3] "It was in God's power to make her so that she never was in original sin; or only for one instant; or that she was in sin for some time, and was cleansed from it at the last moment of that time. Which of these three *possibilities* took place in fact, God knows; but it seems *probable* to assign to Mary that which is *the more excellent*, if it be not opposed to the authority of the Church or the authority of Scripture."[4] As a part of the general controversy between Thomists and Scotists the Franciscans henceforth took the festival and doctrine under their special protection; and from the 14th century onwards, the belief in

[1] As he quotes from the Vulgate, *Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te*," where the word *macula* became the great Scripture authority for the doctrine of the *Immaculate* Conception.

[2] See Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 345, n. 17. Let it be remembered that, though Aquinas was a Dominican, Alexander of Hales and Bonaventura were both Franciscans.

[3] *Sentent.* lib. iii. dist. 3, qu. 1, § 9; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 346.

[4] More decisive, but still brief, is the passage (dist. 18, qu. 1, § 13), "Virgo mater Dei nunquam fuit inimica actualiter ratione peccati actualis, nec ratione originalis (fuisset tamen, nisi fuisset præservata)." It appears especially strange to the later Franciscans that their *Doctor Subtilis* is so short on this head; accordingly they consider that his principal works on this subject must have been lost (*e. g.* Hugo Cavellus in the *Vita Scoti*, prefixed to his *Quæstiones*).—Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 346–7. The later Franciscans state that (about 1304) Duns Scotus defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception against 200 Dominicans in a public disputation at Paris, and thereby induced the University to impose on commencing graduates an oath to defend the Blessed Virgin from original guilt, and to decree the annual celebration of the "Feast of the Immaculate Conception." But the earliest authorities for this are late in the 15th century, and even they place the decree no earlier than 1333; and there is no trace of it in the Acts of the University. The "Gallic nation" first decreed the celebration in 1380, and the University declared the Immaculate Conception a *probable opinion* in 1387.—Gieseler, *ibid.* The reforming Council of Basle passed a decree in favour of the doctrine (see p. 182). See further in Chap. XXII. § 10.

the Latin Church[1] wavered between a maculate and immaculate conception, according as the Dominicans or Franciscans were most powerful at Rome. At length, under the Jesuit influence which prevailed at Rome after the crisis of 1848–9, and the desire to retrieve the temporal losses of the Roman see by new assertions of spiritual and dogmatic power, PIUS IX. promulgated a Bull (Dec. 8, 1854), declaring the dogma that St. Mary, having been conceived immaculately, was absolutely exempt from original and actual sin, to be an article of faith, all opposition to which is heresy.[2]

§ 7. During this period, and especially in the 13th century, the worship of the Church was enriched with some of the noblest hymns which, either in the Latin original or translations, have become the possession of the universal Church. The "*Dies Iræ*" is ascribed (but doubtfully) to Thomas of Celano, a Franciscan and one of the biographers of St. Francis, and the "*Stabat Mater*" to another Franciscan, Jacopone of Todi. In the highest rank of this sacred poetry is the series of Latin hymns composed for the great festivals and saints' days—a medieval *Christian Year*—by Adam of St. Victor, who lived at the famous Victorine convent at Paris through the greater part of the 12th century.[3] These devout utterances—which owe part of their charm to the novel use of rhythmic cadence, in place of *quantity*, and of rhyme—however strange to the forms of classic Latin verse, bear witness to a strain of deep and pure devotion by the response which they evoke from devout minds in every age.

§ 8. Among the causes which tended to intensify religious feeling or outward acts of devotion, especially about the beginning of the period under review, were those millennial speculations, which have had a sort of fearful fascination in every age of the Church. As,

[1] The doctrine is regarded by the Greek Church as heretical (see *Conference between the Archbp. of Syros and the Bp. of Winchester*, Lond. 1871).

[2] The fact that this dogma was promulgated by the immediate predecessor of the Pope (Leo XIII.) who has given an unlimited sanction to the theology of Thomas Aquinas, is the more remarkable in the light of the establishment of the doctrine of Papal infallibility under Pius IX. (1871). It is well asked by Dean Milman: "Is not the utter and total apathy with which it has been received the most unanswerable proof of the prostration of the strength of the Roman Church? There is not life enough for a schism on this vital point" (*Latin Christianity*, vol. ix. p. 76, n.).

[3] See "*The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor*, from the text of Gautier; with Translations in the original metres and short explanatory Notes; by Digby S. Wrangham, Lond. 1882;" and an article on *Medieval Hymns* in the *Quarterly Review*, July 1882. The probable date of Adam is from before 1130 to 1192. Respecting the Victorines, see below, Chap. XXVIII. § 14.

even in apostolic times, our Lord's sayings were misunderstood as a warning of His immediate coming to the final judgment,[1] so the apocalyptic prophecies of a millennium[2] were not unnaturally interpreted as predicting the end of the world at the completion of 1000 years, first from the advent of Christ, and, when that epoch was overpassed, from the date of his crucifixion (1033). Then, as now, few were able to regard the consummation of Christ's mediatorial work with joyful anticipation rather than fear; and the passage of each epoch was hailed as a relief from a crisis of terror, almost as if men forgot how near their own individual end must be, at the longest.

The sense of gratitude for so great a deliverance is assigned by a writer of the age as one chief motive for the great impulse which was given to church-building, as if (he says)[3] "the world, casting off its old age, and renewing its youth were clad everywhere in the white robe of churches." To the partial truth embodied in this fancy several other causes must be added. Many ecclesiastical foundations, both churches and monasteries, were the fruit of servile fear rather than cheerful gratitude, a form of that compromise of penitence spoken of above, or a supposed meritorious sacrifice to be rewarded hereafter. But many are monuments of the purer feeling which led a king or noble to say with David, "See now, I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains:"[4] like Edward the Confessor, when he built the abbey church at Westminster. And that minster is also a type of the vast number of churches that sprang up as necessary adjuncts to the growth of monastic life. In our own country, especially, the destruction of the monasteries causes men to forget how many of our noblest cathedrals, besides others which have not become bishops' sees, were originally conventual churches; not only those whose names

[1] Thess. ii. 1, 2. [2] Rev. xx. 1–6.

[3] Radulph, *Hist.* iii. 4, quoted by Hardwick, p. 204. The "white robe" was not only the new brightness of stone and marble; but the brilliant aspect of the church amidst the landscape was due to the custom of casing the rough materials of the walls and towers with plaster and whitewash. "Aesthetic" "restorers" have been unable to distinguish between the abuse of whitewash in hiding the carved work within a church, and its proper use on the outside. A conspicuous example is seen in the raw edges of the Roman bricks of St. Alban's Abbey Church as exposed by the removal of the whitening which made it formerly a true *Koh-i-noor*—mountain of light—amidst a wide expanse of country.

[4] 2 Sam. vii. 2. This spirit of genuine devotion had been recommended by Charles the Great, in a Capitulary addressed to the prelates of the Empire (811) reminding them that, however good is the work of building fine churches, the true ornament and topstone of a good life is to be put before any buildings. (Mansi, xiii. 1073: Hardwick, p. 93.)

bear witness to their origin, as Westminster, York Minster, Wimborne Minster,[1] but such also as Canterbury, Durham, Ely, St. Albans, Christchurch (Hants), to name but a few examples. While the growing wealth of the Church at large supplied means for the natural passion for building, the monks, vowed to poverty, found in this an excellent use for their common revenues. Successive abbots rejoiced to enlarge and beautify their churches; and their ambition was shared by the princely and noble men and women who brought their wealth to the cloister in which they sought refuge from the world.

§ 9. To illustrate these statements by examples would require us to follow the erection of many churches, both English and foreign: and even to trace the general process of church building in this age would lead us aside into the history of architecture.[2] A very brief sketch must suffice us. Few students, perhaps, require now to be warned against the twofold error, prevalent not very long ago, of supposing that there was a particular style of *ecclesiastical* architecture, and that that style was especially associated with the Church of Rome. In fact, it was in Italy, and especially at Rome, that classic architecture held its ground for ecclesiastical use; and to this day the churches—with St. Peter's for their great type—have retained the form and style, as well as the name, of the old Roman basilica. With regard to the former point, in a rude age when houses were built with the barest regard to utility, and the general building of castles happened to be simultaneous with the new impulse to church building, the new style, developed for civil and domestic use, was adopted also for ecclesiastical purposes, modified in each case by the practical requirements of church or castle, palace, house, or hall.

The Italians of the Renaissance, in the contemptuous spirit of their classic revival, gave this medieval architecture the name of *Gothic*, from the mistaken idea that it was the native creation of the northern barbarians; and, as a mere technical nomenclature, fixed by long usage, the term is retained as a broad distinction from the *Classic* and other types of architecture. It is now agreed that its earliest form was derived, not, as some have thought, from the Byzantine, but from the later Roman, called distinctively *Romanesque*,[3] which spread from Italy over Western Europe. In

[1] *Minster* is merely the English form of *monasterium*.

[2] For all that needs to be known on this matter, the student is referred to Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, and, for the present subject in particular, Rickman's *English Architecture*, newly edited by the late John Heron Parker, C.B.: it is somewhat remarkable that Mr. Rickman was a Quaker.

[3] The parallel is something more than merely fanciful, between the

England, it is known as *Norman*, having been one of the new elements imported from Normandy in the 11th century, a considerable time before the Conquest.[1] In a church of this style, massive columns or piers, round or polygonal (sometimes with smaller columns round them), divide the nave from the aisles, carrying semicircular arches, which support the lofty walls, covered in with a roof, in the oldest examples generally of timber, but with cylindrical groined ceilings in the smaller widths, as in the aisles and porches. The round arch also heads the windows and doorways, and is used throughout as an ornament; but the characteristic forms of surface-ornament and mouldings must be left to special works on architecture.

The lighter style—characterized by the *pointed arch* (which is said to have been known in Provence as early as the time of Charlemagne), and by the clustered columns, from which ribs branch out to support a groined roof — began to come into general use from the middle of the 12th century. The first great example of it is said to be the church of St. Denys, near Paris, about 1144. Brought into England somewhat later, it formed the style called *Early English*, in which the harmony of beauty and dignity has attained perfection; as in the great examples of Salisbury Cathedral (1220–1258) and the nave and transepts of Westminster, reared by the devotion of Henry III.

The next stage of Gothic architecture, called from its richer ornamentation, and the more flowing tracery of the windows, the *Decorated*, belongs chiefly to the 14th century, the age of the Edwards in England, where it is seen in innumerable churches. It was succeeded by the style characterized by superficial florid ornamentation and perpendicular lines (seen especially in the mullions of the windows), whence it has received the name of *Perpendicular*.[2] In England, as the Early English is associated with Henry III., so is the Perpendicular with his still more devout descendant Henry VI., in such works as the Chapels at West-

relations of the Romanesque architecture to the Roman, and of the Romance languages to Latin.

[1] Among its finest types are the naves of Winchester, Ely, St. Alban's, Peterborough, Durham, and Christchurch, the two last built (partly at least) by Ralph Flambard, the notorious minister of William Rufus, who is called by Peter of Blois "omnium virorum in terra cupidissimus et pessimus." His motive in the rebuilding of Christchurch, of which he was prior, is said to have been that he might keep the income of the canons in his hands during the progress of the works, after he was made Bishop of Durham (1099). The choir, as well as nave, of Durham is Norman.

[2] Earlier writers, before Rickman, called it *Florid*.

minster,[1] Windsor, and King's College, Cambridge, and the choirs of many cathedrals and abbey churches.

§ 10. The churches were adorned, as an essential part of the design, with carving which, like the architectural details, shows a growing skill and freedom in the artisans who worked out their spontaneous ideas; and, while the workmen produced figures of saints, sepulchral effigies, and those more sacred subjects which it was not then deemed profanity to represent, their exuberant imagination revelled in most extraordinary efforts of grotesque art.[2] Besides the rich colouring of architectural details, painting as an art went hand in hand with sculpture, on the inner walls of the churches, and especially in the windows of stained glass, which, with all their imperfections of drawing and composition, still baffle imitation for the purity and "fastness" of their colouring. The like art was lavished on the illumination of manuscripts, and the embroidery of vestments, altar-cloths, and other tapestry. Nor must we pass over the works in metal, the genuine product of the hammer in the hand of an artist-workman, as the architecture was of the mason and the carver. In a word, all the work of the age owed its life to this creative power in the workmen themselves, of whom it may generally be said, as of the first sacred artist, Bezaleel,[3] that they were filled with the spirit of God, because they worked by the nature He had given them, and with all their hearts, "in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones, . . . and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship."

We have had occasion to refer to the rise of those new forms of art which culminated in the great masterpieces of the Renaissance; but the subject is too large to follow here, and must be left to the special Histories of Art.

[1] "Henry VIIth's Chapel," though finished and appropriated by that King, was planned and begun by Henry VI., for his own resting-place.

[2] Besides the familiar gargoyles and masks of strange monsters, devils, and the damned in torture, whose place *outside* the church is contrasted with the saints within, the reader has only to turn up the seats of the stalls in almost any ancient choir, to see carvings which will excite a strange mixture of admiration (in both senses of the word) and of amusement. Some curious examples are given in Wright's *History of Caricature.*

[3] Exod. xxxi. 3–5.

Abbey of Corbey, in Westphalia. (The Monastery of Radbert and Ratramn.)

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

LANFRANC AND BERENGAR—DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

§ 1. Doctrine of the *Eucharist*—The three Views of Paschasius, Ratramn, and John Scotus. § 2. Opinions in the 11th century—Opponents of Paschasius Radbert—Heriger and Ælfric. § 3. General State of Opinion. § 4. Middle View: Ratherius; Gerbert; Leutheric; Fulbert. § 5. BERENGAR of Tours: reproved by Adelmann and Hugh—His remonstrance with Lanfranc for teaching the doctrine of Paschasius (1049). § 6. Lanfranc's answer: Berengar condemned at Rome (1050); imprisoned by Henry I. of France; condemned at Vercelli—Popular fanaticism against him. § 7. Satisfies Hildebrand at the Synod of Tours (1054)—Council at Rome under Nicolas II. (1059); Berengar's enforced confession. § 8. His Character—Renewed Controversy with Lanfranc. § 9. Guitmund—Various Classes of Berengarians: *Impanation*, &c. § 10. Real nature of the dispute—Statement of Bp. Bruno. § 11. GREGORY VII. protects Berengar—The two Roman

Councils (1078–9); Berengar's enforced but qualified confession—Gregory's Letter in his favour—His last days; honours paid to his memory. § 12. Intellectual Aspect of the Controversy—Authority and Reason; Use of *Dialectic*. § 13. Doctrine of the 12th century—St. Bernard—Popular Feeling—Miracles—The Schoolmen—*Transubstantiation* enacted under Innocent III. (1215)—The dogma fixed by Thomas Aquinas. § 14. Discontinuance of Infant Communion—The Cup withdrawn from the Laity. § 15. Elevation of the Host—Festival of *Corpus Christi*—Infrequency of Communion.

§ 1. THE materializing tendencies of the age under review reached their climax in that doctrine of the *Eucharist*, which was declared by authority as the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. We have related the controversy, which sprang up in the 9th century,[1] between Paschasius Radbert, who first distinctly taught a real change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of the Lord, and Ratramn, who advocated a spiritual change, producing the presence in truth and in figure to the faithful soul; while John Scotus Erigena seems to have held that the Lord's Supper was nothing more than a commemorative ordinance, in which the bread and wine were only the symbols of the body and blood of Christ, setting forth the truth of His sacrifice in visible signs.

§ 2. The last opinion was condemned as heretical by the chief disputants on both sides; and the general acceptance of a "Real Presence" *in some form*, without an attempt to define its mode, suspended the controversy during the 10th century and the first part of the 11th. The doctrine of Paschasius prevailed more and more, and was received (as we shall see) by the common people, always fond of mystical power, with an almost fanatical eagerness.[2] But the more spiritual views of Ratramn had numerous adherents; such as Heriger, abbot of Taubes, in the diocese of Liège, who, we are told, "collected in opposition to Radbert many writings of the Catholic Fathers concerning the body and blood of the Lord."[3] Such were the views that seem to have prevailed in England, which was always slow to follow the extremes of the Roman and Frank churches. Thus Ælfric,[4] whose homilies were used by

[1] Part I. Chap. XXII. §§ 12, 13.

[2] The popular faith was stimulated by the stories of miracles (already referred to) in which the consecrated bread assumed the form of flesh. sometimes dripping with blood, or of the infant Saviour, and so forth, Such confirmations were urged as early as by Radbert himself. For examples see Acts of the Synod of Arras (1025); Mansi, xix. 433; Gieseler, ii. 397.

[3] Sigebert Gemblac. *ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 398.

[4] Vol. II. pp. 271–3, ed. Thorpe. Ælfric's *Homilies* belong to the early part of the 11th century, and their use by the Anglo-Saxon Church is

authority, discourses as follows. "Of the Sacrifice on Easter day:" "Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is by the power of the Divine word truly Christ's body and blood; not, however, bodily, but spiritually. Great is the difference between the body in which Christ suffered and the body which is hallowed for housel. . . . In His spiritual body, which we call *housel, there is nothing to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually.* It is, as we before said, *Christ's body and His blood, not bodily but spiritually.* Ye are not to enquire how it is done, but to hold in your belief that it is done."

§ 3. The general state of opinion and feeling is described by Dean Milman with characteristic power and eloquence:—"This Sacrament—the Eucharist—from the earliest times had been withdrawn into the most profound mystery; it had been guarded with the most solemn reverence, shrouded in the most impressive ceremonial. It had become, as it were, the Holy of Holies of the religion, in which the presence of the Godhead was only the more solemn from the surrounding darkness. That presence had as yet been unapproached by profane and searching controversy, had been undefined by canon, neither agitated before Council, nor determined by Pope. During all these centuries no language had been thought too strong to express the overpowering awe and reverence of the worshippers. The oratory of the pulpit and the hortatory treatise had indulged freely in the boldest images; the innate power of the faith had worked these images into realities. Christ's real presence was in some indescribable manner in the Eucharist; but under the notion of the real Presence might meet conceptions the most dissimilar, ranging from the most subtle spiritualism to the most gross materialism; that of those whose faith would be as profoundly moved by the commemorative symbols, which brought back upon the memory in the most vivid reality the one sacrifice upon the cross, as that of the vulgar, to whom the more material the more impressive the notion, to whom the sacred elements would be what the fetiche is to the savage.

"Between these two extremes would be the great multitude of believers, who would contemplate the whole subject with remote and reverential awe. To these the attempt at the scrutiny or even the comprehension of the mystery would appear the height of profane presumption; yet their intuitive apprehension would shrink,

undoubted, though the identity of the writer is difficult to determine. On this question, and the attempt of Dr. Lingard to explain away his testimony, see Soames, *The Creed of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1835), and Robertson, vol. ii. p. 652.

on the one hand, from refining the holy bread and wine into mere symbols, on the other from that transubstantiation which could not but expose the actual Godhead to all the accidents to which those elements, now not merely corporeal, but with all the qualities of the human flesh and blood, but actually deified, might be subject."[1]

§ 4. The prevalent disposition to accept the extreme doctrine as an incomprehensible mystery of faith, is thus expressed by Ratherius, bishop of Verona:[2]—"That wine is made, by the blessing of God, true and not figurative blood; and the bread, flesh. About the rest, I pray you, do not concern yourself, since you are told that it is a mystery, and that of faith. For if it is a mystery, it cannot be comprehended: if of faith, it ought to be believed, not discussed. The great GERBERT[3] (Pope Sylvester II.) saw no great difference between the doctrines of Paschasius and Ratramn.[4] His disciple Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, was censured by King Robert I. for administering the Eucharist with the words, "*If thou art worthy, receive*" (1004); and, though he submitted to be silenced, we are told that "his perverse dogma grew in that age."[5] A more eminent teacher, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, the friend of Leutheric and instructor of Berengar, uses language very similar to that of Ælfric. The Lord, he says,[6] "left us the *pledge* of his body and blood—a *pledge of salvation*—not the *symbol of an empty mystery.* The bread consecrated by the bishop *is transfused*[7] *into one and the same body of Christ.*" But he goes on to distinguish this from the body of His incarnation in these remarkable words:—"But in

[1] *Latin Christ.* Bk. VI. c. ii.; vol. iii. pp. 386–7. In the first sentence "the earliest times" must not be taken too literally; but, except for the apostolic age, they are hardly too strong. See Part I. Chap. VIII. §§ 5, 7.

[2] *Epist.* 6, *ad Patricium*, in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* vol. i. p. 376; Gieseler, vol. ii. pp. 397–8. It is observable that he ascribes the transmutation of the elements not to the direct act of the priest, but "*Dei* benedictione. . . ." a phrase equally significant whether we understand the genitive subjectively or objectively. Ratherius (who died in 971) was distinguished for his efforts to reform the corrupt Italian clergy.

[3] See Part I. Chap. XXIII. § 10, *foll.*

[4] *Corp. et Sang. Christi*, in Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 398.

[5] Helgoldus, *Vita Roberti*, ap. Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 398; but it is somewhat doubtful whether the censure was not rather for his use of the Eucharist as an ordeal. Another writer distinctly ascribes to Leutheric the origination of the Berengarian heresy: "Hujus tempore [i.e. John XVII., 1003] Leuthericus Senon. Archiep. haeresis Berengarianæ primordia et semina sparsit." *Vit. Johannis XVII*, Gieseler, *l. c.*

[6] *Epist.* 1, *ap.* Gieseler, *l. c.*

[7] *Transfunditur*, a remarkable word: neither *transmutation*, nor much less *transubstantiation.*

some way that body, which, being made incarnate in the Virgin's womb, suffered the outrage of the cross—the *memory* of which the bishop seems to present in the bread imparted by the presbyters—is different from that which is presented in the way of mystery." Such language might even seem to come down to the low view of John Scotus Erigena, but for the distinct statement of the preceding sentence; and, in the ensuing controversy, some of Fulbert's pupils evidently believed that he would not have approved of the views of Berengar.

§ 5. All this, however, suffices to show that the teaching of Berengar was by no means a sudden outburst of new heresy, but the revival of an unsettled controversy. It is remarkable both for the part taken in it by Gregory VII., and for the occasion it gave for the use of those dialectic subtilties which soon afterwards took a lasting form in the scholastic theology.[1] BERENGARIUS or BERENGAR of Tours (where he was born A.D. 1000), after studying under Fulbert at Chartres, returned to his native city in 1031, and became treasurer of the cathedral and master of its school, where he established so high a character as a teacher and theologian, that the Bishop of Angers[2] made him archdeacon of that city, while still holding his post at Tours. Our earliest information of his opinions on the Eucharist is derived, not from his own writings, but from the letters of remonstrance on the scandal caused by his teaching, addressed to him by two of his old fellow-pupils under Fulbert, namely, Adelman, schoolmaster of Liège, and Hugh, bishop of Langres.[3] As to the result, we only know it to have been so fruitless,

[1] In the 18th century the controversy acquired a new interest through Lessing's discovery, among the MSS. at Wolfenbüttel, of Berengar's Treatise *De Sacra Cœna*, which had been only known before through the accounts of his opponents, and on which Lessing wrote his famous vindication of Berengar, *Berengarius Turon. od. Ankündig. eines wichtigen Werkes desselben*, Braunschweig, 1770, 4to. Lessing's endeavour to prove the identity of Berengar's doctrine with that of Luther, who had vehemently condemned it as formerly understood, gave great offence. The *De Sacra Cœna* was first edited by A. F. and F. Th. Vischer, Berol. 1834. The knowledge of its contents had been previously derived chiefly from Lanfranc's work against Berengar, *De Eucharistiæ Sacramento contra Berengarium* in the *Bibl. Patr.* vol. xviii. p. 763, *seq.*, and in Dr. Giles's edition of Lanfranc's works, Oxon, 1844. The personal form of address in both works adds a zest to the controversy. The best account of it is in Ebrard's *Das Dogma u. Geschichte des heiligen Abendmahl*, Frankf., 1844–6 It appears from internal evidence that the work of Lanfranc was written between 1063 and 1070, and that of Berengar in 1070, exactly seven centuries before its rediscovery.

[2] Either Eusebius Bruno or his predecessor, in 1040.

[3] Adelman, *de Veritate Corp. et Sang. Domini, ad Berengar. Epist.*, in *Bibl. Patr.* xviii. 438, and better edited by C. A. Schmid from a Wolfen-

that we find Berengar in his turn remonstrating with no less a person than LANFRANC, then abbot of Bec,[1] on a report brought to him by a certain Ingelran, that Lanfranc had disapproved, and even held as heretical, the opinions of Joannes Scotus (meaning Ratramn)[2] on the Sacrament of the altar, in which he differed from Paschasius, whose views Lanfranc had adopted. This hasty opinion, adds Berengar, was unworthy of his high ability, and betrayed an imperfect study of Holy Scripture, from which he challenges Lanfranc to defend his view. Distinctly adopting the opinions of John Scotus (i.e. Ratramn) on the Eucharist as his own, Berengar tells Lanfranc that, if he deemed John a heretic, he must make heretics of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, not to speak of others (A.D. 1049).

§ 6. Even if Lessing goes too far in praising this letter as "friendly, modest, and flattering," it scarcely deserved the hostile reception which appears to have been aggravated by an accident.[3] When Berengar's messenger arrived at Bec, Lanfranc had left for Rome, and the letter was opened by certain clerks, whose pious zeal was so inflamed at the scent of heresy, that, instead of simply forwarding the letter, they showed it to others, and talked about the opinions expressed in it to many more. The result was—to use Lanfranc's own words—"that no worse suspicion was raised against you than against me, to whom you directed such a letter:"—

büttel MS., Bruns. 1770; Hugonis Ep. Lingon. *Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Domini*, in D'Achery, *Opp. Lanfranc.* Append. p. 68, *seq.*, *Bibl. Patr.* xviii. 417. The date of Hugo's work must have been before 1049, when he was deposed by the Council of Rheims for simony; that of Adelman was probably about 1047–8. He afterwards became Bishop of Brixen. The letter appears to have been answered, after some time, by Berengar in a *Purgatoria Epistola*, of which we have only fragments; *ap.* Schmid, *op. cit.* p. 34, *seq.*; Gieseler, ii. 399. The rumour which had reached Liège, as Hugo tells Berengar, was that he denied the "*verum corpus Christi*" in the Eucharist, and argued that it was only present in "a sort of figure and similitude."

[1] See above, Chap. III. § 14. Guitmund, the pupil of Lanfranc, and one of Berengar's most vehement opponents, accuses him, in very coarse terms, of being moved by jealousy of Lanfranc's rising fame as a teacher. *De Corp. et Sang. Christi*, ap. *Bibl. Patr.* xvii. 441; Robertson, ii. 655.

[2] Respecting the common error, by which the work of Ratramn was attributed to Joannes Scotus, see Robertson, ii. 306. Gieseler even supposes that Scotus did not write a book on the Eucharist.

[3] The circumstances are related by Lanfranc (*de Euchar.* c. 4): "Tempore S. Leonis [IX.] P. delata est *hæresis tua* ad apostolicam sedem," &c. It is supposed that Lanfranc departed for Rome in the suite of Leo IX. after the Council of Rheims; but a biographer (Milo Crispinus, *Vit. Lanfr.* c. 3) says he went to Rome on account of a clerk named Berengar, who dogmatized on the sacrament of the altar otherwise than as the Church holds. See Lessing, xii. 230 (Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 655–56).

a sign, it may be observed in passing, both of the frankness of the letter and of the unsettled state of opinion on the question.

When the letter at last reached Rome, it was read before a synod presided over by Leo IX.; and the sentence of condemnation was at once promulgated against Berengar (1050). The Pope then called on Lanfranc to clear himself of the stain brought upon him by rumour; to state his belief, and to prove it *rather by sacred authorities than by arguments*—(was this a rebuke from the simple-minded Bruno to the germs of the scholastic spirit?) "Therefore"—he says—"I rose up; what I thought, I said; what I said, I proved; what I proved pleased all, displeased none." Berengar was summoned to a synod at Vercelli, in September; where the question was raised as to the supreme jurisdiction of the Roman see. He says that, according to the ecclesiastical laws, by which no one was compelled to go for trial out of his own province, his fellow-churchmen and his friends dissuaded him; but from respect to the Pope, he applied for a safe-conduct to the King of France (Henry I.) as his ecclesiastical superior;[1] but the King—we are not told on what ground—handed Berengar over to the custody of a person who stripped him of all his property.[2] Though the Pope was informed of this, the accused was again condemned at Vercelli in his absence. Lanfranc indeed states that two clerics appeared there as his envoys, and, though wishing to defend him, "in primo statim aditu defecerunt et capti sunt." According to Berengar's comment on this somewhat obscure phrase, so far from any explanation being made to the synod of his opinions (on which indeed his own mind was not made up)[3] one of the two clerks was sent, not by him, but by the clergy of Tours to move the Pope to compassion for his state; the other was a Norman ecclesiastic, and the part they took was spontaneous. The one, on hearing a member of the Council declare Berengar a heretic, was provoked to exclaim, "Thou liest!" The

[1] That is as Abbot of St. Martin's, of which the cathedral of Tours was the conventual church. See Gieseler, ii. 400; Robertson, ii. 657.

[2] Respecting the doubtful accounts of an intended synod at Paris, to condemn Berengar and his patron Bruno, bishop of Angers, which Henry I. was persuaded to give up, and of Berengar's condemnation by a Norman synod at Brionne, in 1051, see Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 400, Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 657–8.

[3] The passage is doubly interesting as the frank utterance of an enquiring mind, confirmed in its convictions by persecution, and for that appeal which Berengar constantly made to the *Scriptures*:—"Quod sententiam meam scribis Vercellis in concessu illo expositam, dico de rei veritate et testimonio conscientiæ meæ, nullum eo tempore sententiam meam exposuisse, quod *nec mihi eo tempore tanta perspicuitate constabat*, quod *nondum tanta pro veritate eo tempore perpessus*, nondum tam *diligenti in Scripturis consideratione* sategeram."

Norman, whose name was Stephen, when he heard the book of Scotus condemned at the bidding of Lanfranc, was moved by zeal to say that any book of St. Augustine might be condemned by the like inconsiderate haste. Whereupon the Pope ordered both into custody; not, as he himself afterwards explained, with the intention of doing them any harm, but to protect them from the probable violence of the mob, —a remarkable testimony to the popular fanaticism for the mysterious doctrine, which was again displayed at the council of Poitiers, in 1075, when Berengar narrowly escaped being killed in a riot.[1]

§ 7. On the other hand, the fact that powerful friends[2] adhered to Bruno, goes far to confirm his assertion of a general sympathy with his opinions among the more intelligent. To these friends was added no less a person than HILDEBRAND, who, as papal legate, held a numerous council of bishops at Tours (1054), at which for the first time Berengar had the opportunity of making his defence. Lanfranc indeed says that, instead of defending himself, he in presence of all confessed the common faith of the Church, which he swore to hold thenceforth, as he did afterwards at Rome.[3] This Berengar indignantly denies, and appeals for the truth of his own account to Hildebrand, whom (he says) he satisfied by arguments which any one who pleases may learn (setting himself aside) from Prophet, Apostle, and Evangelist, and from the *authentic*[4] writings of Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. Hildebrand persuaded him to go to Rome, to plead his own cause with Leo; and meanwhile the assembled bishops professed themselves satisfied with Berengar's confession, which he swore to hold from the heart:—"*The bread and wine of the altar after consecration are the body and blood of Christ:*"—a formula in which the mode was left as open as before, and not a word was said of any change of substance, or even of a "presence," corporeal or spiritual.[5]

[1] *Chron. S. Maxentii* or *Malleacense*, ap. Gieseler, ii. 408.

[2] For some of these, besides Bruno, bishop of Angers, see Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 402, n. 11. We are not told how Berengar obtained his release from custody.

[3] On this Canon Robertson, who certainly shows no partiality for Berengar, observes (vol. ii. p. 659): "The enemies of Berengar state that, being unable to defend his heresy, he recanted it at Tours, and afterwards resumed the profession of it. But this is a misrepresentation, founded on their misconception of what his doctrine really was. . . . Lessing (120) shows that Orderic Vitalis is wrong in supposing Lanfranc to have been at the Council of Tours."

[4] Here is an indication that certain works of the Fathers, which were cited as authorities, were already regarded by some as spurious.

[5] Except for the words "after consecration," the formula simply embodies our Lord's words of institution (Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23–25); nor are the words "after consecration"

Very different was the confession which was dictated by Cardinal Humbert and imposed on Berengar five years later by a council at Rome, whither he seems to have gone in reliance on the support of Hildebrand,[1] who had virtually nominated Pope Nicolas II. (1059). But the violence of his opponents carried all before them; they refused to hear a word from him about "spiritual refreshment from the body of Christ;" and they were deaf to his request, that they would either listen to him with Christian mildness and fatherly attention, or, if not to him, that they would choose persons fit to search the Scriptures at leisure and with care. Berengar confesses his weakness in having yielded through fear of death, but represents his acquiescence as entirely passive. He was made to light a fire and cast his writings into it, while Cardinal Humbert wrote the confession, which he accepted but denies that he signed: "I, Berengarius, anathematize every heresy, especially that for which I have hitherto been brought into ill repute, &c. I agree with the Holy Roman Church, namely, that the bread and wine, which are placed on the altar, are after consecration not only a Sacrament, but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that sensibly (*sensualiter*), not only as a Sacrament but in reality (*veritate*), they are handled by the hands of the priests, broken and ground by the teeth of the faithful!"

§ 8. There are three types among men who have been called to suffer for what they believed to be truth: those who unite constancy to their opinions with the courage of the martyr or confessor; those who prove themselves, in the hour of trial, destitute of both; and those whom fear impels to the temporary denial of the convictions to which they are still constant in heart, like Galileo muttering as he rose from his knees: "And yet it does move." To this third class—whom the world is apt to judge more harshly for their cowardly compromise than the second for their cowardly apostacy—Berengar belonged through his whole career. He no sooner returned to Tours than he began again to teach his old opinions; to counteract which Lanfranc published the famous work,[2] in which

a real exception to the parallel, for it was "when he had blessed it" or "given thanks" that Christ said "This is my body," "This is my blood":—*in what sense*, and what was *the force of the consecration*—still remained to be decided.

[1] Whether Lanfranc himself was at the council is doubtful: it seems more probable that he was not. (See Robertson, vol. ii. p. 660.)

[2] The *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, already often cited. As above stated, the date of this work is somewhere between 1063 and 1070, the year in which Lanfranc's removal from the Abbey of Bec to the primacy of England appears to have withdrawn him from the active prosecution of the controversy with Berengar.

he gave his version of the controversy up to this time, and to which Berengar replied in the apologetic treatise, only discovered in its integrity a century ago.[1] It is significant of the open state of the question, that through the long pontificate of Alexander II. (1061–1073) no attempt was made to put down Berengar by the authority of Rome; and to the Pope's friendly remonstrances he replied that he was resolved to adhere to his opinions.

§ 9. About the time of Hildebrand's elevation to the Papacy as Gregory VII. (1073), a new disputant took the field against Berengar with still greater violence than Lanfranc. The work of this GUITMUND[2] is of special interest for his statement of the different shades of opinion among those who followed the views of Berengar. He says that, while all the Berengarians—(an admission, by the way, of their number)—agreed that *the bread and wine were not changed in substance* (*essentialiter*), they differ much in this:—that some say there is in those sacraments nothing at all of the body and blood of the Lord, but that they are only *shadows* and *figures*: while others, yielding to the right views of the Church, say that the body and blood of the Lord are contained there in truth, but in a hidden manner, and so that they may be taken,—that they are, so to speak, *impanated*:[3] and this, they say, is the more subtile opinion of Berengar himself. Others (he adds)—these not Berengarians, but very sharply opposed to Berengar, though somewhat influenced by his arguments and certain words of the Lord—used formerly to think that the bread and wine *are in part changed, and in part remain:* while others hold that the bread and wine are indeed wholly changed, but, when *the unworthy* come to communicate, the flesh and blood of the Lord return again to bread and wine.

This enumeration of various opinions throws a flood of light on the whole state of the controversy at this critical epoch before the

[1] *De Sacra Cœna, adv. Lanfrancum liber posterior.* The contents of his former work (the *liber prior*) against Lanfranc are only known through the fragments quoted by Lanfranc and other opponents of Berengar.

[2] *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*, in the form of a Dialogue; *Bibl. Patrum*, xviii. 440–468. "The date varies from 1073 and 1077. Guitmund (who was a Norman monk) had refused an English bishopric offered to him by the Conqueror. He was afterwards nominated to the archbishopric of Rouen, but his enemies objected that he was the son of a priest. He then obtained his abbot's leave to go into Italy, where Gregory made him a cardinal, and he was consecrated Archbishop of Aversa by Urban II. (Orderic. Vital. iv. 13; Anselm, *Epist.* i. 16; *Hist. Litt.* viii. 552, *seqq.*)."—Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 662–3.

[3] *Impanari*, i. e. "embodied in the bread," if we may venture at all to translate the word, formed from the analogy of *incarnari*, to express an idea of the Real Presence short of *Transubstantiation.*

definition of the Eucharistic doctrine by the Roman Church. It is a complete misapprehension to regard Berengar as a heretic rising up —whether wantonly or conscientiously—to oppose an orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church. In the older stage of the controversy the real innovator was Paschasius Radbert, whom Lanfranc and his party owned as their master. It may be difficult to determine whether the responsibility of its revival rests on Berengar or Lanfranc; but there is no doubt as to the real character of the struggle: it was an attempt for the first time to establish, in the form advocated by Paschasius and his followers, a doctrine on which the Church had not yet pronounced a decision. That doctrine seems to have now obtained the majority of adherents, especially among the Noman clergy, the monks, and the common people. But, when Lanfranc claims it to be the doctrine of the Church, Berengar protests against his "so often giving the name of *Church* to a multitude of foolish persons;" and adds: "when you say that *all* hold this faith, you speak against your conscience, which cannot but tell you—now that the question has been so freely agitated—how numerous, nay almost unnumbered, are those of every rank and dignity, who execrate your error, and that of Paschasius, the monk of Corbey, about the sacrifice of the Church."[1]

§ 10. The language of this confident appeal may be exaggerated, but it could not have been made without some strong grounds; and it seems clear that there was a powerful resistance of the more thoughtful and spiritual minds against a current swollen by popular fanaticism. The party of Lanfranc had the advantage of maintaing a definite view of actual and tangible realities, against the more subtile and vacillating attempts to clothe a mystery in language which should express the whole teaching of Scripture[2] and the Fathers. It is as needless as it would be perplexing, to trace the subtilties and inevitable inconsistencies of such a tentative process: the *spirit* of Berengar's best adherents may be seen in a letter addressed to him by his bishop, Bruno, of Angers:[3] "Leaving the turbid rivulets of disputations, we say it is necessary to draw from the very fountain of truth, which is 'The Lord Jesus, the day before He suffered, &c.'[4] That the bread, after the hal-

[1] *De Cœna*, p. 27; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 407.

[2] This is one very interesting feature of the controversy. We have seen how constantly Berengar makes his appeal to Scripture; but his friend Paulinus (*loc. sup. cit.*) remonstrates with him for "throwing the deep sense (*profunditatem*) of the Scriptures before those to whom he ought not, like pearls before swine."

[3] *Ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 408.

[4] He quotes 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c., by the sense rather than the exact words.

lowing of the consecrating priest according to these words, is the true body of Christ, and the wine in the same manner the true blood, we believe and confess. But if any one asks in what way (*qualiter*) this can take place, we answer him, not according to the order of nature, but according to the omnipotence of God. And if any one enquires of us what our Fathers or Doctors think of this matter, we send him to their books, that he may read diligently what he finds in them, and may choose for himself what he thinks agreeable to evangelic truth, with thankfulness and the desire of brotherly concord." Wide as is the scope which this reference to patristic authority leaves to the individual judgment, it is given with a qualification still more remarkable for that age:—"Moreover for our own part—not contemning the writings of the Fathers, *but yet neither reading them with the same assurance* (*securitate*) as the Gospel, we abstain from (introducing) their opinions in the discussion of so great a subject, lest we might improperly put forward the opinions of the Fathers, either depraved by any accident, or not well understood or thoroughly investigated by ourselves."

§ 11. We could scarcely need a stronger proof of the open state of the question, than that such a Pope as GREGORY VII. protected Berengar, even if he did not agree with him. In fact, his imperialist enemies charged him by implication with being a Berengarian heretic. We have seen the part taken by Hildebrand, as Legate at Tours, and how Berengar went to Rome in reliance on his friendship (1059). In 1078 he was again in Rome as the guest of Gregory VII., who took the opportunity, at an assembly of bishops on All Saints' Day, of causing Berengar to swear to a confession of the Real Presence in general terms; not without a loud dissent (*vociferatione multa*), to which the Pope replied that it sufficed to give babes milk, not solid food, that Berengar was no heretic, that he took his doctrine from the Scriptures, and not from his own fancy, and that that "son of the Church," Peter Damiani, had not agreed with the *dicta* of Lanfranc about the Sacrifice.[1] The tumult was appeased,

[1] Berengar. *ap.* Martene, *Thes. Anecdot.* xiv. 99, *seq.*; *Act. Conc. Rom* (Mansi, xix. 761); Gieseler, ii. 409. Peter Damiani, the great monastic zealot and supporter of Hildebrand, had died a year before the latter became Pope (1072). This account of Gregory's appeal to his authority is given by Berengar; but both parties claimed Damiani. His opinions, as expressed in the *Expositio Canonis Missæ* (by some disciple, probably soon after his death) come much nearer to Transubstantiation; and that word is said to occur first in this Treatise (c. 7), which was first published by Cardinal Mai, and reprinted in the *Patrologia*, cxlv. 879, *seq.* (See the passages quoted by Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 407; among them, the comparison of the daily consumption of Christ's flesh and blood to the widow of Sarepta's barrel of meal and cruse of oil: 1 Kings xvii.)

but the question was not decided. Gregory sought counsel, as was his custom, from the Blessed Mary, who revealed to a young monk (prepared by prayer and fasting) that nothing ought to be thought or held about the sacrifice of Christ, except what was contained in authentic Scriptures (or writings).[1] But the opposite party urged the Pope to detain Berengar at Rome till the Lenten Synod, which they knew their supporters would attend in force; and accordingly, at that assembly of 150 bishops and abbots, Berengar was required to sign a confession declaring in strong terms the *substantial conversion* of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. If the grounds on which he consented betray his own want of moral strength, they are equally a satire on the binding power of such defining formulæ. While his conscience found the strange subterfuge, that, "substantially" (*substantialiter*) might mean "still retaining its own substance" (*salva sua substantia*), so that the consecrated bread is the body of Christ, *not losing what it was, but assuming what it was not,*—he discovered that the authors of the formula had written against themselves in ascribing the efficacy of consecration to "the mystery of prayer" (*per mysterium orationis*). The assembly insisted on his swearing to interpret the confession thenceforth according to their sense, and not his own; but even here he found a loop-hole by replying, that he held what the Pope had stated to him a few days before; referring to the revelation from the Blessed Mary. In the end, he signed the required confession, he tells us, through fear of anathema and violence, *because God did not give him constancy;* and he was forbidden to teach in future, except to reclaim those whom he had led astray. After all this, Gregory sent him home, as an honoured guest, with his legate Fulco, bearing a commendatory letter, which declared to all the faithful in St. Peter, "that the Pope had anathematized all who should presume to do any injury to Berengar, the son of the Roman Church, or who should call him heretic." He forthwith revoked his enforced confession; and, still protected by Gregory, he spent the rest of his life in quiet retirement on the island of St. Come, near Tours, where he died in 1088. In spite of his perseverance in his opinions to the last, his character is exalted by his contemporaries, whose testimony is confirmed by the annual festival long observed at his grave at Tours. On the strength of this reverence for his memory, Romanists claimed him as a convert at last to Lanfranc's arguments; and, before the discovery of his own work, he was

[1] "Nisi quod haberent authenticæ Scripturæ;" where the word *authenticæ* suggests that the *scripturæ* are the writings of the Fathers, as well as the Holy Scriptures, which would more probably have been mentioned without the qualification.

attacked by Luther and vindicated by Bishop Cosin. "The recovery of his Treatise, and of his other writings, has placed his doctrines in a clearer light; and it is now acknowledged by writers of the Roman Church that, instead of supposing the Eucharist to be merely figurative, he acknowledged in it *a real spiritual change*, while he denied that doctrine of *a material change*, which has become distinctive of their communion."[1]

§ 12. But, besides this crisis in the development of the sacramental doctrine, the Berengarian controversy has a special interest on account of the novel intellectual weapons wielded on both sides. It is perhaps the first theological dispute in which *reason*—(we are compelled to use the word in the popular sense which mixes up the free exercise of the *faculty* with the *art of reasoning*) was opposed to that appeal to *authority* by which alone all controversies had hitherto been decided. As will be more fully seen in a subsequent chapter, we stand, in the middle of the eleventh century, on the threshold of that new intellectual age, in which the method of *dialectics* (the art of disputation according to the rules of logic) was applied to theology and religious controversy. The movement had begun in the great monastic schools; and (apart from all imputations of personal jealousy) we must recognize in Lanfranc and Berengar, not merely contending theologians, but the heads of the rival schools of Bec and Tours.[2] In the judgment of Gieseler,[3] "the first trial of the new science was in the dialectic dispute between them concerning the Lord's Supper." Berengar's bitter opponent, Guitmund, traces the origin of Berengar's views about the sacraments to resentment at his signal defeat by Lanfranc in a minor dialectic dispute, and at the growing success of the school at Bec above his own.[4] The new style of controversy was significantly hinted at, when the Council at Rome (1050) called on Lanfranc to prove his case "rather by sacred authorities than by arguments;" while Lanfranc himself charges Berengar with "leaving sacred authorities, and taking refuge in dialectics," and apologizes for the necessity of following him into that field with a proud consciousness of his own dexterity in the art.[5] Berengar replies, that he does not

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 665.

[2] The fame of Lanfranc and Bec (supported by that of Anselm) has eclipsed the intellectual reputation of Berengar, who is described as "in grammatica et philosophia clarissimus," and perhaps also in physical science, as it is added "et in *negromantia* peritissimus" (*Chron. Turon. ap.* Bouquet, xii. 461–5). Even Guitmund, in violently disparaging Berengar, has no higher praise to give Lanfranc than as a man of the greatest learning *equally* with him.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 396.

[4] Guitmund, *de Corp. et Sang. Christi*, init.

[5] *De Eucharist.* c. 7. This very interesting passage, which is too long

neglect the sacred authorities,[1] but "no one, except with blind senselessness, will deny the evident proposition, that *the use of reason in the perception of truth is incomparably superior;*" and he quotes the saying of Augustine (whose praise of the art had been confessed by Lanfranc), that "Human authority is by no means to be preferred to the reason of a purified soul, which attains to clear truth." He boldly asserts that it is a mark of the largest heart in all questions to resort to dialectics, for this is to resort to reason, to abandon which is to renounce our own honour and our daily renewal in the image of God.

§ 13. During the twelfth century, opinions more or less like those of Berengar continued to be held by a respectable, if decreasing, minority.[2] Abelard distinctly speaks of the question—"whether the bread which is seen be only a *figure* of the Lord's body, or be also the real *substance* of the Lord's very flesh"—as being yet undetermined.[3] A more spiritual view even than that of Berengar is expressed by St. Bernard,[4] who defines a sacrament as a *sacred sign* or *sacred secret*, and declares the nature of all the sacraments to be such, that "*God confers an invisible grace by some visible sign;*" and of the Eucharist he says, "To this day the same flesh is given us, but spiritually, not carnally." The more materialistic view, however, not only gained ground among the vulgar, whose faith was quickened by alleged miracles;[5] but it steadily prevailed by

for quotation here, is given in Gieseler, vol. ii. pp. 405–6; as well as some particular examples of the highly technical application of dialectic rules to the sacramental controversy by Berengar, with Lanfranc's criticisms in reply.

[1] These "sacred authorities" are evidently the Fathers, rather than the Scriptures; and so he speaks just after of "human authority."

[2] See the evidence cited by Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 313, 314; especially the statement by Alger of Liège (cir. 1130) of the different opinions then held, the sacramental *sign*, *impanation*, and various degrees of *mutation*.

[3] *Theol. Christ.* iv.

[4] Sermo i. *in Cœna Domini*, ap. Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 314. So wide is his sense of the word, that he includes under *sacraments* the washing of feet, with the reception of the Eucharist and Baptism. He illustrates what he means by a *sign* by the *ring*, which has in itself *no signification*, but is given as a sign of investment with an inheritance, so that he who receives the ring may say: "The ring *has no value*, but the inheritance which I asked for."

[5] Such are found already in the writings of Paschasius. As to these miracles, such as the apparition of the flesh of Christ in its own form—for example, that of a boy—or of bleeding flesh, or of a finger, or some other member, Alexander Hales says that the apparition, *when from the Lord*, is that of the Lord Himself; adding, "I say *from the Lord*, because *apparitions of this kind sometimes take place by human and perhaps by diabolical procuration;*" but he gives no test to distinguish the three cases. Where money wanted for a church (as at Walkenried, in 1252)

the authority of the Schoolmen, who, in the emphatic words of Dean Milman, "stripped off all the awfulness, and coldly discussed it in its naked materialism." At length the Fourth Lateran Council, under Innocent III. (1215), formally declared *Transubstantiation* to be the doctrine of the one universal Church, out of which there is no salvation: namely "that the body and blood of Christ—himself both the priest and sacrifice—are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the outward forms (*speciebus*) of bread and wine, which have their substance changed (*transubstantiatis*) into the body and blood by the power of God; and this sacrament no one can accomplish, except the priest who has been duly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ himself granted to the Apostles and their successors." But, even after this decree, room was found for controversy respecting the manner of the change and its consequences, till the doctrine was fixed in its most positive and materialistic form by the authority of Thomas Aquinas.[1]

§ 14. When the sanctity of the Sacrament was thus transferred from the truth it symbolized to its material elements, some changes naturally followed in the mode of celebration. The practice of *infant communion* was gradually discontinued, and was at length expressly forbidden by provincial Councils.[2] The reverence due more especially to the wine, as the very blood of Christ (for "the blood is the life") suggested special precautions against spilling it or other profanations;[3] such as sucking it up through a tube or

was speedily obtained by such a miracle, he would perhaps have referred it to "human procuration." See Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 315.

[1] Respecting the various questions raised, the solutions given by different schoolmen, and the last efforts of resistance, especially in the University of Paris, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 316 f., Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 603–605. It would seem impossible to push the materialistic view further than in the question whether, if an animal ate the consecrated host, it would eat the Lord's body, which Thomas Aquinas boldly decided in the affirmative, overruling the adverse opinions of Peter Lombard, Pope Innocent III., and Bonaventura. Such an accident (said Thomas) no more derogated from the dignity of Christ's body than its crucifixion by the hands of sinners.

[2] *Concil. Burdegal.* ann. 1235, and *Bajocense*, ann. 1306. An intermediate step was taken by giving children *unconsecrated* wine, to avoid profanation by spilling; but Hugo of St. Victor sensibly observed that it was better to withhold it; and Odo of Paris (after 1196) forbad his clergy to give even the unconsecrated hosts to children.—Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 318. The change added another point of dispute to the controversy between the Latin Church and the Greek, which retained the communion of children.

[3] For instance, through dipping the beard into the cup, or through the inability of sick persons to swallow the wine.

giving the bread dipped in the wine, instead of the cup. The latter practice, which originated in the communion of the sick and infants, was condemned by Urban II.[1] and Paschal II.,[2] expressly on the ground of its inconsistency with our Lord's example in the institution of the Last Supper; "for we know (says the latter Pope) that the Lord gave the bread by itself, and the wine by itself;" and the contrast with the later Roman practice is made the more striking by the sole exception which the latter Pope allows, in the case of "infants and the infirm, who cannot swallow the bread; for whom it is sufficient to communicate in the blood." In opposition to such high authority, some, like Ernulph, bishop of Rochester (1120) maintained the right of the Church to vary the mode of obeying the Lord's precept; and defended the practice, which held its ground in England, till it was forbidden by the Council of London in 1175.

The next step in superstitious reverence for the wine as the blood—the withdrawal of the cup from the laity—began in the 12th century; but only in some few churches. Though the schoolmen for the most part still maintained that the communion was imperfect, unless in both kinds,[3] Anselm had laid down the principle that *the whole Christ is taken in either kind*;[4] and Thomas Aquinas developed this view under the name of sacramental *concomitancy*. The laity were gradually accustomed to the new practice by the administration of unconsecrated wine, sometimes with a small portion of consecrated wine left at the bottom of the chalice. Even to the 16th century communion in both kinds was still practised in some monasteries.[5]

§ 15. The *elevation of the host* in the Eucharist, practised in the Eastern Church from the 7th century, was adoped in the Western during the 11th; but, in both only as a symbol of the exaltation of Christ. As a consequence of the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation by the Lateran Council (1215), the practice was converted into *adoration*, and, both at the celebration and when the host was carried through the streets, all were ordered to kneel before it.[6] The external reverence for the presence of Christ

[1] At the Council of Clermont, 1095.

[2] *Epist.* 32, to the Abbot Pontius of Clugny (1110).

[3] Alex. Hales, *Sentent.* lib. iv. qu. 53; Albertus Magnus, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 321–2.

[4] "In utraque specie totum Christum sumi."—*Epist.* lib. iv. 107.

[5] Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 324.

[6] Like the doctrine itself, this practice was supported by miracles, such as that persons who knelt in the mud in reverence to the host found that their fine clothes were not injured.—Cæsarius Heisterbach (cir. 1225), *de Miraculis et Visionibus sui temporis*, lib. ix. c. 51.

in the Eucharist culminated in the festival in honour of the Body of Christ, that is, the consecrated host (*Corpus Christi*), which began to be observed in the diocese of Liège about the middle of the 13th century, and was decreed by Pope Urban IV. in 1264, and finally established by a Bull of Clement V. in 1311.[1] The mystery which obscured the great commemorative rite of the Church tended to defeat its first object by deterring from frequent communion. "Although some councils endeavoured to enforce the older number of three communions yearly, it was found that the canon of the Lateran Council, which allowed of one yearly reception as enough for Christian communion, became the rule. Instead of personally communicating, people were taught to rely on the efficacy of masses, which were performed by the priests for money; and from this great corruptions naturally followed."[2]

[1] Respecting the story of the origin of the festival from the visions seen by Juliana, a nun of Liège, and by her communicated to the archdeacon James, afterwards Pope Urban IV., see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 325, Robertson, vol. iii. p. 607. [2] Robertson, *l. c.* vol. iii. p. 607.

Archbishop celebrating Mass "before the Table."
From an Ivory Diptych at Frankfort-on-the-Main, probably of the 9th century.

The Abbey of Clugny, in Burgundy.

BOOK IV.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS AND MENDICANT FRIARS.

CHAPTER XX.

REFORMED AND NEW MONASTIC ORDERS.

§ 1. Corruption and Decay of the old Orders—Lay Usurpations—Spread of the Monastic Spirit—Wealth and Dependents of the Monks—Lay Brethren. § 2. Spirit of Independence—Alliance, especially of the reformed orders, with the Papacy—Their privileges and exemptions—Mitred and Cardinal Abbots. § 3. *Clugny* founded by Berno—Abbots Odilo and Hugh—Spread and organization of the Cluniac Congregation—Its support of Hildebrand. § 4. Eremite Societies—Nilus in Calabria—Grotto Ferrata—Orders of *Camaldoli*, founded by Romuald, and *Vallombrosa*, by Gualbert. § 5. Opposition to monastic reform in Germany—Archbishop Hanno—The *Congregation of Hirschau*—Culture of learning and art. § 6. Stephen of Tigerno: his order of *Grammont*. § 7. The *Carthusian* order founded by Bruno—The *Grande Chartreuse* and *Charterhouse*. § 8. The order of *Fontevraud* founded by Robert of

Arbrissel, chiefly for women—Order of *Sempringham*. § 9. Robert of Champagne founds the *Cistercian* order at Cîteaux—Abbots Alberic and Stephen Harding—Rules of the order—"Daughter" societies—ST. BERNARD—General Chapters—Spread of the order. § 10. Corruption of *Cathedral Canons*—Ivo, bishop of Chartres—The *Canons Regular of St. Augustine*—Norbert, founder of the *Præmonstratensian Order*, and Archbishop of Magdeburg. § 11. Degeneracy of the New Orders—Papal exemptions, real and forged—Ambition of Abbots—Rivalry of Monks and Canons—Relaxation of discipline and morality. § 12. Contests between the Cluniacs and Cistercians—Peter the Venerable and Bernard—Lateran decree of Innocent III. against new orders (1215).

§ 1. THE forms of Ecclesiastical life, which we have been tracing, were moulded by new intellectual and spiritual forces, which, in their mingled co-operation and opposition, are among the most remarkable in the history of the human mind. The development of scholastic theology, and the rise of the Universities; the growth of monasticism, and the institution of new orders for the reformation and defence of the Church; the spiritual opposition to the corruptions of religion, and the claims of intellectual freedom, which (not without the admixture of baser elements) gave origin to sects then deemed heretical, but, in part at least, the precursors of the Reformation;—these three elements are so connected in their action on each other, as to make their separate treatment no easy task. In attempting to trace the great intellectual movement, we are brought into contact with the efforts of the mendicant orders for supremacy in the Universities, and the fact that the greatest of the schoolmen belonged to those orders; which, in their turn, are to be traced, in great measure, to the demand for new champions against abuses in the Church, and still more against the opposition which those abuses provoked. The most convenient course is, to start from the Monastic Orders.

Amidst the growing tide of corruption in the 9th and 10th centuries, the monasteries suffered both from internal decay and worldly oppression.[1] They had grown rich enough to be made the spoil of princes and nobles, who either conferred them on their chaplains and clerical parasites, or even took possession of them, and made their residence in the cloister, with a host of retainers, who consumed its revenues, or sold them to the highest bidder. An express title was devised for laymen who held such estates: they were called "Abbot-Counts."[2] But the very disorders of the times tended

[1] Peter the Venerable, of Clugny, makes the striking remark, that it was easier to found new religious societies than to reform the old. *Epist.* i. 23, in *Patrol.* clxxxix.

[2] *Abba-comites:* see Palgrave, *Hist. of the Normans*, vol. i. p 184, foll.

to preserve the vitality of the monastic spirit: the young renounced the world, in which they heard of so much evil, for a life of purity and meditation; and those who had experienced its troubles, or were remorseful for their own part in the scene, sought a haven of penitence and rest. More worldly motives were naturally mingled with the spirit of devotion. The monks took pride in their severance from the *secular* clergy (a name itself implying a somewhat invidious contrast), as an *order* of men peculiarly *religious* (*ordo* and *religiosi*). A devout pride was felt in the traditions with which most monasteries were associated, as preserving the memory of a martyr, like Saint Alban, of a saintly founder, like Benedict or Cuthbert, of a pious patron, like King Offa at Peterborough, or a devout lady, like Etheldreda at Ely; of spots once famed for heathen temples, now purged and sanctified for Christian use, or memorable for some great victory, like Battle Abbey; or the site of a signal miracle or of more sentimental traditions.[1] Supported at first by the diligent labours of the brethren, and afterwards enriched by the fortunes brought in by those who devoted their properties with their lives,[2] and by the gifts of kings and nobles from pious generosity or penitential fear, they became the centre of a community, generally remote from civil society, but sometimes forming a separate quarter of a town.[3] Besides the vassals who tilled the

The French bishops complained that Charles the Bald gave away religious houses, from various motives of weakness or policy.

[1] For example, the priory of the *deux amoureux* at Rouen.

[2] "Such persons were called *fratres oblati*. The first example occurs at Clugny, ann. 948 (Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 417). There is a letter of Leo IX. (*Epist.* 66; *Patrol.* cxliii.) to the Italian bishops, complaining that monks persuaded people to give everything to the monasteries. "The Pope orders that any person wishing to turn monk, whether in life or on his death-bed, shall give half of what he intends 'pro salute animæ' to the church to which he belongs." (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 782.) The monks not only intercepted gifts which would otherwise have been made to the secular clergy, but diverted to themselves large portions of the settled revenues of the Church, by persuading laymen who had usurped them to make restitution, not to the church which had been robbed, but to a monastery. Even tithes and other ecclesiastical dues were often accepted, in violation of the express rules of the orders, and in spite of the prohibitions of Councils, as those of Westminster (1102), the 1st Lateran (1123), and London (1125) (*ibid.*). Some persons obtained privileges of the monasteries as *fratres conscripti* or *confratres*, like Conrad I., and Giesela, wife of Conrad II., at St. Gall, and Henry II. at Clugny. Another mode of participating in the spiritual benefits of the system was by putting on the monastic habit in dangerous sickness, too often with the result celebrated in a well-known rhyme.—Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 417.

[3] The mark of religious profession by a peculiar dress was (at least in most cases) not an original distinction, but arose from the continued use of what was at first the common dress, after it had become obsolete in

conventual lands or served the monastery in various forms of traffic, the ancient rule of common labour was broken, by devolving what we now call menial offices and the management of secular business on lay brethren (*conversi*).[1]

§ 2. The spirit of independence, which was beginning to stir in the towns, had its counterpart in the monastic societies which, thus complete in themselves and their own resources, elected their own abbots; and these aspired to independence of episcopal control, by means of royal charters, and still more of papal privileges.[2] For this desire for independence coöperated with the natural disposition of devotees to carry Catholic principles to an extreme, and to exalt the unity of the Church in its chief Bishop, in making the monks the chief and constant supporters of the authority of the Pope. This was especially the case from the time of the revival of the monastic spirit in the 11th century, which gave birth to reformed and powerful orders, among which reforming and ambitious Popes, as we have seen in the history of Hildebrand[3] had their chief supporters. The monks "were strictly bound to the Papacy by ties of mutual interest, and could always reckon on the Pope as their patron in disputes with bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities. A large proportion of the papal rescripts during this time consists of privileges granted to monasteries. Many were absolutely exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops; yet such exemptions were less frequently bestowed, as the monastic communities became better able to defend themselves against oppression. . . . Among other privileges granted to monasteries were

ordinary civil society; and such, indeed, is the origin of clerical and other professional costumes in all ages. (See the lively illustrations of this fact in Dean Stanley's *Christian Institutions*.) But certain orders were distinguished by the *colours* of their hoods or whole dress, which have given them their popular names, such as *White Friars* for the Carmelites, *Grey Friars* for the Franciscans, *Black Friars* for the Dominicans.

[1] These are said to have been first allowed by Guelbert, at Vallombrosa, in order that the monks might be wholly devoted to spiritual concerns. At Hirschau (see § 5) and elsewhere they were distinguished as *fratres barbati*, the monks not being permitted to wear beards. Martene, however, carries back the institution of lay brethren to the 5th century, at Lerins.

[2] We have already seen that, amidst the prevalent ignorance and corruption of the parish priests, the ministrations of the monks were preferred by the people; their intrusion on pastoral functions was put down by the prohibition of councils, e.g. the 1st Lateran, 1123. Robertson, vol. ii. p. 783.

[3] See Chap. II. The powerful tendency of the movement for the celibacy of the clergy to advance the power of the monks had also been seen in the reforming efforts of Dunstan in the 10th century.

exemption from the payment of tithes and from the jurisdiction of legates; exemption from excommunication, except by the Pope alone, and from any interdict which might be laid on the country in which the monastery was situated; permission that the abbots should wear the episcopal ring, gloves, and sandals,[1] and should not be bound to attend any councils except those summoned by the Pope himself. The Abbots of Clugny and Vendôme were, by virtue of their office, cardinals of the Roman Church."[2]

§ 3. The reformation, instituted by Benedict of Aniane at the beginning of the 9th century,[3] had needed a renewal at the beginning of the 10th, when the reformed Benedictine Order of *Clugny* was founded, in 912, by Berno, previously Abbot of Beaume and Gigni, on the invitation of William, duke of Auvergne or Upper Aquitaine, and its strict rules were framed by his successor, Odo (927–951).[4] The close relation of the revised monastic system to Rome is seen in the fact that this Cluniac congregation (*monasterium Cluniacum*) was placed from the first under the direct authority of the Pope. Its reputation was so maintained and advanced by a succession of abbots, among whom Odilo (994–1048) has been called "the archangel of the monks,"[5] that most of the French cloisters either embraced the Cluniac rule of their own free choice, or were compelled by their princes and protectors to accept it. The organization of this great "Congregation of Clugny" was effected by the sixth abbot, Hugh, who succeeded Odilo at the age of 25, and

[1] The earliest certain case of one of the "mitred abbots" (*Abbates mitrati s. infulati*) is that of the abbot of S. Maximin at Trêves, who received the mitre from Gregory VII. Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 220.

[2] Robertson, ii. 782–4. "The monks of Monte Cassino, the 'head and mother of all monasteries,' claimed liberties even against the Papacy itself," as in a case where an abbot, Seniorectus, elected during the pontificate of Honorius II., refused to make a profession of fidelity to the Pope, and, on being asked why he should scruple to comply with a form to which all archbishops and bishops submitted, the monks replied that it had never been required of their abbots—that bishops had often fallen into heresy and schism, but Monte Cassino had always been pure. Honorius II. gave way; but when Reginald, the successor of Seniorectus, had received benediction from the Antipope Anacletus, the plea for exemption could no longer be plausibly pretended, and, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the monks, Innocent II. afterwards insisted on an oath of obedience as a condition of their reconciliation to the Roman church. See what is there added about the extensive use of forged grants in support of the pretensions of monastic bodies.

[3] See Part I. Chap. XXII. § 2.

[4] Among the most remarkable of the rules are the long periods of strict silence observed in the church, the dormitory, the refectory, and even the kitchen; so that a complete code of signals was framed for the intercourse of the brethren. (These are described in c. iv. of the rules as written out by Ulrich.)

[5] By Fulbert of Chartres; *ap.* Bouquet, x. 426.

governed the society for sixty years (1049–1109); exercising also a vast influence in the affairs of the whole Latin Church. By the middle of the 12th century, the order numbered about 2000 cloisters, chiefly in France, forming one great congregation under the Abbot of Clugny, who was elected by the monks, while he appointed the friars of the several monasteries. The legislation and oversight of all were conducted by a general chapter held every year at Clugny. It was this vast organization that gave the chief impulse to the reforms of Hildebrand, who was, himself, as we have seen, a monk of Clugny.[1] Of the disorders and discords which set in under Pontius, the unworthy successor of Hugh, we have more to say presently.

§ 4. The monastic establishments of this age were chiefly of the eremite type, which had flourished in the East from the time of St. Anthony, whose fame was, as we have seen,[2] one chief source of monasticism in the West. One famous establishment, indeed, was founded by a Greek hermit, Nilus the younger,[3] who emulated the sanctity and longevity of Anthony, whose life he had read as a boy, and, at the age of nearly ninety, came forth from his retreat in Calabria to intercede with Otho III. for the Antipope John (991).[4] After his death on the slope of the Latin Mount, his disciples founded over his grave the cloister of Grotto Ferrata, where the Greek rule of St. Basil flourished, and Greek learning was cultivated on the Papal territory.

Early in the 11th century, two famous eremite communities were founded in the recesses of the Apennines. That of *Camaldoli*[5]

[1] See Chap. I. p. 6. The rites and customs of Clugny were first committed to writing in the 11th century by the Cluniac monk Bernhard (*Ordo Cluniacensis per Bernhardum*, lib. ii., in Herrgott's *Vetus Disciplina Monasterica*, Paris, 1726, p. 133); and in 1070 by the monk Ulrich for William of Hirschau (*Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniac. Monast.* lib. iii., in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* i. 641).

[2] Part I. Chap. XII. § 18. The words *hermit* and *anchoret* are used with some distinction, in accordance with the meaning of the Greek words. The *hermit* (ἐρημιτής) went forth into the desert (ἐρημία, i.e. any uninhabited place), either alone or with chosen companions, like Basil and Gregory, or gathered them about him, like Benedict, and still held communion with men and sought to benefit them; but the *anchoret* (ἀναχωρητής, from ἀναχωρέω) retired into complete solitude. The monks who lived in larger communities were called *cœnobites* (from κοινός βίος, "common life").

[3] In contradistinction to Nilus, the pupil of Chrysostom, who founded the famous monastery on Mount Sinai in the 4th century; *ibid.* p. 306.

[4] *Ibid.* Chap. XXIII.

[5] *Campus Maldoli*, *Camaldulum*, near Arezzo. The life of Romuald was written by Peter Damiani, *Opp.* ii. 205, ed. Cajetani; Mabillon, *Act. SS. Sæc.* VI. pars i. p. 247.

owed its origin to Romuald, of the ducal house of Ravenna, who, at the age of 20, was reclaimed from a dissolute life by horror at seeing his father, Sergius, slay a kinsman in a dispute about some property. Retiring into the monastery of St. Apollinaris for a forty days' penance, he was led by visions to embrace the monastic life. After three years he left the monastery, to place himself under the tutorship of a hermit named Marinus, whose severities were imitated by Romuald on the person of his own father, to prevent his abandoning the monastic life, which Sergius also had embraced.[1] Romuald spent many years in contests with the monks in various places, who resisted his violent means of reformation. The martyrdom of his friend Bruno, in Prussia, moved his emulation to undertake a mission to Hungary; but as often as he set out, a severe sickness warned him that this was not to be his work. He had passed his 110th year when he fixed his final retreat at Camaldoli, where he built an oratory and five cells (about 1018); and here he died, at the age of 120, A.D. 1027.[2] The severity of Romuald's rules was mitigated by Rudolf, general of the Camaldolese from 1082; and he also added an establishment of cœnobites, who degenerated greatly from the original strictness. Other affiliated monasteries sprang up, though in no considerable number, and the Order has continued to the present day.

An event not unlike the conversion of Romuald led John Gualbert, a noble Florentine, to forsake the world for the Convent of St. Miniato, near Florence, in spite of his father's reproaches and threats.[3] Ten years later he declined the abbacy offered by the monks in admiration of his ascetic piety; and, after staying for some time at Camaldoli, he retired to found an eremite cloister on the like model (1039)

> "In Vallombrosa,[4] where the Etrurian shades
> High overarched, embower."—(MILTON).

"The rigour of the system was extreme; novices were obliged to undergo a year of severe probation, during which they were subjected to degrading employments, such as the keeping of swine, and daily cleaning out the pigsty with their bare hands; and Gualbert carried his hatred of luxury so far as to condemn the

[1] For the strange but amusing details given by Damiani, see Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 524, 525.

[2] From a vision of the angels on Jacob's ladder, Romuald adopted a white dress for his monks, that of the Benedictines being black.

[3] For the details, see the *Lives of Gualbert*, by Atto (general of Vallombrosa, *ob.* 1153), in Mabillon, *Acta SS.* Sæc. VI. pars ii. præf. p. xxxiv.; and by Andreas, *Patrolog.* cxlvi.; and Robertson, vol. ii. p. 526.

[4] *Vallis umbrosa*, "the shady valley," not far from Florence.

splendour of monastic buildings."[1] After reforming many monasteries, it was only in obedience to the Pope, Alexander II., that he became general of the order he had founded. He died in 1093.

§ 5. The more independent spirit, and the general social order, which prevailed in Germany, opposed a much stronger resistance to monastic reform than in France and Italy. The feelings of the monks are expressed by one of themselves, Widikund of Corvey (about 960).[2] He naively complains of the *grievous persecution* raised against the monks by certain dignitaries, who thought it better that the monasteries should contain a few distinguished by their lives (*claros vita*), than many careless ones; the result being that many, conscious of their own infirmity, put off the frock, left the monasteries, and shunned the heavy burthen of the priesthood (as if he held it better to be a bad priest or a monk than a layman of any sort). The reformers, in his judgment, appeared to have forgotten the example of the householder in the parable,[3] who forbad his servants to gather up the tares; and he adds that some imputed to the Archbishop of Mainz the corrupt motive of wishing to disgrace the venerable Abbot Hadumar, who was faithful to the King.[4] But besides the interference of bishops, several cases are on record[5] of reforming abbots being resisted by their own monks, who beat or blinded them, and plotted against their lives, even by mixing poison with the Eucharist. Other monks and canons forsook the convents, and went about spreading disorder through districts and kingdoms.[6]

Still the reformation made progress, supported by Hanno, archbishop of Cologne,[7] whose example was generally followed by the prelates on the left bank of the Rhine. The favour which the movement found with the German princes and people is attested by an old Benedictine, Lambert,[8] in the querulous tone of the anti-

[1] Andreas, 17; Atto, 40; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 527. See also the account of the impression made by Gualbert's anger and tenderness.

[2] Widikund, *de Rebus Gestis Saxon.* ii. 37; *ap.* Gieseler, ii. 415. The time referred to is about that of the organization of the Cluniac congregation by Odo.

[3] Matth. xiii. 24–33.

[4] Namely, Otho I. The then state of German politics gives colour to the accusation.

[5] See Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 415.

[6] Lambert (see next note) says that, when the reformation got footing in the convents, as many as thirty, forty, or fifty monks would leave at once rather than submit to the severer rule of life.

[7] In 1068 Hanno reformed the monastery of Siegburg, which he had founded, and others besides.—Lambertus, ad ann. 1075; *ap.* Pertz, vii. 238. Lambert had been for a long time in the monasteries of Siegburg and Saalfeld, for the purpose of learning the new discipline; and he came to a decided conclusion in favour of the old, *if faithfully carried out*, with a zeal equal to the new.

[8] Ad ann. 1071, p. 188.

reformer in every age. The popular mind, always eager for novelty and astonished at the unknown, he says, held us whom they knew by experience of no account, and supposed the reformers to be not men but angels, not flesh but spirit; and he adds that this opinion sank deeper and more firmly into the minds of the princes than of private persons. The chief fruit of this reformation was the establishment of the *Congregation of Hirschau*[1] (1069) by William, abbot of the old Benedictine monastery there, on the model of that of Clugny, the rules of which were written down for William by the Cluniac monk Ulrich.[2] At Hirschau itself he raised the number of the monks from 15 to 150, and reformed no less than 100 monasteries, besides founding new ones. He died in 1091. "The virtues of William were not limited to devotion, purity of life, and rigour of discipline; he is celebrated for his gentleness to all men, for his charity to the poor, for the largeness of his hospitality, for his cheerful and kindly behaviour, for his encouragement of arts and learning. He provided carefully for the transcription of the Bible and other useful books, and, instead of locking them up in the library of his abbey, endeavoured to circulate them by presenting copies to the members of other religious houses. The sciences included in the *Quadrivium*, especially music and mathematics, were sedulously cultivated at Hirschau, and under William the monks were distinguished for their skill in all that relates to the ornament of churches—in building, sculpture, painting, carving of wood, and working in metals."[3]

§ 6. The supremacy of Hildebrand, who was himself a Cluniac monk and relied on the monks to support his reforms, gave a fresh impulse to the formation of monastic societies. In the first year of his pontificate (1074), Gregory VII. gave his sanction and blessing to the foundation of a new society by Stephen, son of the Count of Tigerno or Thiers, in Auvergne, who had embraced the monastic

[1] *Congregatio Hirsaugiensis*, at Hirschau, in the Black Forest, where the monastery lasted 500 years; and the elm, which broke through the convent roof, still puts forth leaves every spring.

[2] See above, p. 333, note [1]. S. Wilhelmi *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*; in Herrgott's *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, Paris, 1726, pp. 375 seq. Respecting the life of William, see Bernoldi, *Chron.* ad ann. 1091, *ap.* Pertz, vii. 451; Jo. Tuthemii (*ob.* 1516) *Annales Hirsaugienses.*

[3] Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 527, 528. One of William's rules deserves especial praise, and its general adoption by the transcribers of MSS. would have earned the gratitude of critics. Over all the transcribers, amongst whom the twelve best writers worked on the Scriptures and the books of the Fathers, was set "one monk, most learned in every kind of knowledge, whose duty was to appoint to each some good work for transcription, and *to emend the faults of the more careless writers.*" (*Annal. Hirsaug.* i. 227; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 416.)

life as a boy, in emulation of the hermits of Calabria.[1] He went alone into a rocky wood near Limoges, built a hut of branches, and by the token of a ring—the only remnant of his property—devoted himself to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mother. His bed was of boards sunk in the earth, like a grave, without even straw; his prayers were so frequent and fervent, that he sometimes forgot food and sleep for days together. After a year, Stephen was joined by two companions, and soon afterwards by more, over whom he ruled as "*corrector*," humbly refusing the title of abbot; and he exempted them from much of his own ascetic discipline. "It was believed that he had the power of reading their hearts; tales are related of the miracles which he did, and of the wonderful efficacy of his prayers; and a sweet odour was perceived to proceed from his person by those who conversed with him."[2] On his death, after 59 years of this hermit life (1124), the place was claimed by a neighbouring monastery; and, directed by a voice from heaven, the brethren carried their master's remains to *Grammont* (a league distant), which place gave the order its name.[3]

Though professedly under the Benedictine system, but with a much more rigorous discipline, Stephen had declared that his only rule was that of the Christian religion; and the order had no written code till the time of his third successor, Stephen of Lisiac (1141), under whom the fraternity reached its height, and numbered about 140 "cells" (as their convents were called), subject to the prior of Grammont. The rule imposed obedience, asceticism, and the strictest poverty. The monks were to accept no payment for Divine offices; they were to possess no churches, and no lands beyonds the precincts of their monasteries; nor were they allowed to keep any cattle—"for (it is said) if ye were to possess beasts, ye would love them, and for the love which ye would bestow on beasts, so much of Divine love would be withdrawn from you,"—a striking contrast to the teaching—

> "He prayeth best that loveth best
> All things both great and small;
> For the same God that loveth us,
> He made and loveth all."

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[1] *Vita S. Stephani*, by Gerhard, 7th prior of Grammont, in the collection of Martene and Durand, vi. 1050; and *Patrolog.* cciv.; Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 65, 99; *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* Sæc. VI. præf. p. xxxiv.

[2] Gerhard, 20–31; Robertson, ii. 763.

[3] *Ordo Grandimontensis.* Stephen was canonized by Clement III. in 1189. The place of his burial, which the monks had concealed, was betrayed by the miracles wrought there; and the distraction of the convent's quiet by the resort of pilgrims only ceased when the prior threatened his deceased master, that he would throw his relics into the river if the miracles continued!—Gerhard, 55; Robertson, ii. 763–4.

Only when they had been without food for two days, might they send out brethren to beg, and then only for one day's supply. Flesh was forbidden even to the sick; though the ornaments of the church were to be sold rather than they should want needful tendance. As in the Cluniac rule, a code of signals was prescribed for the long periods during which strict silence was enjoined. The brethren were not to leave the wilderness to preach; this must be done by their life there; and its effect, so long as they preached by self-denial, is attested by their popular name of the "Good Men."[1] But they were ruined by the relaxations of their rules, sanctioned by the Popes,[2] and especially by quarrels between the monks and the lay brethren; and the order lost its independence before the end of the 13th century.

§ 7. Ten years after Gregory VII.'s commission to Stephen, the *Carthusian Order* was founded by Bruno of Cologne,[3] Chancellor of the diocese of Rheims, and rector of the cathedral school, in disgust at the worldliness and tyranny of the Archbishop Manasses, who was deposed by Gregory.[4]

Retiring, with six companions, into the mountains above Grenoble, Bruno built a monastery in a cleft of the rocks of the Grande Chartreuse, which gave its name to the order[5] (1084). Six years after, he reluctantly accepted the invitation of his former pupil,

[1] Du Cange, s. v. *Boni Homines*. Their convents were called *Bonihominiæ*. *Patrol.* eciv. 1001; Robertson, ii. 764–5.

[2] Especially by Innocent IV. 1245.

[3] Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 202; *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 491; *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* Sæc. VI. ii. præf. p. xxxvii.

[4] The legend, adopted by the Carthusian order, that Bruno's retirement was caused by the miraculous revelation of the lost state of a famous doctor of Paris, who had died with the highest reputation for piety, is acknowledged even by Catholic writers to be a fabrication, which is applied in various forms to various saints. It is fully exposed by Io. Launoy, *De Vera Causa Secessus S. Brunonis in Eremum*, Paris, 1646 (*Opp.* II. ii. 324); Gieseler, ii. 217; Robertson, ii. 765, where the story is given. Other legends of Bruno are related in the *Acta SS.* Octob. tom. iii. p. 491. The true origin of the order is related by Bruno's contemporary, Guibert, *de Vita Sua*, lib. i. c. 11 (*Opp.* ed. D'Achery, p. 467).

[5] *Ordo Carthusianus.* For a description of the site (4268 feet above the sea) see the *Handbook for France*, pp. 572, foll.). The original convent was maintained till the Revolution, when the monks were expelled and their invaluable library destroyed (1792). They were restored in 1815; and the name has become curiously familiar by the liqueur, the secret of which is preserved by the monks, an ascetic fraternity ministering to a questionable form of luxury! The memory of the order in England is preserved by the name of the *Charterhouse* in London, with its "poor brethren" and famous school (the "Greyfriars" of Thackeray), now removed to Godalming, and succeeded on its old site by the Merchant Taylors' School.

Urban II., to Rome; but, soon weary of the life in the great city, he retired to Calabria, and founded a second Carthusian convent (S. Stefano del Bosco), where he died in 1101.[1] The disciples who had followed him to Rome had meanwhile returned by his desire to the Grande Chartreuse, where the order was re-united in 1141. It was an eremite community of the austerest type; but, like the Benedictines, the monks used the time not occupied in devotion, in the study and preservation of literature. The wealth which flowed in to them, though their rules enjoined the strictest poverty, was employed on the buildings of their convents and the decoration of their churches;[2] but they still preserved themselves from personal luxury more strictly than any other order; thus they escaped the satire which was profusely lavished on monks in general, and they never needed a reformation.[3] There were also Carthusian establishments for nuns; but the discipline proved too severe for women, and only five such convents survived in the 18th century.

§ 8. On the other hand, the female sex was the special, though not exclusive, object of the *Order of Fontevraud*,[4] founded by Robert of Arbrissel (or Albresac, near Rennes, born 1047). Having studied at Paris, and become a teacher of theology, he was recalled to be vicar to the Bishop of Rennes (1086), where his labours to carry out the Hildebrandine reforms were frustrated by the canons; and, after teaching theology for some time at Angers, he at length retired to lead a hermit's life of the greatest austerity in the forest of Craon. Here he formed the disciples, who gathered about him, into a canonical society, called "the poor of Christ" (1094).

In 1096, Robert was summoned from his retreat by Urban II., who styled him the "Apostolic Preacher," to aid in preaching the First Crusade. Besides the numerous champions whom his eloquence impelled to take up the cross, many of both sexes left their homes to follow him as their teacher; and, in 1100, he founded the great cloister of Fontevraud,[5] in the rough country on the borders

[1] Bruno was canonized by Leo X. in 1513. The customs of the order were written out by the 5th prior, Guigo I., in 1128. *Patrol.* cliii. 631 *seqq.*; Mabillon, *Acta SS.* ix. 39. For the details of the Carthusian discipline, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 766–8.

[2] The Carthusian house of Certosa, near Pavia, is still described as "the most splendid monastery in the world." *Handbook of N. Italy.*

[3] Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 205. See further below, p. 366, n. [1].

[4] *Ordo Fontis Ebraldi.* Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 314; *Acta SS.* Febr. p. 593; Baldric. Dal. *Vita Roberti*, ap. Bouquet, xiv. 163.

[5] Now usually written *Fontevrault.* The ruins of the Abbey, which was suppressed at the great Revolution, are now converted into a large prison. A special interest belongs to the church, which is supposed to have been built by Fulk, 5th Count of Anjou (1125 and onward) and became the burying-place of his family, and, among them, of our Kings

of Maine and Touraine. Entrusting the monks to two of his chief disciples, Robert devoted himself especially to the oversight of his three nunneries—one for virgins and widows, another for the sick and lepers, and a third for fallen women, who were reclaimed in numbers by his preaching, and who were specially devoted to the service of the Queen of Heaven. "The rule was very strict; the female recluses were not allowed to talk, except in the chapter-house, because, it is said, Robert knew that they could not be restrained from idle talk except by an entire prohibition of speech."[1] Besides the graver scandals, which so peculiar an institution could hardly fail to provoke,[2] we find Robert charged with treating some of his female disciples with indulgence, and others with harsh severity, and with allowing his convent to be a refuge for women who had forsaken their husbands, and whom he detained in defiance of the Bishop of Angers. But the order grew in favour, and was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1106 and 1113. In prospect of his death, which took place in 1117, Robert committed the superintendence of the whole order, both monks and nuns, to a female superior, citing the example of the dying Saviour, who commended St. John to the care of Mary as his mother;[3] and the society continued to be governed by women. At the founder's death, besides the monks, Fontevraud contained 3000 nuns, and the number soon

Henry II. and Richard I., as well as of Eleanor, wife of Henry, and Isabel, wife of John, who died a nun in the Abbey. Their effigies are doubtless portraits, and still give the impression of characteristic likenesses, though they suffered much (especially those of Henry and John) in the sack of the Abbey at the Revolution.

[1] *Regula Sanctimon.*, *Patrol.* clxii. 1079; Will. of Malmesbury, 673; Robertson, ii. 770.

[2] From the letter of Godfrey, abbot of Vendôme, remonstrating with Robert as to his treatment of his female disciples (*Epist.* iv. 47; *Bibl. Patr.* xxi. 49), it appears that he had revived the dangerous practices of certain primitive Gnostics and African ascetics, of living in close relations, purely spiritual, with the express object of vanquishing temptation, with virgins who were called sisters, with the epithets, *συνεισάκτοι*, *ἀγαπητοί*, *subintroductæ*, *extraneæ;* a practice condemned by Cyprian and several synods. (See Gieseler, i. 293–4, iii. 218). Canon Robertson observes (ii. 770) that "it is not immorality but indiscretion that Godfrey imputes; he mentions the charges merely as matters of hearsay, and is known to have afterwards treated Robert with great respect."

[3] John xix. 26: an example of those perverse applications of Scripture for which the age is remarkable (especially in relation to the Blessed Virgin); for the charge to Mary "Behold thy son," is followed by that to John, "Behold thy mother:" and from that hour *that disciple took her to his own house.*" Mabillon's denial of the arrangement (*Annal.* v. 423) is effectually answered by the testimony of Abelard (*Epist.* i. 14, *Patrol.* clxxviii.), and by the fact that the order continued to be governed by women. (See Robertson, ii. 771.)

rose to between 4000 and 5000. The order spread chiefly in France, but it had also establishments in England and Spain; and some lesser orders branched off from it, such as those of Tiron and Savigny.[1]

Another order, in which communities both of nuns and monks were under female government, was that of *Sempringham* or the Gilbertines, so called from the name of their founder, a noble Englishman named Gilbert (1131 or 1148).

§ 9. Contemporaneously with Fontevraud, another Robert founded that which became the most powerful of all the new orders and rivalled the Cluniac congregation. This Robert, the son of a nobleman of Champagne, had adopted the monastic life from the age of fifteen;[2] and, after vainly seeking a house strict enough for his ideas, he became the Abbot of Molesme, in the diocese of Langres. He left that society also, in indignation at its corruption by the influx of gifts; and he returned at the earnest entreaty of the monks, only to find that their motive was but to win back the popularity and bounty lost by his departure. At length, in 1098, Robert withdrew to the solitude of Cîteaux (*Cistercium*), in the neighbourhood of Dijon, and his twenty companions became the nucleus of the far-famed *Cistercian Order*;[3] the Duke of Burgundy giving the site of the building, with land for tillage. In the following year, however, owing to the disordered state of the monastery he had left, and in obedience to Urban II., Robert returned to Molesme, where he died in 1110. The new order meanwhile flourished under his successor at Cîteaux, Alberic, who drew up its rules,[4] and still more under the stricter rule of the Englishman, Stephen Harding, one of Robert's first twenty monks, whose code, the "Charter of Love,"[5] was sanctioned by Calixtus II. in 1119. The Cistercians were to observe the rule of St. Benedict in all its strictness;[6] and

[1] Martene, *Collect. Ampliss.* vi. præf.; Robertson, vol. ii. 771.

[2] We have his Life by a monk of Molesme in the 12th century, *Patrol.* clvii.; the work of an unknown author, *Relatio qualiter incepit Ordo Cisterciensis*, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*; William of Malmesbury, 513; Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 219, 393.

[3] *Ordo Cisterciensis.* The site, like the Grande Chartreuse, is now associated with luxury, being in the finest wine district of Burgundy. Attached to the Abbey was the enclosure famed as *Clos de Vougeot*, which produces "the prince of Burgundy wines." The monks cultivated its produce to the highest perfection, never selling the wine, but giving away all that they did not consume. The estate was sold on the suppression of the monastery after the French Revolution.

[4] *Exordium Cisterc.* in *Patrology.* clvi. 9.

[5] This *Carta Caritatis* relates to the organization of the order, which in other matters was governed by the *Usus Antiquiores*, of unknown date and authorship. Both codes are printed in the *Patrologia*, clxvi.

[6] For the details, see Robertson, vol. ii. p. 772 fol.

the simplicity of their services contrasted with the splendour of the Cluniac ritual; as did their *white* dress,[1] significant of the joy which ought to be felt in the monastic life, with the black habits adopted by other orders as a sign of humility.

In three successive years (1113–15) the mother-cloister sent forth its four "earliest daughters" of *La Ferté* (*Firmitas*), *Pontigny*, *Marimond*, and—that made the most famous of all by its founder, ST. BERNARD[2]—*Clairvaux*. Unlike the monarchical government of the Cluniacs, these shared in an aristocratic constitution, uniting in the election of the Abbot of Cîteaux, and in the annual *General Chapters* of the whole order, which were imitated by other societies.

In addition to these four eldest daughters, the order increased so rapidly that, at the General Chapter in 1151, it numbered upwards of 500 monasteries, and it was resolved that no further additions should be admitted. But in the following century the number had grown to 1800, and eventually it was much greater. The Cistercians grew rich, and reforms became necessary among them;[3] but, until the rise of the Mendicant orders, they were the most popular of all the monastic societies. Towards the end of the 12th century the new and rigid Cistercian order of Fiore (on the Albula) was founded by the Abbot Joachim, famous for the visionary views of which we have to speak presently (see Chap. XXV. § 3).

§ 10. The reformation and renewal of monasteries was extended also to the system of *Cathedral Canons*, which had fallen into decay and disorder through the increase of their wealth, and the privilege they had obtained of managing their own estates uncontrolled by the bishop. They next attempted to make themselves in all respects independent of the bishop; and, dividing their common property among the individual prebends, they discontinued the canonical rules of life, except that they lived in the precincts of the cathedral (but no longer together) and ate at a common table. They became idle, haughty, and corrupt; and the saintly Ivo of Chartres[4] complains (at the end of the 11th century) that the common life had fallen into disuse in almost all churches, the charity which is willing to have all things in common had waxed cold, and there reigned the covetousness which seeks not the things of God and one's neighbour, but one's own. "At the conclusion of

[1] The white dress gave offence to other orders, as if meant to claim superior righteousness. (See Rev. xix. 8).

[2] See above, Chap. IV. § 4. The brethren of Clairvaux and its branch monasteries are sometimes distinguished by the name of *Bernardines*.

[3] On this subject, and the jealous rivalries between the Cluniacs and Cistercians, see below, § 12.

[4] *Epist.* 215, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 388.

the struggle which the Church maintained against the civil power respecting the episcopal appointments, nearly all the bishops were elected absolutely by the canons of the cathedrals, which could not fail to add fresh weight to their pretensions. They exceeded all the other clergy both in rank and in worldliness, regarding the cathedra prebend as a piece of private income, suited more especially for men of noble birth, and not unfrequently employing substitutes (called *clerici conducticii*) to discharge their sacred duties."[1]

Various efforts were made to reform these "secular canons" with but little success;[2] and in the 11th century a new order of canons was instituted on the monastic model of common life and the renunciation of individual property,[3] in fact, very nearly resembling the Benedictine order. Their name, the *Canons Regular of St. Augustine*, indicated the design of reviving that great Father's mode of life with his clergy at Hippo;[4] and their rules were compiled from his writings.[5]

Early in the 12th century, a stricter order of reformed canons attempted to unite the monastic life with the cure of souls, from which it had been kept carefully apart. The founder, Norbert, a noble of Xanten on the Lower Rhine (b. ab. 1080) and a canon of Cologne, had led the life of a gay worldly churchman at the court of Henry V., till a fall from his startled horse in a thunder-storm seemed to his excited imagination to repeat in his case the details of the conversion of St. Paul.[6] He withdrew for a time to a

[1] Hardwick, pp. 237–8.

[2] In England Dunstan's chief method of reformation was by the substitution of monks for degenerate secular canons in the cathedral chapters. In the Roman synod of 1059, Nicolas II. enjoined that canons should have a common dormitory as well as a common table, and hold their capitular revenues in common, though they were not required to give up their private property (*Epist.* 7–9; in *Patrolog.* cxliii.; Mansi, xix. 897). After the institution of the "regular canons," the "secular canons" generally abandoned all pretence of a rule; and the chapters of cathedrals were called "canons" even where they had never been under canonical rule.

[3] The earliest example appears to be that of some clergy who established themselves under such a rule in the church of St. Rufus at Avignon, A.D. 1038. (Martene, *Col. Ampl.* vi. præf. p. 7; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 774.) The extension of the system is ascribed to the influence of Ivo of Chartres; but it took root chiefly in Britain, where the Augustinian canons possessed most of the Scottish cathedrals and that of Carlisle. The other English cathedrals were nearly equally divided between the Benedictine order and secular canons. The continental cathedrals remained in the hands of secular canons, with few exceptions.—Hardwick, p. 238.

[4] See Part I. Chap. XIV. § 5, p. 339.

[5] See Nat. Alex. xiii. 340; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 774.

[6] *Vita S. Norberti*, by a Præmonstratensian, in Pertz, vol. xii.; the contemporary works of the monk Hermann, *de Miraculis S. Mariæ*

monastery, whence he came forth to fulfil his mission as a preacher and reformer (1115). The sincerity of his purpose led the Archbishop of Cologne to ordain him as deacon and priest on the same day (he was as yet only an archdeacon); but his zealous preaching, clad only in a sheep-skin girt round him with a cord, brought on him from the worldly clergy charges of turbulence and eccentricity; and, as a prophet rejected in his own country, he resigned his benefices, sold all his property, giving the price to the poor, and went forth with two brethren on his apostolic mission (1118). He obtained a licence to preach where he pleased from Gelasius II., whom he met in Provence; and, refusing the Pope's invitation to stay with him, Norbert made his way through the length of France by rough roads amidst the cold and storms of winter.[1] At Cambray, the very see he had refused, he fell dangerously ill, and his companions died; but their place was supplied by a devoted friend, Hugh, the bishop's chaplain. After a first repulse, owing to their mean appearance, in seeking an audience of Calixtus II., who was holding the Council of Rheims (1119),[2] they obtained his renewed licence to preach, through the Bishop of Laon, who invited them to stay with him and reform the canons. This proved a hopeless task; and Norbert, consenting to remain within the diocese, sought, with the bishop's guidance, for a suitable spot at which to found a new society, as the nucleus of an order of regular canons. At length, passing the night in a little chapel in the secluded valley of *Prémontré*,[3] in the forest of Coucy, Norbert had a vision

Laudunensis and *de Restauratione S. Martini*, in *Patrolog.* clvi. clxxx.; the *Bibliotheca Præmonstratensis*, ed. Io. le Paige, Paris, 1633; the *Ordinis Præm. Annales*, ascribed to Hugh, the companion of Norbert, Nancy, 1734; A. Tenekhoff, *de S. Norb.* Madgeburg, 1855. Norbert's religious feeling is said to have been first awakened when he accompanied Henry V. to Rome, by the indignities inflicted on Pope Paschal II. (1111) (see above, Chap. III. § 7, p. 30); and he had refused the bishopric of Cambray from conscientious scruples about investiture.

[1] Among the miracles with which his life is garnished, his German being unintelligible to the people, Norbert prayed for the gift of tongues, and found himself able to preach in French. Afterwards, in his retreat at Prémontré, he repeated the conflicts of Anthony and Benedict with the devil, who once rushed upon him in the form of a bear, but was forced to vanish; and he obliged the wolves to act as sheep-dogs.—*Vita Poster. ap.* Pertz, xii. 692; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 777. [2] See above, p. 32.

[3] In Latin *Præmonstratum*, which signifies "foreshown," from Norbert's vision of the Virgin, as some suppose; "but it would seem that the name was before given to some place in the immediate neighbourhood, if not to the very site of Norbert's monastery. The original site was soon after exchanged for one on an adjoining hill, which had been bestowed by a hermit named Guy on St. Bernard, and by him was given up to the Præmonstratensians."—Robertson, ii. 776; and the authorities there cited.

of the Blessed Virgin, who showed him a white woollen garment as a pattern of the dress of the *Præmonstratensian Order*, which Norbert founded on the spot, at first with thirteen companions (Easter, 1120). Their number quickly grew; the cloister obtained favour and support; other convents on the same model were founded by Norbert in France and Germany; and the discipline and possessions of the order were confirmed by Honorius II. (1126).[1]

In the same year Norbert left his retreat to be present at the marriage of Theobald, count of Champagne, whom he had advised to do God's will in the world, rather than gratify his desire to join the new society, of which he was a liberal patron.[2] On arriving at Spires, where the Emperor Lothair III. held his court, Norbert happened to enter the church where the two papal legates were in consultation with some deputies from Magdeburg about the choice of an archbishop, and he was at once hailed as the fit person. Yielding to the urgency of the Emperor as well as the legates, Norbert was received at Magdeburg with the pomp due to his office; but on reaching the gate of his palace, last in the procession, barefooted and in his mean monastic dress, the doorkeeper took him for a beggar, thereby—as Norbert told the man dismayed at his mistake—judging better of his unfitness than those who had forced him to accept the see. He used his new dignity to establish an example of his reformed order, in spite of strong opposition, replacing the dissolute canons of St. Mary by a college of Præmonstratensians. In 1131, revisiting Prémontré, in company with Innocent II., he found it flourishing under his old comrade and successor Hugh, with about five hundred brethren. Norbert died in 1134, and was canonized by Gregory XIII. in 1582.

"In the rule of the Præmonstratensians, the rigid life of monks was combined with the practical duties of the clerical office. The Cistercian system of annual chapters was adopted, and the Abbot of Prémontré was elected by those of seven other houses, of which three were permanently fixed, while the others were variable. The order was not allowed to possess tolls, taxes, or serfs; and the members were especially forbidden to keep any animals of the more curious kinds, such as deer, bears, monkeys, peacocks, swans, or hawks. . . . The Præmonstratensians spread widely—even in the the founder's lifetime they had houses in Syria and Palestine—and

[1] Norbert's reputation had been enhanced by his success in reclaiming the followers of the fanatical heretic, Tanchelm, in 1126. (See below, Chap. XXXIV. § 7.)

[2] Count Theobald was also a great friend of Bernard. His liberality to convents is celebrated, among other high virtues, by Robert of Auxerre (*Chron. ap.* Bouquet, xii. 291; quoted in Robertson, ii. 777).

they long kept up their severity; but in the course of years their discipline was impaired by wealth, and the order has become extinct even in some countries of the Roman communion where it was once established."[1]

§ 11. In the natural tendency of all human things to degradation and decay, not only does every reformation soon need to be reformed, but each new reform contains new germs of corruption; and the new orders, which sprang chiefly from a desire to reform the old, soon became subject to this law. Their very multiplication and popularity,[2] caused the rapid development of monasticism to assume a more and more worldly and ambitious form. The zeal with which the movement was patronized by Gregory VII. and his successors invited a jealous rivalry among the monasteries for the papal privileges and exemptions, which sometimes even professed to make them independent of all authority, secular as well as ecclesiastical.[3] When such bulls and letters were not obtained, they were unscrupulously forged so generally that, as Peter of Blois declared to Alexander III., "forgery prevailed in almost every exemption of monasteries," and monks on their death-beds confessed to the wholesale fabrication of such documents.[4] "The abbots aimed at entire independence of the episcopal authority, even attempting, like the lawless barons of the time, to present clerks to parish churches without submitting them to the bishop of the diocese for institution.[5] They affected the use of

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 777–8. Of the great military orders, and some new ones of less importance, we have to speak in the next Chapter.

[2] As an example of this rapid increase, in England, where there had not been above 100 monasteries before the Conquest, upwards of 300 were founded under Henry I. and his two successors.

[3] Thus Urban II., *Epist.* 10, *ad abbatem Cavensem*: "Cavense cœnobium . . . . ab omni tam sæcularis quam ecclesiasticæ personæ jugo liberum esse omnino decernimus." For the whole passage, and the various privileges granted to the monastery, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 213, 220.

[4] Peter Bles. *Epist.* 68: the letter is written in the name of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury: see other cases in Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 221, and Robertson, vol. ii. p. 784. Among the forgeries confessed to by the dying monk Guerno, of St. Medard's at Soissons (about 1130) was that of apostolical privileges for the monastery of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, whose contests with the monks of Christchurch (Canterbury Cathedral), and those of both with the archbishops, as well as of other monasteries with their bishops, furnish striking examples of the working of monastic ambition. See Canon Perry's *Student's English Church History*, part i.

[5] See the examples and complaints in Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 222. At the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) Innocent III. pronounced against the grave excesses of certain abbots in usurping episcopal functions, taking cognizance of matrimonial causes, enjoining public penances, granting even letters of indulgence, and similar acts of presumption, which led many to contemn the authority of the bishops.

episcopal ornaments, and the episcopal right of bestowing benedictions."[1]

While the abbots thus aimed to become equal with and independent of the bishops, the monks had a similar rivalry with the canons, both secular and regular; contending with both for the possession of the cathedrals, and with the latter respecting the superiority of their respective modes of life and the exercise of clerical functions. While the monks claimed the favour of the people as being holier and more devoted to sacred duties, the canons tried to keep the monks to their convents, and denied their right to preach. In the warm controversy between the orders, Abelard took the side of the monks.[2]

The occupation of all parties with these ambitious aims and controversies, and the increasing freedom of the monasteries from episcopal oversight, could not but tend to the relaxation of discipline; and, while abbots and monks strove with bishops and canons for rank and power, they often vied with them in pride, worldliness, luxury, and grosser vices.[3] Peter of Blois[4] testifies that the monasteries most distinguished for holiness were those which either had never desired the privileges in question, or had voluntarily resigned them. Bernard is vehement in his complaints of the injury done to monastic piety and purity by the system, which (he says) only made the bishops more insolent and the monks more dissolute;[5] and he wished that he might sit in the Pope's seat for three years, chiefly to effect these three reforms—the first, to recal bishops to subjection and obedience to their Metropolitans and the exempted abbots to their bishops; the second, that no ecclesiastic should hold two preferments; the third, that no monk

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 247–8. "Samson of St. Edmund's Bury was the first English abbot who obtained the privilege of giving the solemn episcopal blessing, wherever he might be, A.D. 1187. (Jocelin de Brakelonda, 41.)" The student should read Mr. Carlyle's picture of the monastic life at Bury under Abbot Samson, but not forgetting the colouring which the writer imparts to it. For the strong language of Bernard (himself an abbot) against the ambition and usurpations of the abbots, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 222–3.

[2] Abelard, *Epist.* 12, in *Patrolog.* clxxviii. For the other champions on both sides, see Robertson, vol. iii. p. 255.

[3] "Opportunities for wanton living were especially given when there were convents for both sexes under one roof or close beside each other, or when in an establishment for monks *sorores conversæ* or *reclusæ* were to be found. (Raumer, vi. 426; Hurter, iii. 527.)" Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 224, who cites satires, such as the *Speculum Stultorum* and *Land of Cockaygne.*

[4] *Epist.* 68, *ad Alex. III.*

[5] See the Extracts from his tract *de Moribus et officio Episcoporum*, and his *de Consideratione ad Eugenium Papam* in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223.

should live out of his convent. "Godfrey of Vigeois describes the monks of his day as spurious heirs of the older cœnobites; as lax in their diet, devoted to the vanities of fashion, and otherwise unfaithful to the true idea of their profession.[1] Wibald of Stablo speaks of some monastic societies as careless of their rule, and engrossed by talk of 'canons, decrees, appeals, councils, rights, laws, condemnations,' and the like; as devoted to bodily indulgences and temporal good things, and impatient of all control from their superiors."[2] Some of the houses are called "temples of voluptuousness, the haunts of owls and hedgehogs, sirens and satyrs;"[3] and John of Salisbury strongly denounces the practices of hypocritical monks, who pretended to an extreme severity of life, in order to cloak their ambition, avarice, and malignity."[4]

§ 12. The degeneracy which soon infected the new orders, and the jealous rivalries which arose from the claims of some of them to superior sanctity, are especially illustrated by the contests between the Cluniacs and Cistercians. The former order had fallen into the general corruption under the licentious Abbot Pontius, who succeeded the famous Hugh in 1109; but, on his death in 1125, the society again chose a worthy head, in the person of Peter Maurice, surnamed "the Venerable."[5] Meanwhile the disorders of the Cluniac congregation had been laid hold of by the Cistercians to vaunt the superior purity of their order in a self-righteous and uncharitable spirit.[6] It was in the form of a rebuke to these detractors that Bernard (who had founded the new Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux ten years before) addressed to the Cluniac abbot William of St. Thierry[7] an apologetic letter, in which, while declaring his high esteem for the society, he faithfully exposes the abuses which (he says) "appear to exist *in the order*, though God forbid they should *belong to the order*." He wonders whence they could have become infected with excess in eating and drinking, in clothing and luxurious couches, in the pomp and trappings of their horses and retinue, so that the abbots appeared to passers-by like the lords of castles rather than fathers of monasteries; as if the

[1] Bouq. xii. 450. [2] *Epist.* 105; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 255.
[3] Walter of Albano, *Epist.* 5, *ibid.* [4] *Policrat.* vii. 21; *ibid.*
[5] See above, Chap. IV. § 4.
[6] Thus Bernard reproaches his Cistercian brethren with forgetting the parable of the Pharisee and publican, presuming on their own righteousness and despising others. (*Apologia*, c. 5.)
[7] *Apologia ad Gulielmum S. Theodorici Abbatem* (written about 1125), in *Patrolog.* clxxxii. See the extracts in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 227 fol.; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 243.

more display they made, the greater was their religion. "Frugality is accounted avarice, sobriety austerity, silence sadness; while, on the other hand, laxity is called discretion, prodigality liberality, loquacity affability, grinning laughter pleasantness, soft robes and equestrian pomp decency, luxury in bedding cleanliness or neatness." He goes on to censure the grandeur and ornaments of the Cistercian churches in terms which show how old is the "ritualistic" controversy. The immense height, the immoderate length, the needless breadth,[1] the sumptuous polished marbles, the curious paintings, while all tending to attract the eye and hinder the prayers of the worshippers, seemed to represent the ancient ritual of the Jews. But, let all this pass, as done to the honour of God, what, he asks, in the language of the Roman satirist, "Dicite, Pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?"[2]—not without a sarcastic doubt whether he can truly substitute *pauperes* for *pontifices*—"what has gold to do in the sanctuary?" Nor does he refrain from asking plainly, whether all this does not spring, not from the spirit of sacrifice, but from "covetousness, which is idolatry." And to the question—how?—he answers:—"By such kind of art money is scattered, that it may be multiplied. By the very sight of sumptuous vanities, displayed for admiration, men are incited rather to offering than to prayer. By relics covered with gold the eyes are feasted, that the purses may be opened. . . . What, think ye, is sought in all this? the contrition of penitents, or the admiration of beholders. Oh! vanity of vanities! and not more vain than insane." Nor is he less severe on the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, which was the privilege of all the Cluniac monasteries.

Peter the Venerable, the new and devoted Abbot of Clugny, defends his order in his letters to Bernard, who was his intimate friend, not so much in reply to the remonstrances of the latter, as against the attacks of the Cistercians.[3] As he puts the case, it is the old contest between Christian charity and Pharisaic self-righteousness. While complaining of the popular preference for the younger order, Peter claims the respect due to the Cluniacs of his day as the restorers of the ancient discipline. His reply on the freedom from episcopal oversight is equally bold and

[1] He would seem to have chosen the epithet "*supervacuas* latitudines" as implying (according to its original sense) *empty* aisles, useless for the worship of a congregation.

[2] Persius, *Sat.* ii. 69.

[3] Petri Ven. *Epist.* i. 28, iv. 17, among Bernard's works as *Epist.* 228. 229; also *Epist.* vi. 4, *ad Bernard.* and *Epist.* 15, *ad Priores Ord. Cluniac*, On this friendly controversy, see Maitland's *Dark Ages*, pp. 423 foll.

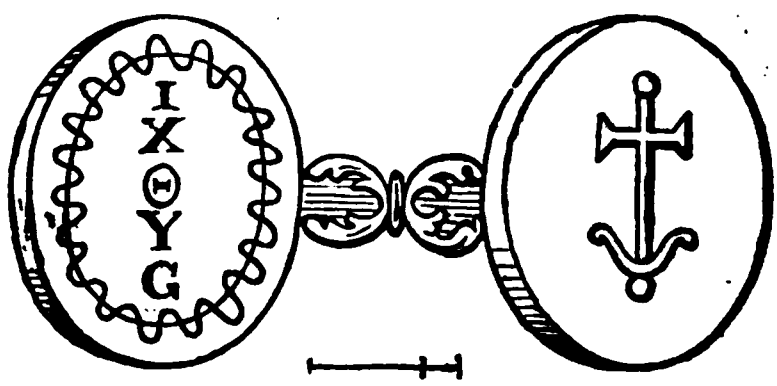
suggestive of the growing devotion of the monks to the Papacy: while free, he says, to use the ministration of the bishops they might choose, the Cluniacs were subject only to the truest and holiest of all bishops, the Bishop of Rome. He urges a spirit of harmony and love; but the rivalry between the orders was not to be appeased by the love, or even the authority, of a Bernard and a Peter, and it continued after their death.[1] Meanwhile, the Cistercians were not long in yielding to the growing corruption which befel all the monastic orders; and we find them, point by point, incurring the very same censures which Bernard had brought against the Cluniacs, till, at the end of the 13th century, Walter Map speaks of the Cistercians with especial abhorrence, and ridicules their pretensions to superior holiness and mortification.[2]

Even apart from positive corruptions, the very multiplication of new orders—with their various rules, forms of worship, and discipline and dress, as if each were "a law to itself"—was so great a cause of scandal and doubt about the virtue of the whole system, that at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) Innocent III. strictly forbad the foundation of new orders, and decreed that any one who wished to devote himself to a "religious" profession should take one of those already approved.[3] But even a Pope who claimed Divine authority on earth might "propose" without being able to "dispose;" and scarcely had the decree been issued when the zeal of a lowly enthusiast prevailed on Innocent to sanction the latest and mightiest development of monasticism in the two great orders of Mendicant Friars.[4]

[1] Among the curious literary monuments of the dispute are the work of a German Cistercian against the Cluniacs (written between 1153 and 1173), entitled *Dialogus inter Cluniac. Monachum et Cisterc. de diversis utriusque Ordinis observandis* (in Martene, *Thesaur.* v. 1569), and the metrical dialogue *De Clarevallensibus et Cluniacensibus*, attributed to Walter Mapes (ed. Wright, pp. 237–242).

[2] *De Nugis Curialium*, 32, 52, &c. (Robertson, iii. 247.)

[3] *Conc. Lat.* iv. c. 13. [4] See below, Chaps. XXII. and XXIII.



IXΘYC and Anchor. (A gem from Martigny.)

The Temple, Paris.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MILITARY AND MINOR MONASTIC ORDERS.

§ 1. Orders for the relief of sickness and suffering—The *Hospitallers of St. Anthony* at Vienne—*Hospitals of the Holy Ghost.* § 2. The *Hospital Brethren of St. John* at Jerusalem—Raymond du Puy, first Grand Master. § 3. The order becomes military—Rivalry with the Templars—History of the *Knights of St. John.* § 4. Origin of the *Knights Templars*—Their various titles—Hugh des Payens, first Grand Master. § 5. Bernard's zeal for the Order—He draws up their Statutes—Their classes, general chapters, revenues, preceptories—The "Temple" in Paris and in London. § 6. Papal Patronage and Exemptions—Independence and turbulence of both orders. § 7. Causes of their degeneracy—Testimony of St. Bernard—Their peculiar character and position in

the East—Subjection to Oriental influences. § 8. Reason for the different fate of the two orders—Power of the Templars in Europe —Destruction of the Order. § 9. Similar origin of the *Teutonic Knights*—Henry of Walpot and Hermann of Salza — Conversion of Prussia. § 10. The Cistercian Military Orders of *Calatrava*, *Alcantara*, *Evora* or Avis—Knights of *St. James of the Sword*—Military Orders against Heretics: *Milizia Gaudente*. § 11. The *Carmelites* founded by Berthold—Removal to and wide diffusion in Europe—The Virgin's scapulary. § 12. The *Trinitarians* or *Mathurins* — The *Humiliati*. § 13. Continued Degeneracy during the 14th and 15th centuries—The old orders left behind by the times. § 14. Attempts at monastic reformation — Constance — Basle — Reform of Canons in Germany — Windesheim, &c.—Nicolas of Cusa. § 15. New Congregations.

§ 1. THE tendency to monastic organization was impressed on those societies for the relief of sickness and suffering, which Christianity claims as peculiarly her own, superimposing on the word *hospital* a sense unknown to its Latin original.[1] In 1095, an epidemic in France of the disease called St. Anthony's fire (erysipelas) led Gaston, a rich nobleman of Dauphiné, whose son was one of the sufferers, to found the order of the *Hospitallers of St. Anthony*[2] at Vienne, for the care of the sick; the members being at first lay brothers, but afterwards regular canons of St. Augustine. The example was followed about a century later (1178) by Guido's foundation of the *Brethren of the Hospital* at Montpellier, who received from Innocent III. a house at Rome[3] (1204), which became the headquarters of numerous *Hospitals of the Holy Ghost* in various cities.

§ 2. Such also was originally the humble and humane object of that one of the great orders of monastic chivalry produced by the Crusades, which has survived to our own day. As early as 1048, certain citizens of Amalfi, who traded to Palestine, established at Jerusalem a monastery, with hospitals for sick and destitute pilgrims of both sexes, an institution which must have been much needed. To the hospital for men was attached a chapel, first dedicated, very appropriately, to the Eastern saint, John the Almsgiver (the patriarch of

[1] From *hospes*, signifying equally "host" or "guest" (originally a "stranger," and akin to *hostis*, "enemy"), came *hospitium*, any place for the reception of strangers, travellers, or guests (especially an "inn," French *hospice*); also the adjective *hospitalis*, relating to a *hospes*, and substantively "a guest"; in the neuter, *hospitale*, "a place for a guest or stranger;" in classical Latin, pl. *hospitalia*, "apartments for guests."

[2] *Hospitalarii S. Antonii Abbatis. Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. tom. ii. p. 160; Kapp, *de Fratribus S. Antonii*, Lips. 1737, 4to.

[3] The *Hospitale S. Spiritus in Saxia* (Petri Saulnier, *Diss. de Capite S. Ordinis S. Spiritus*, Lyd. Bat. 1694; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 219).

Alexandria who relieved the Christian refugees from the capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes, in 627), but afterwards to John the Baptist. After the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade (1099), the brothers who served in this work of charity, became a separate order, independent of the old monastery, by the name of the *Hospital Brethren of St. John*, under a monastic rule, which was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1113. The fame of their piety and charity spread through European and Asiatic Christendom, and besides the rich gifts bestowed on them by kings and nobles, they were joined by many knights and pilgrims, who had gone out as Crusaders. One of these knights, Raymond du Puy, became master of the hospital in 1118, and drew up a rule which was also sanctioned by Pope Paschal (1120).[1] "The Hospitallers were to profess poverty, obedience, and strict chastity; they were to beg for the poor, and whenever they went abroad for this or any other purpose, they were not to go singly, but with companions assigned by the master. No one was to possess any money without the master's leave, and, when travelling, they were to carry a light with them, which was to be kept burning throughout the night."[2]

§ 3. The statutes of Raymond say nothing of that military character which circumstances impressed on the order from the very epoch of his mastership. For in that same year (1118) the foundation of the Order of the Temple roused the chivalric spirit among the Hospitallers to emulation in the defence of the Holy Sepulchre. Their great wealth enabled Raymond to offer to Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, the gratuitous services of the knightly members, who soon achieved signal deeds of valour against the infidels. Henceforth the Hospitallers were divided into three classes.—knights, clergy, and serving brethren—the last consisting of persons who were not of noble birth; and both these and the knights were still bound to perform the original purposes of the order when not engaged in war. This new organization was confirmed by Innocent II. in 1130. Henceforth they became the jealous rivals of the Templars, not only in martial prowess, but in the arrogance engendered by fame and wealth. In strange contrast with their humble origin and charitable functions, they defied all authority, insulted the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and claimed immunity from ecclesiastical dues. The quarrels of the two great military orders with each other, as well as with all other powers in Church and State, were a scandal to Christendom, and a source of ruin to their common cause in the Holy Land; while, in the West, they were in constant collision with the bishops and

[1] Will. Tyr. *Patrolog.* cci.; Dugdale, *Monast.* vi. 793–4; Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte.*

[2] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 779.

clergy through their claims to exemptions and privileges,[1] such as keeping their churches open in times of interdict, and giving the sacrament to excommunicated persons. The redeeming point in both orders was the courage and constancy with which they fought out the losing war in the Holy Land; and they signalized their valour in the final defence of Acre (1290–91). On the loss of that last spot of Christian ground in Palestine, both orders found a refuge in Cyprus, under King John; but in 1309 the Hospitallers took Rhodes, and held it against a great siege by the Saracens in the following year. On the suppression of the Templars, in 1312, a large part of their property was conferred on the Hospitallers.[2] Their eastern branch held Rhodes till its capture by the Sultan Soliman in 1522, when they retired, first to Crete, and afterwards to Sicily. Adrian VI. gave them Viterbo for the headquarters of the order, which was transferred to Malta by the grant of Charles V. in 1533.[3] They defended the island against determined attacks by the Turks in 1551 and 1565; but it was taken from them by Bonaparte on his expedition to Egypt (1798), when it was found to be stored with abundant munitions of war and a great treasure. Since the death of the last Grand Master (1805), the order has been governed by a lieutenant and College at Rome. Its knighthood is now chiefly a nominal dignity; but the order has shown itself mindful of its original purpose by relief rendered to the sick and wounded in recent European wars.[4]

§ 4. The rival order had a much briefer, but far more brilliant career, which, brought to a climax by their tragic fate, has made the name of the *Templars* one of the most fascinating in medieval

[1] These abuses were denounced by the Third Lateran Council (1179); and in the same year Alexander III. had to compose a great quarrel between the Templars and Hospitallers.

[2] Especially in England by the statute 17 Edw. II. st. iii., *de Terris Templariorum*. Among these was the "*Temple*" in London (see below, § 5). The chief priory of the Hospitallers in London was in Clerkenwell, where its gateway still stands, with the name *St. John's Gate*, famous afterwards for its association with Dr. Johnson and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. (The priory was sold on the suppression of the order in England in 1540.) The gate has been repurchased for the English League of the order (1874).

[3] From their chief homes after quitting Palestine, the order is often styled the *Knights of Rhodes* and *Knights of Malta*. The Peace of Amiens (1802) provided for the restoration of the island to the Knights; but, through distrust of Bonaparte's designs, it had not been surrendered when the war was renewed, and its possession was confirmed to England by the treaties of 1815.

[4] Of course the order must not be confounded with charitable societies, which, formed for purposes like its original object, have adopted its name, or similar titles.

history.[1] Like the Hospitallers, the order originated in the humble and charitable service of the pilgrims; but, unlike the other, that service was military from the first. It was (as already stated) in 1118, that nine French knights formed themselves into a society for the protection of the pilgrims who were harassed by the Saracens on the way from Jerusalem to the Jordan. Presenting themselves before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, they took at his hands a vow to defend the highways, to fight for the faith against unbelievers, and to live under the monastic obligations with a discipline adopted from the Canons of St. Augustine. These soldier-monks[2] took the name of *Brethren of the Warfare of the Temple*, *Soldiers-* or *Knights-Templars*, or, by their fuller title, *Poor Fellow-soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon*,[3] from the home granted to them by King Baldwin II. in the royal palace, on the supposed site of the Jewish temple. The chief of the nine, Hugh des Payens (Hugo de Paganis) was the first Grand Master (*magister militiæ*). Their original poverty and humility is said to have been such, that the Grand Master and his comrade, Godfrey of St. Omer, had but one charger between them, in memory of which the seal of the order displays two knights seated on one horse.[4]

[1] Another reference to the wonderful pictures drawn by Sir Walter Scott is justified by the solid basis of *knowledge*, the fruit of his omnivorous reading, on which his creative genius worked. But it is necessary to remember that, while the *whole impression* of the times and characters presented to us can be almost completely trusted, he used—avowedly and most properly for the purpose of his art—the full licence of a romance-writer in the selection and arrangement of the facts. Thus, while his Grand Master is the true type of the founders of the order, and Sir Brian de Bois Guilbert the ideal of the fully-developed Templar, the latter character belongs to a somewhat later age than the end of the 12th century. The worst vices of the Templars were not full blown, when, as Milman well says (vii. 187), "Richard I. bequeathed, not his avarice or his lust, but his *pride*, to the Knights of the Temple."

[2] It is an error to suppose (as the reader of *Ivanhoe* would infer) that the Knights were all priests; but the order attracted so many priests as to have within itself all the means of divine service, independent of other clergy.

[3] *Fratres Militiæ Templi; Milites* or *Equites Templarii;* or, in the title of their rules, *Regula pauperum Commilitonum Christi Templique Salomoniaci.* William of Tyre, xii. 7; Jaen de Vitriaco, *Hist. Hierosol.* c. 65; P. du Puy, *Histoire des Templiers*, Paris, 1650, Brussels, 1751; D'Estival, *Hist. critique et apologétique des Chevaliers du Temple*, Par. 1789; W. F. Wilcke, *Gesch. des Tempelordens*, Leipz. 1820; Wilcken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge;* Addison, *Hist. of the Knights Templars*, Lond. 1841; and other authorities cited by Gieseler, iii. 268, and Robertson, ii. 780.

[4] The device is perhaps better interpreted as a symbol of brotherly union; especially as, being knights, they must have possessed horses. The statutes of the order limited each knight to *three horses*, "the poverty of God's house for the time not allowing of a greater number" (*Cap.* 30);

§ 5. A few years after the foundation of the order (1127) Hugh des Payens and some of the brethren visited Europe, where their cause was warmly espoused by the eloquence of Bernard, who was a nephew of one of the knights.[1] His own zeal for the enterprize, and the spirit which he evoked on its behalf, may be judged from a sermon which he preached at a later period before the Templars:—"The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain. The Christian glories in the death of the Pagan, because Christ is glorified; by his own death both he himself and Christ are still more glorified."[2] Hugh des Payens and his brethren received the formal sanction of a council at Troyes, presided over by the Pope's legate (Jan. 13, 1128); and at the same time a code of statutes was given to the order, drawn up by Bernard or under his direction. The original is lost; but the substance is contained in the 72 chapters forming the Rule of the Order.[3] It inculcated regularity in devotion, self-denial and modesty, with a strict discipline and mutual oversight, in obedience to the Grand Master. Without his knowledge they were to receive no letters, even from their nearest relations, and they were to read all letters in his presence. They were to have no locked trunks, and never to walk alone. They were to receive no presents, except by leave of the Grand Master, and those made to any knight might be transferred at his pleasure to another; but they might hold individual property. Their purity was to be so guarded, that they must shun the kisses even of their mothers and sisters; married brethren, however, were admitted to the order, on condition of making it their heir; but they were not allowed to wear its *white dress*, to which Pope Eugenius III. added the *red cross* on the breast. They were not allowed, like other knights, to vary their military and they were not to indulge the natural pride of knights in splendid or expensive trappings.

[1] Bernard's chief eulogies of the enterprize are contained in his *Tractatus de Nova Militia*, his *Exhortatio ad Milites Templi*, and his later letters (e.g. *Epist.* 173, 392); but, as early as 1125, he writes in praise of the entrance of Count Hugo of Champagne into the order (*Epist.* 31).

[2] Milman, vol. iv. p. 394.

[3] See the title above, p. 355, note [3]. First edited by A. Miræus, in *Chron. Cisterc.* Colon. 1614; Lucæ Holstenii *Codex Regularum;* Mansi, xxi. 359; and often reprinted. The Code cannot have assumed its present form till 1172. Afterwards the order imposed on itself at its general chapters special rules, intended in the first place for the officers of the order, and only partially made known to the rest of the knights, so far as was necessary for each in his own sphere. A collection of these, made between 1247 and 1266, was first published in a translation in Fr. Münter's *Statutenbuch* of the order, Berlin, 1794, and afterwards in the original, in the *Règle et Statuts secrets des Templiers, publiées par* C. H. Maillard de Chambure, Paris, 1840. Gieseler, iii. 269.

service with the amusements of hawking and hunting, nor even to accompany a person so engaged, except for the purpose of defending him from infidel treachery. The one object of their warfare was set before them by the injunction "always to smite the lion,"[1] that is, Satan, in the persons of the enemies of the faith; and their banner, called *Beauseant*, was white on one side and black on the other, to signify that they were fair and helpful to Christians, but dark and terrible to the infidels, while all the pride of martial fame and victory was rebuked by the motto inscribed on it: "*Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed Nomini tuo da gloriam*;" a text, it is hard to say whether most perverted by their or others' abuse of it. When the nine knights (for such was still their number) who received this rule from Bernard, were rapidly joined by numerous comrades and their dependents, the order was divided into the classes of Knights Chaplains (*Capellani*), Brothers at Arms or Servitors (*armigeri frères, servans d'armes*), and attendants, craftsmen, or artificers (*famuli, frères servans de mestier*). The system of *General Chapters* was adopted from the Cistercians. A short time after the foundation of the order it numbered 300 knights of the noblest families, a large body of chaplains, and a countless train of servitors and dependents; and it enjoyed a princely revenue from the bounty of nobles, kings, and the Emperor.[2] Its "preceptories" were not only monasteries, but strong fortresses; such as the gloomy "Temple" in Paris,[3] from which Louis XVI. passed to the scaffold; and the "Temple" in London,[4] of which Spenser[5] sings as

[1] *Ut semper feriatur leo*, or *leo vorans*—an evident reference to 1 Peter v. 8. [2] William of Tyre, xii. 7, about 1180.

[3] We are expressly told that, in the time of Philip the Fair, the Temple was stronger than the royal palace of the Louvre.

[4] Henry I. was among the benefactors of the order; but it was from Henry II. that they received their earliest gift of property in London, at first in Holborn, the "Old Temple," and afterwards (1184) on the well-known site in Fleet Street, the "New Temple" which, on their suppression (1313) was given by Edward II. to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and on his death (1323) passed to the Knights Hospitallers, by whom the *Inner and Middle Temples* were leased to the students of the common law, and, the property falling to the crown on the dissolution of the religious houses, James I. finally conferred it on the Benchers of the two societies for ever (1608). The *Temple Church* remains a fine monument of medieval character. The place of a nave is occupied by the "round church" (one of four such built by the Templars in England in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem), which was dedicated by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185, and is a fine example of the transition from Norman to Early English. It contains some curious monumental effigies of Knights Templars, distinguished by their crossed legs. The choir, finished in 1250 (restored in 1839–42) is a very pure example of Early English. [5] *Prothalamion.*

"those bricky towers,
The which on Thames' broad aged back do ride,
Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers
There whilom wont the Templar Knights to bide,
Till they decayed through pride."

§ 6. The order of the Temple was, from the first, taken under the special protection of the Popes. The first Bull in their favour was issued by Eugenius III. (1148), and Alexander III. conferred the great charter of their privileges by the Bull "Omne datum optimum" (1172).[1] When the accession of many clerical members had made the body complete in itself for the celebration of religious offices, Innocent III. released the chaplains of the order from the oath of obedience to the bishops, "because they are subject only to the Roman Pontiff."[2] "Honorius III. prohibited all bishops from excommunicating any Knight Templar or laying an interdict on their churches or houses. Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander III., Clement IV., maintained their absolute exemption from episcopal authority . . . Gregory X. crowned their privileges with an exemption from all contributions to the Holy War, and from the tenths paid by the rest of Christendom for this sacred purpose. The pretence was, that their whole lands and wealth were held on that tenure."[3]

These grants were for the most part the confirmation of privileges which the Templars had already usurped. As early as about 1180, William of Tyre, in describing the great increase of the Templars in number, says that they had already degenerated from their first object, cast off their humility, withdrawn their obedience from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, withheld the tenths and first-fruits due to the Church, and made their chaplains independent of episcopal control, besides other acts of gross turbulence and disorder.[4] The same complaints are uttered respecting both orders by the very Popes who granted them new privileges, while declaring that they rather deserved to be stripped of those they had.[5]

[1] Translated in Addison's *Knights Templars*, p. 70.

[2] *Epist.* i. 508; ii. 35, 84, 257, 259. [3] Milman, vol. vii. pp. 183–4.

[4] *Loc. sup. cit.* Elsewhere (xviii. c. 3) he speaks in similar language of the Hospitallers, whose insolence to the Patriarch of Jerusalem reached such a height that, when he preached in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to which their house was opposite, they set their bells ringing to prevent his being heard by the people! Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 272.

[5] So writes Innocent III., in 1208, to the Grand Master of the Templars (*Epist.* x. 121). See the letter in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 272, 273; and the equally strong complaints of Alexander III. and Gregory IX. against both the orders; and the similar threat of Henry III. of England to the Master of the Hospitallers (1252), who had the insolence to answer, "As long as you observe justice, you may be king; and as soon as you infringe it, you will cease to be king."

§ 7. The seeds of this degeneracy were innate in the very nature of the military orders, and especially of the Templars. The order was singularly captivating to the three great passions of the age, chivalric pride and enthusiasm, monastic devotion, and zeal against the enemies of the Cross; and the rapid growth of the order in numbers, wealth, and power, inflamed the worser side of these passions, and hastened the corruption which led to its ruin. The martial glory of the enterprize, the fame and power which it brought to the knights banded together in their self-complete organization and fortified houses, and holding their own against bishops and kings, the assurance of atonement for all past sins and certain salvation by the twofold gratification of military and spiritual pride in cruelty and death to the infidels,—all this attracted the worst social elements into the order. The character of the great majority of its members is betrayed by Bernard himself in the "sancta simplicitas" of his exultation over its adoption by such numbers of the greatest reprobates that (he says)[1] "the joy over them is double, *since they cause as much rejoicing to their friends by going away*, as to those whom they help by their arrival. In fact they bring advantage both ways, not only by succouring the latter, but also by no longer oppressing the former. Thus 'Egypt is glad at their departure' (*profectione*),[2] and Mt. Sion joys no less for their *protection*. The one is pleased to lose *her most cruel devastators*; the other glories all the more worthily at gaining freedom at their hands." When such elements were leagued in a proud and powerful order, and brought under all the demoralizing influences of the remote scene of warfare, intrigue, and Oriental temptations, it is not surprizing that the Templars became the extreme examples of the sad truth, that "the Christians of Palestine were in morals, in character, in habits, the most licentious, most treacherous, most ferocious of mankind."[3] And, while other Crusaders quickly passed away, the two great military orders, like all permanent institutions, acquired a character even more fixed and decided than that of individuals. That character is admirably drawn by Dean Milman:[4]—"The Knights Templars fought in the Holy Land with consummate valour, discipline, activity, and

[1] *De Nova Militia*, 5:—"Quodque cernitur jucundius, et agitur commodius, *paucos admodum* in tanta multitudine hominum illo confluere videas, *nisi utique sceleratos et impios, raptores et sacrilegos, homicidas, perjuros, adulteros*," &c. &c.

[2] Psalm cv. 38. This making "Egypt" stand for Christian Europe, in order to bring in Mt. Sion and the play on the words *profectione* and *protectione*, gives another example of the mode in which Scripture was quoted in those times (to say nothing of others).

[3] Milman, vol. v. p. 319. [4] Vol. vii. pp. 184 f.

zeal; but *they fought for themselves*, not for the common cause of Christianity. They were an independent army, owning no subordination to the King or Bishop of Jerusalem, or to any of the sovereigns who placed themselves at the head of a Crusade. They supported or thwarted, according to their views, the plans of campaigns,[1] joined vigorously in the enterprize, or stood aloof in sullen disapprobation; they made or broke treaties. Thus formidable to the enemies of their faith, they were not less so to its champions. There was a constant rivalry with the Knights of St. John, not of generous emulation, but of power and even of sordid gain. During the expedition of Frederick II., the Master of the Templars and the whole order espoused the cause of the Pope. To their stubborn opposition was attributed, no doubt with much justice, the failure or rather the imperfect success of that Crusade.[2]

"The character of the war in the East had also changed, unnoticed, unobserved. There was no longer the implacable mutual aversion, or rather abhorrence, with which the Christian met the Saracen, the Saracen the Christian; from which the Christian thought that, by slaying the Saracen, he was avenging the cause of his Redeemer, and washing off his own sins; the Saracen that in massacring the Christian or trampling on the Christian dog, he was acting according to the first principles of his faith, and winning Paradise. This traditionary, almost inborn, antipathy had worn away by long intermingling, and given place to the courtesies and mutual respect of a more chivalrous warfare.[3] . . . . The lofty toleration of Frederick II. might offend the more zealous by its approximation to indifference, but it was not altogether uncongenial to the dominant feeling. How far had that indifference, which was so hardly reproached against Frederick, crept into the minds and hearts of Frederick's most deadly enemies? How far had Mohammedanism lost its odious and repulsive character to the Templars, and begun to appear, not as a monstrous and wicked

[1] In 1155, the Templars delivered up Nazireddin to his enemies for 60,000 gold florins, though he was on the point of becoming a Christian. (Will. Tyr. xviii. 9.) For this and other examples, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 273; also the vehement remonstrance of Gregory IX. with the Grand Master of the Hospitallers (1238), when they supported the Greek Emperor, John Vatazes, against the Latin Emperor of Constantinople.

[2] See above, Chap. V. § 11, p. 75. The feud of both the great military orders against Frederick was no doubt aggravated by the favour he showed to the Teutonic Order (see below, § 9), but its real cause was their resolve not to allow the power of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem to be re-established at the expense of their own licence.

[3] This feature of the war is also shown vividly by Scott (in the *Talisman*), who is true to history is ascribing so much of it to the personal character *of* Saladin.

idolatry, to be refuted only with the good sword, but as a sublime and hardly irrational Theism? How far had Oriental superstitions, belief in magic, in the power of amulets and talismans, divination, mystic signs and characters, dealings with genii or evil spirits, seized on the excited imaginations of those adventurous but rude warriors of the West, and mingled with that secret ceremonial, which was designed to impress upon the initiated the inflexible discipline of the order? How far were the Templars *orientalised* by their domiciliation in the East? Had their morals escaped the taint of Oriental license? . . . . If even Western devotees were so apt, as was ever the case, to degenerate into debauchery, the individual Templar at least would hardly maintain his impeccable virtue. Those unnatural vices, which it offends Christianity even to allude to, but which are looked upon, if not with indulgence, at least without the same disgust in the East, were chiefly charged upon the Templars." But even such abominations were less odious to that age than the more improbable charge, that the order had become a great antichristian conspiracy, the test of admission to it being a formal denial of Christ, accompanied by spitting or trampling upon the Cross.

§ 8. From what has been said of the corruption and insolence of both the great military orders, it may naturally be asked why all this odium fell on the Templars, rather than on the Hospitallers. Not to enquire minutely into the real distinctions in their character, the difference in their fate may be ascribed chiefly to the different courses they followed when they were driven to retire from the Holy War in Palestine. Both, having fought the losing battle to the last with the valour which was their "one virtue," distinguished themselves in the final defence of Acre; and, on its terrible fall (1291), both withdrew to Cyprus, where they were received by the young King Henry II. But, while the Hospitallers, as we have seen, established themselves at Rhodes, and earned the admiration and gratitude of Christendom by holding it as a new outpost against Mohammedan conquest, the Templars drew together in their vast possessions and fortified preceptories in the states of Europe; where, whatever might be the truth of the ambitious designs attributed to them, they formed an *imperium in imperio* too formidable to be endured. Opinions are still divided as to the truth of the crimes laid to their charge; but the verdict of history is that their great crime was their wealth and power; and that all justice was outraged in their fall.[1]

[1] The destruction of the order in France by the policy of Philip the Fair and the weak consent of Clement V., and its general suppression by the edict of the Council of Vienne (1312), have been already mentioned

§ 9. A third great order of military monasticism had its origin from the Crusades, though it was destined to display its prowess on quite another field. During the Third Crusade, after the death of Frederick Barbarossa, and when the Christian army was wasting away with disease and famine before Acre (1190), some burghers of Bremen and Lübeck made a hospital for the sick and starving under sails brought from their ships. They were joined by the brethren of a German hospital, whom Saladin had permitted to remain at Jerusalem; and they were taken under the protection of Duke Frederick of Swabia, who saw the advantage of a German order, not only for the care of German pilgrims, but for more general interests. His recommendation secured the patronage of the Emperor Henry VI., and of Pope Celestine III., who issued a Bull confirming the order. The number of the *Teutonic Knights*[1] was at first forty, with Henry of Walpot as Grand Master; but it was under his third successor, Hermann of Salza, that the new order received its military constitution, and obtained great privileges and emoluments. Hermann is said by the chronicler of the order to have "had the Pope, and the Emperor, with other princes and great men, in his hand, so that he obtained whatever he might ask for its honour and advantage." The Emperor here referred to was Frederick II., to whom Hermann of Salza was a faithful adherent. Honorius III. conferred on the order the same privileges as on the Hospitallers and the Templars (1220). It had an aristocratic constitution of three grades, knights, priests, and serving brethren, governed by the Grand Master, provincials, and chapter of the order; and its first house was at Acre.[2] But as early as 1226 Hermann led his followers to a new enterprize for the conversion of the still heathen people of Prussia, the issue of which has already been related.[3] Soon after his death the order numbered 2000 knights of the noblest German families.

§ 10. The great crusading orders were imitated by lesser orders of ecclesiastical knighthood, devoted to the war against the Moors and the protection of pilgrims, in Spain and Portugal. They were, for

(Chap. VII. § 4). The details are related in the *Student's Hist. of France*, pp. 186–9. For the proceedings in England, which, though equally unfair, were free from the atrocious cruelties of the French king, see the *Student's English Church Hist.*, p. 413.

[1] Their full title was *Equites Teutonici hospitalis S. Mariæ Virginis Hierosolymita.* For the authorities, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 275; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 256.

[2] Acre was also the seat of an English order of Hospitallers, established in honour of the martyred St. Thomas (Becket), the *Ordo Militiæ S. Thomæ de Acon.* (Diceto, 654; *Monast. Angl.* vi. 646.)

[3] Part I. Chap. XXIV. p. 603.

the most part, in close connection with the Cistercians.[1] The *Order of Calatrava* was named from the city granted by Sancho III. of Castile to the Cistercian Raymund and the knights whom he banded together for its defence when besieged by the Moors (1158). The *Order of Alcantara* received that name from the city given to it in 1218; but it had been founded as early as 1176. In 1162, the Cistercian abbot, John Cirita, founded a *Militia Equitum* as a special branch of the Cistercian order, who were called *Knights of Evora*, from the castle granted to them by Alphonso I. of Portugal (1166), and the *Order of Avis*, from the castle they built in 1181.[2] The purpose assigned to them by their founder was "to defend religion in war, to practise charity in peace, to preserve chastity, and to lay waste the land of the Moors with constant incursions." Any knight, who might happen to meet a Cistercian abbot, was to dismount and ask his blessing, and offer him his escort. When any such abbot arrived at a fort or city held by soldiers of the order, the commander was to offer him the keys, and everything was to be governed by his orders while he stayed there. An order not connected with the Cistercians was that of *St. James of the Sword*,[3] which arose in Galicia (1161) for the protection of pilgrims to Compostella.

The example of this holy warfare against Mohammedans was followed in the crusade incited by the Dominicans against the Albigensian heretics in Southern France;[4] for carrying on which an

[1] They formed the *Militia sacra Ordinis Cisterciensis*, for the constitution and privileges of which see Chrysost. Henriquez, *Regula, Constitutiones, et Privilegia Ordinis Cister.* Antv. 1630. On these orders in general see *Histoire des Militaires*, Amst. 1721; and other authorities in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 274–5, and Robertson, vol. iii. p. 257. All these orders were at first bound by the full monastic vows; but that of celibacy was afterwards relaxed, except for the Knights of Evora. Alexander III. (1175) allowed the Knights of St. James to have married brethren in the order; and those of Calatrava and Alcantara were permitted to marry by Paul III. (1540). Besides these, there was the very short-lived *Order of the Wing of St. Michael* (*Milites S. Michaelis* or *Milites de Ala*), founded by Alphonso I. of Portugal (1167 or 1171).

[2] *Milites Eboræ; Milites de Avis, Ordo Avisius.*

[3] *Militia S. Jacobi, Fratres de Spatha*, now the *Caballeria de Sant Jago de la Spada.* Jac. a Vitriaco, *Hist. Occ.* c. 26. For their privileges conferred by Alexander III. (1175) and renewed by Innocent III., see Alex. *Epist.* 20 (in Mansi, xxi. 1049), and Innoc. *Epist.* xiii. 11; Gieseler, *loc. cit.*

[4] See below, Chap. XXXVII. It is convenient to mention here the military organization, of a religious but not monastic character, started in Auvergne to put down the brigandage of the disbanded mercenaries, combined with profligate persons of all sorts, whose outrages earned the name of "hellish legions." In 1182, a carpenter named Durand professed to have been warned by the Virgin to exhort his neighbours to restore order;

order was formed under the name of *Brethren of the Warfare of Jesus Christ* (1220).[1] The chief seat of the order was transferred to Northern Italy (1261), where it took the name of the Blessed Virgin, but was more generally known as *La Milizia Gaudente.*[2]

§ 11. The two great military orders were not the only monastic societies that sprang from the Crusades. Mount Carmel, the place of the Prophet Elijah's retreat, had been a favourite resort of Greek anchorets from very early times; and, in a cavern named after the prophet, and marked by the ruins of an ancient monastery, Berthold, a Calabrian crusader (about 1156), established a small society of hermits, who became famous as the *Carmelite Order.*[3] They received a very strict rule from Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem (about 1209), which was confirmed by Honorius III. (1226), but mitigated by Innocent IV. (1247) on their plea that they were no longer hermits. On the expulsion of the Latin Christians from the Holy Land, the Carmelites left their mountain home, warned (as their legend goes) by the Virgin, who gave to the general of the order, Simon Stock, her own scapulary as a pattern for their dress, with the assurance that whoever died in it would be safe from the fire of hell. Retiring to Europe, the order spread so widely that they are said to have possessed at one time as many as 7500 monasteries, with upwards of 180,000 members. As one of the four great orders of Mendicants (cf. Chap. XXV. § 10) they were distinguished, from their dress, by the popular name of the *White Friars*, which is still preserved by the site of their old monastery in London founded in 1245, between the Temple and Blackfriars (the old seat of the Dominicans). Further relaxations of their rule, granted in the 15th century, led to a division of the order into a stricter

and men of all classes, clerical and lay, formed an association bound both to a pure life and warfare against the wrongdoers. Their sole monastic character was the hood, with a leaden image of the Virgin, from which they were called *Capuciati* or *White Hoods.* Their zeal soon led them into cruelties and other dangerous tendencies, which caused their suppression by Philip Augustus.

[1] *Fratres de Militia Jesu Christi.*

[2] *Ordo Militiæ B. Virginis; Fratres Gaudentes; Frati Gaudenti.* See the *Istoria de' Cavalieri Gaudenti* di F. Donn. Maria Federici, Vinz. 1787; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 276.

[3] *Fratres Eremitæ de monte Carmelo*, also *Eremitæ S. Mariæ de Carmelo.* The earliest mention of them is in a description of the Holy Land by a Greek writer, John Phocas (1185, in Leon Allatii *Symmicta*), when there were ten brethren, besides the chief, who, he says, had been led to the place by a revelation of the prophet; but the Carmelite fiction derived it from Elijah himself, through a long line including the Rechabites and several of the Hebrew prophets, a pretension which caused a bitter controversy between the Carmelites and the Bollandists in the 17th century. (For the authorities see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 219; Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 240–242.)

branch, called *Barefooted Friars* or *Observants*, and the *Shod* or *Conventuals*, who adopted the milder rule.

§ 12. Among the many who pitied the miserable state of the Christian captives and slaves in the hands of Mohammedans, especially those taken by the Barbary pirates, two Provençal hermits, John de Matha and Felix de Valois, were moved (as they said) by a vision of a white stag, with a cross between its horns, to a systematic effort for their redemption. Under the direction of Innocent III. they formed the *Order of the Trinitarians* or *Mathurins*,[1] in 1198, and two years later the first shipload of captives ransomed from Morocco returned to their homes. The order spread quickly through Southern Europe, and had nunneries connected with it; the government being in the hands of a general (*minister generalis*) and a general chapter of superiors of the convents, meeting at Gerfroi in the diocese of Meaux, the place where the white stag appeared to the founders. The order exists to the present day.

To these lesser orders may be added the peculiar institution of the *Humiliati*,[2] intermediate between the cloister and the world, and having only a local existence in Lombardy. It arose probably in the 11th century from a society of Milanese workmen, who had returned from Germany, whither they had been carried as prisoners by one of the Emperors.[3] "In their exile they adopted a strict manner of life, and supported themselves by cloth-weaving; and this occupation was afterwards continued among them; their skill in the art being famous, and much of their cloth being given to the poor."[4] They were at first simply a society of men and women united in pious deeds and common labour, for mutual help and charity to those about them. But the monks and nuns and priests who joined them were formed into a religious order, and placed by Innocent III. under the rule of St. Benedict (1201); and a Grand Master was set over the order in 1246. In course of time the society degenerated, like all the religious orders; and the attempt

[1] *Ordo sanctissimæ Trinitatis de redemtione captivorum*, *Mathurini*, also called popularly *frères aux ânes*. For the authorities, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 219; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 257.)

[2] Their history has been written by Tiraboschi, *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, 3 vols. 4to., Mediolani, 1766; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 242. The identity of name has caused a confusion between them and the Waldensian *Humiliati* or *Poor Men of Lyon*. (See below, Chap. XXXVI.)

[3] By Henry II., in 1014, according to Tiraboschi, but Helyat places the event in 1117 under Henry V.

[4] Robertson, *loc. cit.* It can hardly be decided whether the community of goods, which some ascribe to them, existed in any other sense than that charitable distribution "as every one had need," which was the practice of the first Christians (Acts ii. 44, 45).

of Cardinal Charles Borromeo to reform it caused riots which led to its suppression by Pius V. (1571).

§ 13. During the 14th and 15th centuries the degeneracy of the monastic orders was more and more notorious, and was confessed as a chief reason for the need of a "reform in head and members." While the old and wealthy congregations were generally sunk in sloth and luxury, others became contemptible for the poverty to which those vices had reduced them. The moral profligacy, especially in the nunneries, which our tolerant age is apt to regard as a scandal invented by enemies, is proved by clear evidence.[1] The labours of tillage and other work, of charity and learning, were generally neglected; and the decline of the Benedictines from their special virtues is attested by Boccaccio's lamentable account of the library at Monte Cassino, not only as perishing from neglect, but the books cut up by the monks to make little manuals of devotion, or charms for sale to women. The few who wrote at all contented themselves with works on morality and practical religion, leaving philosophy and theology to the Mendicants and the Universities. As institutions based on the general religious feeling, the old orders had been left behind by new social wants and new growths of intelligence, and were overshadowed by the great movement which those forces called forth, as we shall presently see, in the Mendicant Orders.

§ 14. A step towards reform was taken at Constance by summoning a chapter of the German Benedictines to be held under the superintendence of the Council in 1417, but this remained a mere proposal; and a Cistercian ventured in the Council itself to defend the holding of private property by the monks. At Basle more effective measures were taken for the reformation of the regular canons in Germany by the general chapter at Windesheim,[2] which became the centre of a movement spreading to Hildesheim and other monasteries, as well as to some of the Augustinian and

[1] For example, by Nicolas de Clamengis, or whoever was the author of the *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu* (see above, p. 141). A most important contemporary work on the whole subject is that of John Busch (canon of Windesheim, 1420, and prior of Hildesheim, *ob.* 1479), *De Reformatione Monasteriorum Saxoniæ.* As has been said above, the Carthusians long remained an exception to the prevalent degeneracy, owing, as the leonine verse said, to their observance of the three great points of discipline, solitude, silence, and regular visitation:

"Per tria So. Si. Vi. Carthusia permanet in vi."

[2] John de Huesden, prior of Windesheim (1391–1424) is named as one of the leaders of the society of Brethren of the Common Life (see Chap. XXXIII. § 16). It is interesting, as an omen of the future, to find another centre of the reforming movement at *Wittenberg.* In all this work John Busch took a leading part, as prior of Hildesheim.

Benedictine houses in France. Rome herself recognized the need of monastic reform as one object of the mission of Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa to Germany (1450–1); and the bishops and secular princes endeavoured to enforce reformation on the monks, who generally resisted all such efforts.

§ 15. Hence it resulted that the reforming party among the monks themselves generally drew off into separate houses, though still in connection with the great orders. The chief of these in Italy was the Benedictine congregation of St. Justina, founded by Louis Barbo at Padua, recognized by Martin V. in 1417, and in 1504 absorbed in that of Monte Cassino, which had joined the society; as was also a similar congregation in Sicily (1506). The congregation of St. Bernard, in Tuscany and Lombardy, was founded in 1497.[1] In Spain, the Benedictines had the reformed congregation of Valladolid, founded by Martin de Vargas in 1425. But the most powerful of the new orders sprang from the energetic life of the Mendicants.[2]

[1] We have already had occasion to mention the short-lived military orders of Jesus and "the Blessed Virgin Mary of Bethlehem," founded by Pius II. for his abortive Crusade (1458, p. 209).

[2] The independent societies, partaking of a monastic character, for objects of practical religion and benevolence, are described later, in connection with Mysticism, with which they had a close affinity (see Chap. XXXIII.).

Monks.—Devotion and Labour. One at prayer and two basket-making. From an early picture (Botticelli).

General, *Diffinitores*, and provincial friars. § 8. Class of *Tertiaries*. § 9. Death, Miracles, and Canonization of St. Dominic—Spread of the Order—Missionary zeal. § 10. Later History of the Dominicans—Their special spheres of work, and relations to the Franciscans and the Papacy.

§ 1. WE have seen how the power, independence, and abuses of the Monastic Orders led the Fourth Lateran Council to forbid their further multiplication (1215).[1] Almost, however, at the moment when this canon was enacted, Innocent found himself impelled to give his sanction to the new and soon famous orders of *Mendicant Friars*,[2] which sprang up from the zeal of two enthusiasts, to supply wants which were neither met by the existing orders nor by the secular clergy. While the latter, cold, worldly, and corrupt, had lost their hold on the hearts and minds of men, the monks, living apart from the world, had—with a few bright exceptions—become unfit for the active exercise of public religious offices and teaching, from which, indeed, they were precluded by their constitution.[3] An age of growing intellectual activity not only felt the want of spiritual guidance, but despised its proper guides;[4] while, to increase the danger, examples of the self-denial which the monks had ceased to practise, and of the evangelic activity which the clergy had disused, and especially of preaching the Word, were to be found among the sectaries whom the Church branded as heretics. The new idea, which found expression in the Mendicant Orders, is thus described by Archbishop Trench[5]:—"Hitherto the

[1] Chap. XX., *fin.* p. 367.

[2] The reader is reminded that there is no *essential* distinction in the name of *Friars*, the English form (through the French *frère* and Old English *frere*) of the Latin *Fratres*, which was the common appellation of all members of religious orders; but its use *without the name of monks* gave rise to its specific application to the Mendicant Orders, who were not separated from the world, like the monks. The common prefix *Fra* to the names of friars is the abbreviation of the Italian *Frate*, "brother."

[3] Though this was the essential character of monasticism, we have seen that the ministrations of religion were not only practised by the monks, but very generally preferred by the people. But such interference was forbidden by express decrees. Thus the Council of Poitiers (1100) ordered that no monk should take upon himself (*præsumare*) the parochial ministry of presbyters, namely, baptism, preaching, and giving penance (*Conc. Pictav.* c. 11); and Calixtus II., in the First Lateran Council (1123, c. 17), forbad abbots and monks to give public penances, to visit the sick, administer unctions, and sing public masses.

[4] See the admirable remarks on the complete incompetency, both of the secular clergy, whose teaching was almost wholly through the ritual, and of the monks, who lived to save and benefit themselves, and not the world, in Milman, book ix. c. ix. vol. vi. pp. 1 *seqq.*

[5] *Medieval Church History*, p. 231.

monk, in his ideal perfection, had been one who, withdrawing from the world, had sought in prayer, penitence, and self-mortification, to set forward the salvation of his own soul; now he should be one who, in labours of self-denying love, in dispensing the Word of life, should seek the salvation of others.[1] Hitherto he had fled from the world, as one who, in conflict with it, must inevitably be worsted; now he should make war upon the world and overcome it—nothing doubting that, in seeking the salvation of others, he should best work out his own." This ideal was so far common to the two orders, in which, however, it took contrasted forms, as remarkable as their simultaneous rise. The pure devotion of St. Francis aimed to revive the old monastic self-renunciation in union with incessant evangelic work; the austerer zeal of St. Dominic was inflamed by the need of a new power to combat heresy. This contrasted spirit of the founders was impressed upon the societies they formed. "Each of those orders had at the outset its distinctive character: the *Dominicans*, severely intellectual, rigidly orthodox, and tinged by the sternness and the gloom which had been impressed on the religion of the founder's native land; the *Franciscans*, milder and more genial, addressing themselves less to the intellect than to the sentiments and the affections."[2]

One chief motive to the creation of the new orders was the consciousness that the spiritual work, which the clergy had abandoned, and which the monks were incompetent to perform, had passed away into the hands of the sectaries; and it was the peculiar fortune of the Church of Rome, at the climax of its power under Innocent III., to enlist into her service the very elements of individual freedom, mystical enthusiasm, and, above all, the supreme power of popular preaching, which had begun to threaten her ascendancy. While both orders took up the clergy's work of popular instruction, and revived the ideal of monastic poverty and self-sacrifice, but for the benefit of others and no longer for their own, the energy of spiritual enthusiasm found a new expression in the life and influence of Francis, while the power of preaching and an unflinching conflict with heresy were the great aims of Dominic.[3]

§ 2. The order founded by the latter took its peculiar character from the fervid zeal of the South, partly in his own Spanish origin,[4] and

[1] This contrast is marked in the Prologue to the Rules of the Dominican Order (c. 3): "Ordo noster specialiter ob prædicationem et *animarum salutem* ab initio noscitur institutus fuisse, et studium nostrum ad hoc debet principaliter intendere, *ut proximorum animabus possimus utiles esse.*"

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 363.

[3] The whole subject of the Heresies of this age is treated below, in Book VI.

[4] See Dean Milman (vol. vi. p. 10): "In Dominic, Spain began to

partly by way of antagonism to the heretics of Languedoc, with whose history his own is inseparably linked.[1] DOMINGO GUZMAN[2] (Lat. Dominicus) was born in 1170, at Calaruega, a village in the diocese of Osma, in Old Castile. Among the portents, borrowed from classical and ecclesiastical antiquity, which foreshadowed his power and eloquence before his birth, was one which alluded to the play upon his name, in which his followers rejoiced, as *Domini canes* ("the Lord's watch-dogs").[3] Going to the University of Palencia[4] at the age of fifteen, he spent ten years in study, chiefly of theology; and here his self-devotion shone forth in a gentler light than afterwards invested his name. During a famine, to feed the poor he sold not only his clothes, but his books, the value of which to him in that age of MSS. was enhanced by his own notes; and, at a later time, he offered to sell himself for the redemption of another.[5] But

exercise that remarkable influence over Latin Christianity, to display that peculiar character, which culminated as it were in Ignatius Loyola, in Philip II., and in Torquemada, of which the code of the Inquisition was the statutory law, of which Calderon was the poet. The life of every devout Spaniard was a perpetual crusade; by temperament and by position he was in constant adventurous warfare against the enemies of the Cross. Hatred of the Jew, of the Mohammedan, was the *herrban* under which he served; it was the oath of his chivalry. That hatred, in all its intensity, was soon and easily extended to the heretic; hereafter it was to comprehend the heathen Mexican, the Peruvian. St. Dominic was, as it were, a Cortez, bound by a sense of duty, urged by an inward voice, to invade older Christendom."

[1] See below, Chap. XXXVII. Of the many *Lives* of St. Dominic the oldest is that by Jordanus, his successor as general of the order, in the *Acta SS.*, August, i. 545; next, the one in use by the order, written about 1254 by the fifth general, Humbertus de Romanis, *ibid.* p. 358; also the *Annales Ordinis Prædicatorum*, by Th. M. Mamachius, and others, Rom., 1746 f.; Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.*, Paris, 1719 f.; *Monumenta et Antiqq. veteris Disciplinæ*, &c., edited by Masetti, Rom. 1864; Lacordaire, *Vie de S. Dominic*, Paris, 1841 and (ed. 5) 1855 for other authorities see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 236.

[2] The descent, which his name might seem to imply, from one of the noblest houses of Spain, is questioned by the Bollandists.

[3] His mother's dream, that she brought forth a *dog* with a torch in its mouth, which set the world on fire, was interpreted by his followers to signify that he was a dog barking against heretics, and the torch was either the light of knowledge or the flame of charity.

[4] Afterwards famous at its new seat of Salamanca.

[5] According to one story, a slave among the Moors; according to another, the proposed sacrifice was for the support of a man who hesitated to avow his conversion from heresy, lest he should forfeit the charity on which he lived. Archbishop Trench remarks on the absence in Dominic of those tender traits which so much attract us in the character of St. Francis: "Even those who exalt him the most, and those who knew him the nearest, suffer this to be seen. *Austere* is the epithet which in a Papal Bull is applied to him; while a line of Dante's about him, 'Good

while thus displaying his natural tenderness even towards Jews and infidels, he zealously hardened his heart against heretics. In his twenty-fifth year he was enrolled by Diego de Azevedo (Lat. Didacus), bishop of Osma, as one of the canons of the cathedral,[1] among whom he was distinguished for his austerity. "His life was rigidly ascetic; he gave more of his time to prayer than to sleep; and although during the daytime he was cheerful in his conversation, his nights were for the most part spent in severely penitential exercises; he flogged himself nightly with an iron chain, once for his own sins, once for the sinners in this world, and once for those in purgatory."[2]

§ 3. After nine years of this obscure life, Dominic, now sub-prior, was chosen to accompany his bishop on a mission to Denmark, which was rendered useless as soon as they crossed the Pyrenees;[3] and they proceeded on a pilgrimage to Rome (1203). The object of the pious Diego was to ask the Pope's leave to give up his quiet bishopric for the dangers of a mission to the heathens who still occupied a part of Hungary, in which Dominic would doubtless have still shared. But Innocent III. saw the need of such spirits nearer home; and he sent the bishop back to his diocese with Dominic, armed with a commission for the extirpation of the heresy, which had already vexed their souls on their first arrival in Languedoc.[4] They returned thither (1205), at the crisis when the mission of Cistercians, who had been sent to convert the Albigenses, were despairing of success;[5] and when, at Montpellier, they met the Papal Legates with all their pompous retinue (for so had the Cistercians already degenerated), Diego answered their complaints with the famous rebuke and exhortation, which marks *him* as the author of the principles which were afterwards wrought out by Dominic:—"How can you expect success with this secular pomp? It is not by the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers and richly houseled palfreys, or by gorgeous apparel, that

to his friends and *dreadful* to his foes'—*crudo* is the word used—may be taken for praise or blame, or for something made up of both, as we will." (*Medieval Church History*, p. 234.)

[1] The bishop had changed the monastic chapter into one of canons regular of St. Augustin.

[2] Jordan, 45–6; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 364.

[3] By the death of the Danish princess, whose marriage with Alfonso VIII. of Castile was the object of the embassy.

[4] "No sooner had they crossed the Pyrenees (on their journey from Spain) than they found themselves in the midst of the Albigensian heresy; they could not close their eyes on the contempt into which the clergy had fallen, or on the prosperity of the sectarians; their very host at Toulouse was an Albigensian. Dominic is said to have converted him before the morning." (Milman, vol. vi. p. 12.)

[5] Comp. Chap. XXXVII. § 3.

the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity; by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal; false sanctity by real sanctity; preaching falsehood by preaching truth. Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off those sumptuous robes, send away those richly caparisoned palfreys; go barefoot, without purse and scrip, like the Apostles; out-labour, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers." Enforcing the lesson by an example which the legates were shamed into following, Diego and Dominic sent away their own horses, and barefoot, in the simplest canonical dress, led the way in a course of preaching and disputation in repeated conferences. When Diego returned to his diocese (1207), where he died a few months later, Dominic remained to carry on the work; and his eloquence is said to have been enforced by abundant miracles. Not to repeat some which are absurdly ludicrous, "Dominic raised the dead, frequently fed his disciples in a manner even more wonderful than the Lord in the desert. His miracles equal, if not transcend, those in the Gospel. It must indeed have been a stubborn generation, to need besides these wonders the sword of Simon de Montfort."[1]

§ 4. The conduct of Dominic during the Crusade against the Albigenses is a problem which we have not positive historic evidence to solve. His earliest biographers are silent about his presence with the armies (attended by miracles), of which his later admirers boast, but which still later apologists again deny, according as opinion has varied on the character of such deeds.[2] So too, as to the part he is said to have taken in the still greater judicial cruelties of the tribunal of Toulouse, and the doubtful honour of being the

[1] Milman (vi. 14), who observes that the miracles of Dominic are largely borrowed from the lives of the Saviour and those of the saints. This is true of the whole mass of ecclesiastical miracles; but the imitators generally try to improve on the originals. For a full account of the miracles, see the work of the Bollandists.

[2] This is not a question between Catholics and Protestants, nor even between different parties in the Roman Church, but one among the Dominicans themselves. The Bollandists maintain their founder's title to "that bad eminence" in such language as that of Maloendia: "What glory, what splendour and dignity, belong to the Order of Preachers, words cannot express! for the Holy Inquisition owes its origin to St. Dominic, and was propagated by his faithful followers: by them heretics of all kinds, the innovators and corrupters of sound doctrine, were destroyed, unless they would recant, by fire and sword:" quoting which, Dean Milman adds that "Calmer enquiry must rob him of, or release him from, these questionable glories. His heroic acts, as moving in the van of bloody battles, his title of Founder of the Inquisition, belong to legend, not to history" (vol. vi. p. 16).

Founder of the Inquisition, which was formally confirmed to Dominic by a Bull of Sixtus V.[1] As Dean Milman observes, "It is his Order that has thrown back its aggrandizing splendour on Dominic." His character and deeds have been confused with those of his followers, who were more Dominican than Dominic himself.[2] When the Inquisition was fully established by Gregory IX. (1233, twelve years after the death of Dominic), its administration was entrusted to the order, who became thenceforth the zealous agents of its cruelties.[3] They rejoiced in the title of "Persecutor of the Heretics," conferred on their founder by the Inquisition of Toulouse; and the story of his interference to save one victim, in whom he saw some hopes of reconciliation, implies his habitual severity. While the silence of his earliest biographers as to his sitting on the tribunals of Languedoc leaves such stories without evidence, they are equally silent about any opposition or interference on his part; and so, with regard to the Crusade "all, perhaps, that is certainly known is, that he showed no disapprobation of the character or of the deeds of Simon de Montfort; he obeyed his call to bless the marriage of his son, and the baptism of his daughter."[4] After all, there is no doubt as to Dominic's spirit; and while the evidence points only to his activity in preaching, it may be that "his words were very swords," sharpening the weapons of the persecutors.

§ 5. Turning to what we know with certainty of his real work, we have an admirable description of its character by Archbishop Trench[5]:—"Having accompanied his bishop on a preaching mission in the South of France for the conversion of the anti-Catholic sects which were swarming there, he became aware of the imminent danger which threatened the Papacy from the wide-spread revolt of men's spirits. Nor was he less impressed by the unfitness of the secular or parochial clergy to contend with spiritual weapons against the sectaries, by the ignorance and sloth of the lower clergy, the worldly splendour of the higher; this all contrasting most unfavourably with the simplicity in life of their adversaries, their diligence and zeal in propagating their doctrines. He saw, too, how little help was to be gotten from the older monastic orders. Estranged from the poor, their own vows of poverty eluded, at their best seeking first and chiefly their own spiritual welfare, if not seeking this alone, they wholly failed to meet the needs of the

[1] *Bulla de festo S. Petri Martyris*, A.D. 1586, in *Bullar. Rom.* ii. 573, ed. Luxemb. 1727.

[2] One is tempted to say, with reference to their favourite watchword, that, if Dominic barked at the stray sheep to drive them into the fold, the *Dominicans* worried and mangled them.

[3] See below, Chap. XXXVIII.

[4] Milman, vol. vi. p. 15.

[5] *Medieval Church*, p. 231.

time. It was an aggressive order, one which should boldly take up the challenge which the sectaries had thrown down, that the crisis demanded. Such an order he resolved his *Preaching Brethren*—the name expresses the central idea for the carrying out of which they existed—should be; devoting themselves to the preaching of the Word, to the spiritual oversight of the sheep everywhere scattered abroad without a shepherd, and, as another aspect of the same mission, to the repression and extirpation of all heresies."

The moral power on which Dominic relied is seen in the first institution which he organized. Observing that the noble ladies of Languedoc were among the most eager hearers of the heretics, whose free schools kept the youth under their influence, he founded a school and retreat at Prouille, for the daughters of the poorer nobles (1209). But this was only a subsidiary work; and his new *Order of Preachers* was first formed at St. Ronain, near Toulouse, of sixteen brethren, most of whom were Provençals, some Spaniards, and one an Englishman. But, though it sprang from the conflict with heresy in Languedoc, the order was to have the world for its field. In 1215 Innocent III. convened the Fourth Lateran Council; and Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, took Dominic with him to Rome to obtain the Pope's approval. The reluctance of Innocent was overcome by wiser counsels, while he professed to yield to visions, such as had already warned him to sanction the Franciscan brotherhood.[1] The difficulty raised by the canon just enacted, forbidding the creation of new orders, was overcome by Dominic's consent to place his fraternity under the rule of the great preacher St. Augustine. Dominic returned to organize his society at Toulouse; but only as a preparation for the removal of its head-quarters to Rome. In the first year of the new pontificate (1216), Honorius III. confirmed it as a separate order by the title of *Brethren Preachers* (*Fratres Prædicatores*), or to use the popular translation, *Preaching Friars*,[2] under the government and protection of the Pope; and he granted it other charters. Besides the privilege of preaching, that of hearing confessions everywhere was the source of enormous power. "On Dominic himself the Pope conferred the Mastership of the Sacred Palace—an office to which is annext the censorship of books,

[1] See the following Chapter.

[2] The Bull of Honorius, addressed to Dominic, designates them as "*champions* (*pugiles*) of the faith." With regard to the *possessions* confirmed by it, it must be remembered that the order had not yet adopted the principle of absolute poverty. It is almost certain that they borrowed this from the Franciscans in 1220; but it is very doubtful whether, as the Franciscans assert, Dominic was present at the general Franciscan chapter in 1219. He is affirmed to have known Francis at Rome in 1216 (*Acta SS.* Aug. 4, p. 442; Oct. 4, p. 605).

and which has always been retained by the order."[1] If his farewell address to the nuns of Prouille is genuine,[2] after all that was foretold of his successes and miracles in Languedoc, Dominic was fain to leave the fruit of his ten years' labours there to be still reaped by the sword of the Crusaders:—"For many years I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers, and tears; but, according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold, now, we rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms! Many shall perish by the sword. The land shall be ravaged, walls thrown down; and you, alas! reduced to slavery. So shall the chastisement do that which the blessing and which mildness could not do!"

§ 6. At Rome, Dominic took up his abode first at the church of St. Sixtus, which he afterwards gave up to the nuns of the order, and fixed the headquarters permanently at the church of St. Sabina. Among his firmest friends was Cardinal Ugolino, the future Pope Gregory IX. The pilgrims who resorted to Rome carried back to every land the impression of his eloquence, and the conviction that this new power of preaching was what the Church and the world most needed. The order quickly spread, especially in England, where it was patronized by Archbishop Langton, and in France,[3] where we shall presently have to speak of its influence in the University of Paris. Their popular name of *Black Friars* still adheres to the site of their great convent in London; and in Paris they obtained the name of *Jacobins*, which was destined to pass on to a society only less terrible for the cruelties of its fanaticism.[4] Even the remotest parts of Christendom were soon invaded by the zeal of the Preaching Brothers: two Poles, Hyacinth and Ceslas, carried the rules into their own country: convents were founded at

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 366–7.

[2] *MS. de Prouille*, published by Père Perrin; quoted by Lacordaire, p. 404; and Milman, vol. vi. p. 18.

[3] In 1218 Philip Augustus bestowed on the Dominicans the hospital of St. James at Paris, whence they obtained the popular name of *Jacobin Friars*. On the suppression of religious orders at the Revolution, this house became the place of meeting of the *Jacobin* Club, thus linking under one name the extremes of ecclesiastical and infidel fanaticism. The other equally violent club inherited the name, with the site, of the *Cordeliers* (*i.e.* the *cord-wearing* Franciscans). In England, the Dominicans obtained from their dress (a black cowl worn over the white frock) the popular name of *Black Friars*, which is perpetuated in the part of London which was granted to them by the Corporation in 1276 for the site of their great convent.

[4] Those who may think that the comparison is inverted in degree should remember that where the Reign of Terror slew its thousands (hundreds would be more exact), the Inquisition slew its tens of thousands.

Cracow and at Kiev, the old southern capital of Russia. Representatives from Italy, France, Provence, Spain, England, Germany, and Poland, met at the two General Chapters which were held by Dominic at Bologna before his death. At the first, in 1220, he proposed absolute poverty and subsistence by the alms of the faithful, which Francis of Assisi had made the very foundation of his order. Whether from a conviction of its apostolic character, or from seeing the power which it gave to the Franciscans, the principle was unanimously adopted; but it was not without much resistance that the original society at Toulouse consented to resign the endowments which Dominic had accepted from Bishop Fulk. How soon both orders broke these new vows of poverty, as the older ones had broken theirs, will appear presently. The process began almost at once, by the acceptance of land and the building of monastic houses, instead of that reliance on hospitality which was a part of the pattern they professed to follow;[1] and wealth and splendour soon followed.

§ 7. At this first general chapter, Dominic wished to resign the dignity of General; and when the brethren would not consent, he insisted on the appointment of a council of *diffinitores* (as they were called) representing the whole society, whose authority was to be supreme, even over the Master himself. The organization of the order was completed by a second general chapter, held also at Bologna in the following year. It was divided into eight provinces, namely, Spain, the first in rank, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Germany, Hungary, and England; and to these, four were added at later times. Each province—with the convents, having their several priors (*priores conventuales*)—was placed under a Prior (*priores provinciales*); all being governed by the General, who is called both Servant and Master (*minister generalis, magister ordinis*) with his diffinitors. The supreme legislative power was vested in a general chapter of the order, to be held every third year.[2]

§ 8. At a later time, besides the friars, the order—and this applies

[1] See Matt. x. 11–13; Luke x. 5–7, where the *last words* gave a pretext for contradicting all the rest. It may be observed, in passing, how completely the *temporary* character of the mendicant commission (if we may so speak) to the disciples whom Christ sent forth to preach, is marked in Luke xxii. 35, 36. The Constitutions of the order prescribe "moderate and humble houses," in which there are to be "no curiosities, superfluities, sculptures, pictures, pavements, or the like, which disfigure our poverty; but these may be allowed in the churches."

[2] The Rules of the order (*Constitutiones fratrum ordinis Prædicatorum*), collected from the decrees of several general chapters by the third general, Raymundus de Pennaforti, are in Holstenius, vol. iv. p. 10, ed. Brockie.

also to the Franciscans—included a third class of associates, called *Tertiaries*,[1]—"a wider and more secular community, who were bound to the two former by bonds of close association, by reverence and implicit obedience, and were thus always ready to maintain the interests, to admire and to propagate the wonders, to subserve in every way the advancement, of the higher disciples of St. Dominic or St. Francis. They were men or women, old or young, married or unmarried, bound by none of the monastic vows, but deeply imbued with the monastic, with the corporate spirit; taught to observe all holy days, fasts, vigils, with the utmost rigour, inured to constant prayer and attendance on divine worship. They were organized, each under his own prior; they crowded as a duty, as a privilege, into the church whenever a Dominican ascended the pulpit, predisposed, almost compelled (if compulsion were necessary) to admire, to applaud, at least by rapt attention. Thus the order spread not merely by its own perpetual influence and unwearied activity; it had everywhere a vast host of votaries wedded to its interests, full to fanaticism of its corporate spirit, bound to receive hospitably or ostentatiously their wandering preachers, to announce, to trumpet abroad, to propagate the fame of their eloquence, to spread belief in their miracles, to lavish alms upon them, to fight in their cause. This lay coadjutary, these Tertiaries, as they were called, or, among the Dominicans, the Soldiers of Jesus Christ, as not altogether secluded from the world, acted more widely and more subtly upon the world. Their rule was not rigidly laid down by the seventh Master of the order, Munion de Zamora; it was then approved by the Popes."[2]

§ 9. The death of Dominic, on the 6th of August, 1221, was said to have been preceded by supernatural warnings and attended by a vision, in which a brother of the order saw the Master drawn up to heaven on a golden ladder, which was held at the top by the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, who had long since revealed herself to him as the especial protectress of the order.[3] Miracles, greater even than

[1] *Tertiarii* (and *æ*), also called *fratres et sorores de Militia Jesu Christi.*

[2] Milman, vol. vi. pp. 21, 22. "Among the special privileges of the order (in the Bull of Honorius) was that in the time of interdict (so common were interdicts now become) the order might still celebrate mass with low voices without bells. Conceive the influence thus obtained in a religious land everywhere else deprived of its holy services!"

[3] The Virgin is said to have shown to Dominic in a vision the white frock with black scapulary and hood. (But there is a great controversy about the original dress of the order; see Quetif and Echard, ii. 71 f.; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 367.) By some of the later writers (Bollandists) Dominic is all but deified as the adopted son of the Virgin, by others of the Father himself, who is made to couple, in an address to the Virgin, his adopted son, Dominic, with his eternal and co-equal Son, in a vision

those he had wrought while alive, followed his splendid burial by his friend, Cardinal Ugolino, who, as Pope Gregory IX., canonized St. Dominic in 1233. "I no more doubt," said the Pope; "the sanctity of Dominic, than that of St. Peter and St. Paul;" but the saint's later worshippers placed him above St. Paul, as well as the other Apostles, as the teacher of an easier way of salvation.[1] Such was the progress of the order after the founder's death that, when its fourth general, John of Wildeshausen (in Westphalia) held a general chapter at Bordeaux, it reckoned the number of its monasteries as 470; in Spain, 35; in France, 52; in Germany, 52; in Tuscany, 32; in Lombardy, 46; in Hungary, 30; in Poland, 36; in Denmark, 28; in England, 40. The missionary zeal, which was one great characteristic of the Dominicans, was already spreading the order among heathens, as well as into the Mohammedan countries of Palestine, Greece, Crete, and even as far as Abyssinia.

§ 10. The subsequent history of the Dominicans is mixed up with that of the other great order, founded about the same time in a friendly rivalry, which passed ere long into jealous opposition.[2] We have to speak presently of their philosophical and theological antagonism in the great scholastic movement, as the result of which the scientific divinity of the great Dominicans, Albert and Thomas Aquinas, gave ultimately the law to the Roman Catholic Church. But their most vehement contest was waged (as we have seen)[3] about the Immaculate Conception, of which the Franciscans were the enthusiastic advocates; while the Dominicans, not yielding in reverence to the Blessed Virgin,—in whose honour they adopted the Rosary,[4]—yet withstood the dogma when all other Latin Christians adopted it. For this resistance they were expelled from the University of Paris for fourteen years (1395–1409). But it is a signal proof of their power, that the Franciscan Pope, Sixtus IV., in confirming the dogma by two Bulls, forbad either party to denounce the other as guilty of heresy or mortal sin, "inasmuch as the matter had not yet been determined by the Roman Church or the Apostolic see" (1474). In the age of "pious frauds" some over-zealous Dominicans, at Frankfort and Berne, got up a pretended vision of the Virgin herself, to testify to Pope Julius II. that she had been conceived in sin, but a papal commission, presided over by the Dominican provincial himself, sent the prior and three

seen by St. Catherine of Siena, a tertiary of the order. For the citations and the bold representations of the relation of the Dominicans to the Virgin, see Milman, vol. vi. pp. 22, 23; Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 147.

[1] See the *Vita S. Dominici* (ap. Bolland. Aug. 4), quoted by Milman, *ibid.*

[2] The Dominicans were also specially hostile to the Templars.

[3] Chap. XVIII. § 6. [4] See above, Chap. XVII., p. 288.

monks of the Dominican convent at Berne to the stake for their part in the fraud.[1]

The divergent characters of the orders are further seen in those different spheres of activity, which helped indeed to mitigate their antagonism. While, as we have seen, Dominic adopted from Francis the rule of evangelic poverty, which both orders soon broke,[2] the Dominicans seem never to have regarded it as so essential, to have cast it off the more easily.[3] They found special exercise for their influence as confessors to persons of high rank, directing the affairs of great men and the councils of sovereigns, while the ministry of the Franciscans was rather to the common people. But the special power of the Dominicans was in their administration of the Inquisition, which was committed to them by Gregory IX. in 1232 and 1233, and gave them an impregnable stronghold even under the several Popes who were Franciscans. But on principle also the order retained that fidelity to the Papacy, from which we shall see a large party of the Franciscans, the "spirituals," turning away into bitter hostility.[4] Both orders, however, were active powers in the Church, from the early time when Matthew Paris said (in 1243), "No faithful man now believes he can be saved, except he is directed by the counsels of the Preachers and Minorites," to the complaint of Alexander VI. that "it was safer to offend any powerful king than a Franciscan or Dominican."[5]

The Dominicans retained their eminence as preachers, and much of the old religious fervour, which is attested by such members of the order as the mystic Tauler[6] and Savonarola.[7] At the eve of the Reformation they were the vehement opponents of the "humanist" Reuchlin; the chief preachers of, and traders in, indulgences; and Luther's principal antagonists were Dominicans. Of their fall in popular estimation by this time, in common with the other friars, we have to speak hereafter.

[1] For the details, see Giesler, v. 67–9; Robertson, vol. iv. p. 357–8.

[2] As early as 1243, Matthew Paris—the champion, be it remembered, of the monks against the friars—gives a lively picture of the quarrels which broke out between the orders, "to the astonishment of many" (he slily observes), "because they seemed to have chosen the path of perfection, namely that of poverty and patience," as well as of the corruption of the Mendicants.

[3] About 1330, Petrus Paludanus, a Dominican of Paris, published a tract, "quod fratres prædicatores possunt habere possessiones et redditus."

[4] See Chap. XXV. [5] Erasmus, *Exseq. Seraph.*, Opera, tom. i. p. 872.

[6] See Chap. XXXIII. § 7. [7] See Chap. XIV. § 14.

St. Francis in Glory.
From the Fresco by Giotto, on the Vault of the Lower Church of St. Francis at Assisi.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MENDICANT FRIARS—*continued.* ST. FRANCIS AND HIS ORDER.

A.D. 1182–1226.

§ 1. Birth, Early Life, and Character of ST. FRANCIS—Religious Ecstasies—Choice of Poverty. § 2. Vision in the Church of St. Damian—Quarrel with his father—Devotes himself to Mendicancy—His care for lepers. § 3. Church of the Portiuncula—Call of Francis—His twelve Disciples—Dress of the *Grey Friars*—Journey to Rome. § 4. Francis and Innocent III.—The three vows, chastity, obedience, and *absolute poverty*—Hostility to Learning. § 5. The brethren licensed to preach and ordain—Their success and popularity—Their churches at Assisi and Rome—St. Clare and her sisterhood. § 6. Francis a missionary—First two Chapters of the Order—Provincial Ministers—Confirmation by Innocent III. (1215). § 7. Francis in Egypt: he attempts to con-

vert the Sultan—Franciscan Protomartyrs in Morocco. § 8. Charter of Honorius III. to the *Fratres Minores* or *Minorites*—Their first arrival in England—Constitution and Rules of the Order—Absolute poverty: no property, houses, or churches. § 9. Francis discourages asceticism: inculcates cheerfulness. § 10. His principles for the government of the order, and functions of the Minister. § 11. *Second Order*, of St. Clare; third, of the *Tertiaries*, or *Brethren of Penitence*. § 12. The *Stigmata sacra* of St. Francis—His death, Burial, and Canonization—Controversy on the *Stigmata*—His Character.

§ 1. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI is distinguished from other saints of the same name by the appellation of the romantic Umbrian town, 13 miles S.E. of Perugia, where he was born twelve years later than Dominic (1182). His father, Peter Bernardini, seems to have desired to commemorate the child's birth during his own absence in France by the name which, on his return home, he substituted for that of John, which had been given by the mother.[1] The miraculous signs attending his birth are only to be noticed as examples of the legends by which his disciples assimilated their founder's life to that of Christ,[2] except where they exalted the servant above the

[1] The statement of Wadding (i. 21) and others, that the name was given to him later on account of his fondness for the French language, seems certainly erroneous. Among the mass of materials collected by Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum, s. Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum* (in the completest edition, 18 vols. fol. Romæ, 1731–1741), the most important are the *Life of S. Francis*, written by Thomas de Celano, in 1229 (*Acta SS.*, Oct., tom. ii. p. 683), enlarged in 1246 by the "Tres Socii" (Leo, Angelus, and Rufinus, *ib.* p. 723), and completed (1261) as the sacred book of the order, from its records and legends by Bonaventura (*ibid.* p. 742). Other chief authorities are S. Francisci *Opera*, Paris, 1641, Colon. 1849; *Légende dorée, ou Sommaire de l'Hist. des Frères mendians*, Amst., 1734; C. Vogt, *d. h. Franz von Assisi*, Tübingen, 1840; Malan, *Hist. de S. Francis*, Par. 1841, 1855; *Hase, Franz von Assisi*, Leipzig, 1856. On the influence of the Franciscans in society, literature, and politics, the late Mr. Brewer's preface to the *Monumenta Franciscana*, Lond. 1858, in the "Rolls Series" of English Chronicles, is invaluable: a second volume of this collection of original documents of the order has been edited, with an excellent Preface, by Mr. Richard Howlett, 1882.

[2] Thus a prophetess (according to some the Erythrean Sibyl) foretold his birth, which took place, by the suggestion of an unknown visitor, in a stable, and was hailed by angels, though it was a human voice that proclaimed peace and goodwill; and, in place of Simeon, an angel held the child at the font. He was foreshadowed by the types in the Old and New Testaments; he was the Apocalyptic "angel ascending from the earth, having the seal of the living God" (Rev. vii. 2); and, so long as harmony was preserved between the two orders, St. Francis and St. Dominic were the "two staves, Beauty and Bands," seen by the prophet Zechariah (xi. 7), the "Bands" (in the Vulg. *funiculus*) being the cord which the Franciscans used as a girdle; in short, they are symbolized by nearly all the sacred couples that could be collected from the Old or New Testament.

Lord. His impulsive and gentle nature had its course shaped by the indulgence of his fond mother, Picca, and the hard practical worldliness of his father, a rich merchant absorbed in trade. From an imperfect education by the clergy of St. George's Church, Francis was taken to assist his father in his business; but he preferred a life of idle and extravagant pleasure with his young companions, much of his prodigality, however, being bestowed on the poor. At the age of 22, serving in a petty local war, he was made prisoner for a year at Perugia; and the sobering influence of captivity was enhanced by a subsequent illness. He saw visions, and became rapt in religious ecstasies; till his fervent devotions centred in the idea of absolute poverty, not only as a self-denying discipline, but in order to "make many rich." When he talked mysteriously of his future bride, he meant Poverty; and he resolved never to refuse an alms, but to act literally on the precept, "Give to every one that asketh thee." He made a pilgrimage to Rome, and laid all his little stock of money on St. Peter's altar; and, on his return, he exchanged his clothes for the rags of the filthiest of a troop of beggars.[1]

§ 2. As he was praying in the church of St. Damian, he heard a voice from the crucifix—"Repair my church, which is falling to ruin." Not understanding the Lord's call to his future work, Francis resolved to repair the church; and, on being sent by his father to sell a bale of cloth at Foligno, he took the money to the priest of St. Damian, and, on his refusing to receive it, hid it in a hole and himself in a cave, where he spent a month in solitary prayer. After trying by shutting him up at home to reclaim him from his madness or dishonesty, his father brought him into court, that he might be compelled to renounce the patrimony he was wasting. Francis pleaded that he was devoted to the service of God, and the magistrates referred the case to the bishop. The hidden money had been found, and the question of future renunciation alone remained. "I will give the very clothes I wear," said Francis, as he stripped to his haircloth shirt; "Peter Bernardini was my father; I have now but one, my Father in Heaven." Henceforth, with the dress of a hermit, he took up the life, not only of poverty but mendicancy; begging at the doors of houses and the gates of

These and many other "conformities," drawn also from profane history and mythology, are collected in the *Liber Conformitatum* of Barth. Albizzi (1385, adopted by the order in 1399), which Luther called "the Eulenspiegel and Alcoran of the barefooted monks." (Hase, p. 14).

[1] It is well to remember that St. Francis had a predecessor, as earnest if less enthusiastic, in his principles of poverty and preaching, namely WALDO. (See Chap. XXXVI.)

monasteries, and discharging the lowest offices. Lepers, who were at that time tended in houses severed from the world, as marked by a disease the type of sin, were the special objects of his care. He spent some time among them in the hospital at Gubbio, kissed their sores, and washed their feet; and in one case he had a miraculous reward by the healing of a leper with a kiss.[1] These outcasts of humanity became the peculiar care of the Franciscan brotherhood.

§ 3. Returning to Assisi, he set himself to the redemption of his vow to repair the church of St. Damian; begging for the mere materials where money could not be got:—"Whoever will give me one stone shall have one prayer; whoever two, two; three, three." The people mocked, and his father cursed him when they met: his reply was to ask of a beggar, "Be thou my father, and give me thy blessing." The hand of charity opened to persevering importunity; and, besides the church of St. Damian, he was enabled to restore two others, those of St. Peter and St. Maria dei Angeli. The latter, called the Portiuncula, became the great sanctuary of the order, for his final call came to him within its walls. There it was that he one day heard the Saviour's charge to the disciples whom he sent forth to preach: "Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."[2] He had already no purse or money; so he threw away his wallet, staff, and shoes; girded a coarse grey tunic[3] about him with a cord, and went through the city, calling men to repentance. One by one he gathered a band of eleven disciples, whom he led out of the town to a place called, from its position at the bend of the river, Rivo Torto;[4] and here he first formed his order, for which a rule was wanted. Invoking the Holy Trinity, he

[1] Thom. Cel. 17; Bonav. 11, 13, 22. On St. Francis and the Lepers, see Mr. Brewer's Preface to the *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. xxiii. *seqq.*; and the *Translation of the Testament of St. Francis*, p. 592.

[2] Matt. x. 9, 10.

[3] This dress (see p. 415) gave the Franciscans the popular name of *Grey Friars*, the local memorial of which in our midst (corresponding to those of Blackfriars, Whitefriars, and Austinfriars) has been obscured by a more famous appellation; for it was on the site of the Grey Friars' monastery in London that Edward VI., ten days before his death (June 26th, 1553), founded "Christ's Hospital" for poor fatherless children and foundlings, now best known as the Bluecoat School; the *colour* being no survival of the Franciscan grey, but that used in Edward's time for servants.

[4] The parallel is evident to Christ's taking His disciples apart to give them the new law of His kingdom in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 1). To point out all these "conformities" would require a note on almost every passage of the Saint's life; but it is well to remember that the events may have been moulded to the conformities.

thrice opened the book of the Gospels which lay upon the altar, and read, the first time, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast and give to the poor;"[1] the second, "Take nothing for your journey;"[2] the third, "If any will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me."[3] At once accepting both the rule and the mission, Francis made the sign of the cross, and sent forth his followers in four bands into the neighbouring villages, east and west, and north and south,—a sign of dividing the world for their field of labour. This was done on St. Luke's Day, Oct. 18th, 1212. Reassembling at Rivo Torto, they set forth to Rome, to ask the sanction and blessing of the Holy Father; and on the way, the sacred number of *twelve* disciples was completed by a knight, who at once obeyed the call of Francis to lay aside his baldric and gird him with a cord; for his sword to take up the cross; and to exchange his gilded spurs for dirt and mire.

§ 4. "Innocent III."—so Dean Milman describes the scene—"was walking on the terrace of the Lateran, when a mendicant of the meanest appearance presented himself, proposing to convert the world by poverty and humility. The haughty Pontiff dismissed him with contempt." But wiser councils were either suggested, or fortified, by a dream, in which he saw the Church in danger of falling, and Francis propping it up. Here, though the connection is less direct than in the case of Dominic,[4] we may trace the same idea of meeting the growing danger of heresy with the weapons of the heretics themselves; "The Poor Men of the Church might out-labour and out-suffer the Poor Men of Lyon."[5] Innocent received Francis and heard his proposal in the midst of the cardinals, some of whom objected to the difficulty and even impossibility of the vows; but the Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina replied, "To suppose that anything is impossible with God is to blaspheme Christ and His

[1] Matt. xix. 21. [2] Mark vi. 8. [3] Matt. xvi. 24.

[4] It should be remembered that the Dominican order, though not sanctioned till three years later, was already formed and in full operation in Languedoc.

[5] Milman, vol. vi. p. 30. This is not a rhetorical antithesis of the historian's, but the account distinctly given by the *Chron. Ursperg.* ad ann. 1212 (p. 243, ed. Argentorat. 1609): "At that time, when the world was already growing old, two religions (i.e. orders) sprang up in the Church, whose youth is renewed like the eagle's, which were also confirmed by the apostolic see, namely, those of the *Lesser Brethren* and the *Preachers*. And they were probably approved on this occasion, because two sects formerly rose up in Italy and still survive, of whom the one called themselves *humiliati*, the others the *Poor Men of Lyon*;" and he goes on to compare the Preachers (i. e. Dominicans) with the former, and the *Minorites* (Franciscans) with the latter. See the whole passage in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 232–3. On the Poor Men of Lyon, see Chap. XXXVI.

Gospel." In that first stage of this new enthusiasm it is quite true that "in the difficulty, the seeming impossibility of the vows was their strength. The three vital principles of the order were, chastity, poverty, and obedience. For chastity, no one was to speak with a woman alone, except the few who might safely do so (from age or severity of character), and that was to urge penitence, or to give spiritual counsel. Poverty was not only the renunciation of all worldly possessions, but of all property, even in the clothes they wore, in the cord which girt them—even in their breviaries.[1] Money was, as it were, infected; they might on no account receive it in alms, except (the sole exception) to aid a sick brother. No brother might ride, if he had power to walk. They were literally to fulfil the precept, if stricken on one cheek, to offer the other; if spoiled of one part of their dress, to yield up the rest. Obedience was urged not merely as obligatory and coercive: the deepest mutual love was to be the bond of the brotherhood."[2]

§ 5. Innocent III. granted to Francis and his brethren authority to preach in every place, and at the same time they received the clerical tonsure;[3] but, as will presently be seen, the full confirmation of the order was not made till some years later by Innocent's successor. On their return home, the power of their preaching, the novelty of their enterprize, and the miracles of their chief, gathered round them crowds of enthusiastic hearers, who even tore the dress of Francis in pieces to possess some relics of him. At Assisi, the church of the Portiuncula, which Francis had restored, and in which he had

[1] "At first," says Bonaventura; "they had no books, their only book was the Cross." "Francis greatly dreaded the pride of learning. His own education had been scanty, but it was supposed that the knowledge of divine things came to him miraculously, and he seems to have expected his followers to learn in the same manner. When one of them expressed some difficulty as to parting with his books, he told him that his books must not be allowed to corrupt the Gospel, by which friars were bound to have nothing of their own. From another he took away even a Psalter, telling him that, if that book were allowed him, he would next wish for a breviary, and then for other books, until he would become a great doctor of the chair, and would imperiously thunder out to his humble companion orders to fetch such books as he might require." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 372.) Yet in a few years the order was to hold University chairs, and produce such writers as Hales and Bonaventura, Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus! [2] Milman, vol. vi. pp. 30–1.

[3] Francis was afterwards ordained a deacon, but at what time is uncertain. (See Bonav. 86; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 370.) For the home of the order in the environs of Rome, the Benedictines of Subiaco gave a church, which, like that near Assisi, bore the name of *S. Maria dei Angeli* or *della Portiuncula*. When Francis himself (in 1223) visited the place sacred as the first retreat of Benedict, he is said to have changed the thorns, in which that saint used to roll himself, into roses. (Comp. Part I. p. 406.)

received his divine commission, was given up to the new order; but it was afterwards eclipsed by the conventual church dedicated to St. Francis himself, which, in strange contrast to his own principles, became one of the most splendid in Italy, decorated with the masterpieces of reviving art, the paintings of Cimabue and Giotti.[1]

The preaching of Francis and his companions, less formal and more dramatic, more popular and appealing to the feelings, than the accustomed style, was attractive to women as well as to men. Under his influence, a noble young maiden of Assisi, named Clara Sciffi, cast off the ties of family life as sinful affections, and became the foundress of the poor and most rigidly severe sisterhood of St. Clare (1212). She is said to have preserved constant cheerfulness under a life of such mortification and humility, that she never raised her head or her eyelids far enough for the colour of her eyes to be seen, except once, to receive the blessing of Innocent IV., who visited her on her death-bed in 1253. She was canonized two years later by Alexander IV.[2]

§ 6. It is said that Francis was still hesitating between the contemplative and active life—prayer in the monastery and preaching throughout the world—when his choice was determined by a sign from heaven, and his mind was especially bent on missions to the infidel Mohammedans and the heathen. In accordance with the quadripart division made at Rivo Torto, while brethren went forth north, and west, and south, to Germany, Italy, and Spain, Francis himself embarked for Syria, but was driven back by storms. Next

[1] The building of the convent and church was begun in 1228, two years after the death of St. Francis, under the direction of an architect sent from Germany, Jacopo di Alemannia (also called Lapo), in conjunction with the friar Fra Filippo di Campbello. The convent (now suppressed) contains some frescoes by second-rate artists; among them a series of portraits of remarkable men of the order by Dono Doni (1595). The double church of S. Francesco, restored in 1874, is one of the most interesting monuments of Italian Gothic, and has a grand and singular appearance as seen on the approach from Perugia. (See vignette, p. 399.) It consists, in fact, of two churches, reared one over the other on massive substructions against the abrupt side of the hill on which the town stands. Beneath the lower, a third—a magnificent sepulchral crypt in the form of a Greek cross—was excavated around the place where the supposed remains of the saint were discovered in a rude stone sarcophagus in 1818. For a full description of the churches, their frescoes, and painted windows, see Murray's *Handbook of Central Italy* (1880), p. 373 f.

[2] The order of nuns of St. Clare was confirmed by a Bull of Innocent IV. Her body is still shown in the crypt beneath the high altar of the conventual church of *Sta. Chiara* at Assisi, built a few years after her death by Fra Filippo di Campello, and painted by Giotto; but the greater part of the church has been replaced by modern restorations. A reliquary is shown containing the hair which the saint cut off with her own hand.

year he set out to preach to the Moors in Morocco; but a dangerous illness compelled him to return when he had got as far as Spain. At the first general chapter of the order, held in the church of the Portiuncula, provincial *Ministers* (such was the humble title used instead of Master[1]) were appointed for Spain, Provence, France, and Germany (1215); and, in the same year in which he also confirmed the order of Dominic, Innocent III. renewed his approval of the Franciscan brotherhood. Four years later no less than 5000 brethren met at the second chapter of the order[2] (1219).

§ 7. In the same year the Crusade organized by Honorius III. gave Francis another opportunity for preaching to the Mohammedan infidels.[3] With the apostolic number of twelve companions, he arrived in Egypt just after the Crusaders had taken Damietta; and the certain failure, which he predicted from their dissensions, did not deter him from his own more peaceful but still more dangerous mission. A flock of sheep, seen on his way to the Saracen camp, recalled his Master's words, "Behold, I send you forth, as sheep in the midst of wolves;"[4] and his temerity may have won the respect with which Mohammedans see in madness a share of Divine inspiration. The Sultan heard him with attention, but declined his challenge to enter a great fire with the priests of Islam, or, when they refused, to let him expose himself alone to the ordeal; for, said Francis, "if I should be burnt, you will impute it to my sins; should I come forth alive, you will embrace the Gospel." Refusing the rich presents offered by the Sultan, who sent him back with honour to the camp, Francis returned through Palestine and the kingdom of Antioch to Italy. The like toleration was not shown by the fiercer Moors to the five brethren who, about the same time, had gone to Spain, and, having preached without effect at Seville, passed over into Africa, to become the protomartyrs of the order by the cruelty of King Miramamolin.[5] St. Francis received the sad intelligence with triumph, and broke forth in gratulations to the convent of

[1] The contrast expressed by the etymology of the words should be remembered: *magister*, from the root *mag*, "great;" *minister*, from *min*, "little."

[2] Bonaventura, 52; Wadding, vol. i. pp. 246, 257, 284–291.

[3] See Chap. V. § 9, pp. 71–2.

[4] Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 3. The *harmlessness* inculcated in the same text was being strangely illustrated by the Crusaders both in the East and in Languedoc.

[5] Wadding, A.D. 1219, 1220, pp. 48, 38. A list of the martyrs of the order, to 1342, is given in the Register of the London Franciscans, entitled *Prima Fundatio Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ* in the *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls Series, pp. 526–8). It is there stated that the remains of the five protomartyrs were brought back by Peter, Infant of Portugal.

Alonquir, which had thus produced the first purple flowers of martyrdom.[1]

§ 8. In 1223 (or 1224) Honorius III. granted the first formal charter to the order, confirming a stricter rule which had been drawn up by Francis; and the appointment of Cardinal Ugolino (afterwards Gregory IX.), to the office of "*protector et corrector ordinis*" is one of many proofs of the original harmony between the brotherhoods of Dominic and Francis. (Each order had such an officer resident at Rome.) The deep humility of the founder was expressed in the name of the brotherhood, *Fratres Minores* (often called *Minorites*), not only as claiming a lower place than all the older religious orders, but as being, like the great preacher among the apostles, "less than the least of all saints," less even, as later Franciscans loved to play upon the title, than the deepest humiliation confessed by patriarchs and psalmists, apostles and saints.[3]

In the same spirit, Francis desired the brethren of the order to be called by the diminutive, *Fraticelli* (that is, "little brothers"), and as we have just observed, the superiors of the order were called *Ministers*. Even the title of abbot (i.e. father) was avoided; the superior of each convent being a *Custos* (warden), of each province a *Minister Provincialis*, and of the whole order the *Minister Generalis*.[4] The supreme legislative authority was vested in the

[1] Milman, vol. vi. pp. 33–4.

[2] The year 1224, the 9th of Pope Honorius III. and the 8th of Henry III. of England, and also the year of the arrival of the Franciscans in England, is the date given by Thomas of Eccleston, *de Adventu Minorum in Angliam*, and in the other documents printed in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, pp. 7, 493, 547, 631.

[3] See the passage quoted by Brewer (*Mon. Franc.* pref. p. ix.). It should be remembered that, though for convenience we speak of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, the contemporary names are always *Prædicatores* and *Minores* (with or without *Fratres*). The equivalent name, *Fraticelli* (little brethren), was afterwards adopted as distinctive by the more rigid Franciscans.

[4] The convents of each province were grouped into several higher wardenships (*custodiæ*). Thus England was divided into the seven wardenships of London, York, Cambridge, Bristol, Oxford, Newcastle, and Worcester, each containing 7, 8, or 9 convents, each wardenship comprising an extensive district. London, for example, had the nine convents of London (St. Francis's near Newgate, now Christ's Hospital, though then much larger), Canterbury, Winchelsea, Southampton (St. Mary's), Ware, Lewes, Chichester (St. Peter's), Salisbury (St. Francis's), Winchester (St. Francis's.). See the full list in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 579, where will also be found lists of the General Ministers, the English and Provincial Ministers, the Popes, cardinals, bishops, kings, nobles, princesses, and other distinguished persons of the three orders, besides the readers in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, for the 13th and part of the 14th centuries; with other very interesting and instructive original documents.

General Chapter of the whole order, which met every third year, and by it the General Minister was elected or deposed, but his deposition must be confirmed by the sentence of the Pope, to whom the order owed obedience.[1] The rule enjoined the three monastic vows; but the peculiar distinction of the order (besides its special work of preaching) was the literal and most rigid interpretation of the vow of poverty, both personal and collective. The Franciscan brother was to have absolutely no possession, except his gray hooded frock, made of the coarsest materials, and the cord which girt it about him; no other vestments, nor hat, nor shoes; no wallet, purse or staff. He was not to ride, except in case of absolute necessity. He was to live on the hospitality of those who invited him, eating and drinking what they might give him, and keeping nothing for the next day. The brethren were never to take alms in money, nor to receive the temporal goods of novices, as was customary with other orders.

They were to have "neither monasteries or churches, nor houses or other possessions, nor where to lay their heads;"[2] but this rule was almost immediately broken in practice. While, however, their life was to be so poor, and their food and dress the simplest and coarsest, and though Francis himself practised such abstinence as to stint himself even in his allowance of water, yet in society he conformed to the usages of those about him; his principle being not so much self-mortification for its own sake, as contentment with whatever hospitality might be afforded; according to the precept, "Eat such things as they set before you."

§ 9. St. Francis discouraged all extremes of ascetic discipline and austerity, not only from his natural gentleness, but because they

[1] The Bull of Honorius expressly recites the promise of obedience made by Francis. The order, as also the Dominican, stood in connection with the Curia, through its Protector and Corrector, who was a cardinal.

[2] Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Histor. Occident.* c. 32. An interesting example of the growth of a Franciscan convent is seen in the account of benefactions to the brethren in London, and the building of their church, from their first arrival in 1224. After landing at Dover (Sept. 8), five stayed at Canterbury, and there founded the first Minorite convent; while the other four went on to London, and were hospitably received by the Dominicans for a fortnight. They then, through their spiritual friends, hired a house in Cornhill, and constructed in it small cells, in which they lived till the following summer, gaining favour with the citizens, one of whom, John Swyn, a mercer, gave them their first estate near Newgate, which was afterwards enlarged by other benefactions. In this second year (1225) they also made settlements at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere; and in the 32nd year (1255) there were 242 brethren living in 49 places. (Thom. de Eccleston *de Adventu*, &c., pp. 7–10; *Prima Fundatio*, &c., pp. 493 foll.)

savoured of spiritual pride. "When some of his followers had injured themselves by their severities, he forbad all 'indiscreet adinventions' by way of penance, such as the use of cuirasses, chains, or rings confining the flesh, and all endeavours of one to outstrip another in religion."[1] While other religious orders had vied with one another for the repute of superior holiness by their multiplied fasts and vigils, Francis bade his followers to observe only those prescribed by the Church: on other days they might eat flesh and all kinds of plain food. He used to say that, as the body was created for the soul, and the flesh ought to be subdued to the spirit, so the servant of God ought to eat, sleep, drink, and satisfy his bodily requirements with discretion, in order that the body might have no cause to complain that it could not stand erect or pay attention to prayer, because its wants were not satisfied. He always inculcated that *cheerfulness*, which he himself maintained amidst all his humiliations and labours, saying that it was *the sign of a clean heart*, and a great defence against the devil. And in this rational practical piety, as in all else, he kept to the letter of his Lord's teaching;[2] as when he rebuked a melancholy brother: "Why do you wear that sad and gloomy countenance because of your offences? It is enough that your sorrow should be known between you and your God. Pray for His mercy to spare you and restore that cheerfulness to your soul which you have lost by your own demerits."[3]

§ 10. The like union of good sense with Christian kindness and knowledge of human nature, is shown in the principles he laid down for the government of the order. In his advice on the choice of a minister of the order,[4] besides insisting on high personal qualifications and a strict example of obedience to the rules of the order, he exhorts him to comfort the afflicted, lest they be driven to despair. "To win the perverse and proud to meekness, let him humble himself, and abate somewhat of his own right, to gain a soul. To the runaways of his order, let him open the bowels of mercy, as to sheep that have been lost; let him never refuse to pardon them, well knowing that their temptations are very strong, and if the Lord permitted him to be tried he might perchance fall worse than they." While insisting that the minister should be honoured as the *Vicar of Christ*, and that all should make provision for him in

[1] Wadding, vol. i. p. 294; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 372. In this, as in other respects, the piety of St. Francis was too simple and rational for his followers. We find Thomas of Eccleston (among other like instances) recording that Peter the Spaniard, one of the first Franciscans in England, "wore an iron cuirass next his flesh and showed very many other examples of perfection." (*Monum. Francisc.* p. 10.)

[2] Comp. Matt. vi. 16–18. [3] *Monum. Francisc.* pref. p. xxxiii.

[4] See the passage in full in Brewer, *ibid.*

all things with all benevolence, he warns him "not to be exalted by honours and favours more than he is *delighted by injuries*, or to let honours change his manners except for the better." He gives advice for government, which might well be studied by all in authority:—"Let him regard all accusations with suspicion at first, until the truth shall be known by diligent enquiry. *Let him give no heed to gossippers*, and particularly suspect all accusations proceeding from such persons, and be slow to credit them. Let him not, from desire of retaining popularity, refuse or relax the forms of justice and equity; nor, on the other hand, let him suffer souls to perish from overmuch rigour. Let not torpor arise from excessive kindness, nor the relaxation of discipline from over-indulgence; *and so let him be feared by all who love, and loved by all who fear him.*"

§ 11. With the Minorite Friars, whether clerical or lay,[1] the sisterhood of St. Clare was associated as a "second order;"[2] and a third was formed, in 1221, of the Tertiaries, like those of the "Preachers," but with the characteristic difference that, while the title of Dominic's third order was militant, that of Francis was penitential. Their formation was not only a great accession of influence, but (as Dean Milman observes) a matter of necessity. "At his preaching, and that of his disciples, such multitudes would have crowded into the order, as to become dangerous and unmanageable. The whole population of one town, Canari in Umbria, offered themselves as disciples. The Tertiaries were called the *Brethren of Penitence*;[3] they were to retain their social position in the world; but, first,

[1] When Mr. Brewer says (pref. p. xxxv.) that "the Franciscans were to all intents and purposes *laymen*, bound by religious vows," he means that their main work was not that of clerical ministration, and did not need clerical orders for its performance (though even to this statement we shall find an exception of vast importance, in the case of the confessors). The Church of Rome, always more versatile than many freer religious communities, had discovered the wisdom of not fettering the gift of preaching by the requirement of ordination. But it must not be understood that the Franciscans were always or generally laymen. As we have seen, Francis himself, and his original companions, received the clerical tonsure from Innocent III. Of the nine brethren who first came into England in 1224, four were clerks and five laymen.

[2] Under the head "De Secundo Ordine Sancti Francisci," the *Prima Fundatio* (p. 543) enumerates five sainted women, headed by "Beata *Clara*, qui in vita et in morte miraculis mirabiliter *claravit*."

[3] *Tertiarii*, *Tertius Ordo de Pœnitentia*, or *Fratres Conversi*. They were of both sexes. Among the eminent persons of this Third Order of St. Francis, the *Prima Fundatio* enumerates St. Elizabeth, princess of Hungary, St. Brigida, princess of Norway and Sweden, St. Eleazar, count of Alsace, and Louis VIII., king of France, who is also called *Sanctus* in the list. (*Monum. Francisc.* p. 543.)

they were enjoined to pay all their debts, and to make restitution of all unfair gains. They were then admitted to make a vow to keep the commandments of God, and to give satisfaction for any breach of which they might have been guilty. They could not leave the order, except to embrace a religious life. Women were not admitted without the consent of their husbands. The form and colour of their dress were prescribed, silk rigidly prohibited. They were to keep aloof from all public spectacles, dances, especially the theatre; to give nothing to actors, jugglers, or such profane persons. Their fasts were severe, but tempered with some lenity; their attendance at church constant. They were not to bear arms, except in the cause of the Church of Rome, the Christian faith, or their country, and that at the licence of their ministers. On entering the order they were immediately to make their wills, to prevent future litigation; they were to abstain from unnecessary oaths; they were to submit to penance, when imposed by their ministers."[1] Except in the articles of fasting and penance, these rules differed very little from the conditions (expressed or understood) of church-membership in some Protestant communities, as belonging to a strict Christian life in the world but not conformed to it.

§ 12. In the same year in which the order was confirmed by Honorius III. (1224), Francis—according to his own belief, amplified into the legend which became a chief article of the Franciscan faith[2]—received the crowning divine attestation of his conformity to his Master by the appearance in his hands and feet and side of five wounds, exactly like those inflicted on the Saviour by the nails of the cross and the soldier's spear—the famous "*sacra stigmata* of

[1] Milman, vol. vi. p. 37. Pope Leo XIII. has lately iuvited laymen to coöperate in the contest with infidelity by "fostering and propagating the Third Order of St. Francis, as well as other pious guilds and associations, such as that of St. Vincent of Paul (*Encyclical against Freemasonry*, April 20, 1884).

[2] This mode of stating the case is justified by the great diversity in the early accounts. While, on the one hand, it was affirmed that the *stigmata* were seen by several persons during the saint's life (which is hardly consistent with his efforts to conceal them), and even by fifty disciples at once (a suspicious "conformity" with the 500 and more who saw the risen Saviour, 1 Cor. xv. 6), and publicly on his naked body after his death;—on the other hand, Roger of Wendover places the appearance of the wounds only fifteen days before the death of Francis; and, though he says they were seen flowing with blood by crowds of people during the fortnight, he adds that they closed and disappeared entirely after his death, according to his own prediction (*Flores*, iv. 154; *s. a.* 1227). Hase (p. 143 f.) argues no one but Fra Elias (a suspicious witness, as will presently be seen) pretended to have seen the *stigmata* during the life of Francis, and that the legend was invented immediately after his death.

St. Francis." As the story is told by his earliest biographer,[1] Francis had retired for a time to a hermit's cell on Mt. Aulma (or Alvernia)[2] in the Apennines, where he saw in vision a man, like the Seraphim, with six wings, standing above him, fixed to a cross by his outstretched hands, and his feet joined together. While he anxiously considered what the vision might mean, without being able to understand more than a deep impression of its novelty, there began to appear on his hands and feet the marks of nails, such as he had just seen on the man crucified above him. His succeeding biographers describe the marks as black excrescences, like the heads of nails on one side of his hands and feet, and like their clenched points on the other side; and besides these marks, a wound broke out in his side, and often stained his garments.[3] The humility of Francis strove to conceal the miraculous marks, and especially the wound in his side, but many of his disciples affirmed that they had seen them, and that many miracles were wrought by their power; and when, in dying, he determined literally to leave the world naked as he came into it, the reality of the marks is said to have been proved to the eyes of his disciples. Worn out with illness, he had returned to die at Assisi, and, having asked to be carried into the church of the Portiuncula, he "solemnly blessed his weeping brethren, and breathed his last, lying on a shirt of hair, and sprinkled with penitential ashes (Oct. 4, 1226). His soul was seen in the form of a star more dazzling than the sun, which was

[1] Thomas Celanus, lib. ii. c. i. § 94–5; comp. *III. Socii*, 69; Bonav. 191 f.; Wadding, ii. 89–90. For the more elaborate account, combined from these writers, see Milman, vi. 38–9.

[2] As the other authorities call it. The event, with its place and time, is commemorated by Dante, who was born in the fortieth year after the death of St. Francis (*Paradiso*, xi. 106–108):—

> "Nel crudo sasso, intra Tevere ed Arno,
> Da Cristo prese l'ultimo sigillo,
> Che le sue membre due anni portarno."

[3] Very soon the admiring believers were not content with the *marks*, or even with the effusion of blood. According to Roger of Wendover (*l. c.*), "his right side was laid open and sprinkled with blood, so that *the secret recesses of his heart were plainly visible.*" The Franciscan Pope Nicolas IV. affirmed that the nails were not only on the outside of the hands and feet, "but forced into the inner parts through the flesh and sinews and bones" (Wadding, v. 267); and the *Liber Conformitatum* (p. 298), always magnifying the parallels of St. Francis with the Saviour, says that the nails were divided from the flesh, in which they were movable but could not be removed, though St. Clara and others often attempted to take them out! This manifest growth of the legend vitiates the whole chain of evidence: for it is impossible to mark the point where invention begins, and sound criticism (in all such cases) rejects the arbitrary device of sifting it down to a *credible minimum.*

conveyed in a luminous cloud over many waters to the abyss of brightness."[1] His desire to be laid in the burial-place of criminals without the town was indeed complied with; but, as if to annul his humility, his disciples raised over his tomb the splendid church of St. Francis, which, with their convent, was enclosed within the city walls.[2] Two years after his death, St. Francis was canonized by the former protector of the mendicant orders, Pope Gregory IX., who also gave an authoritative confirmation to the miracle of the sacred *stigmata*.[3] But the three Bulls, which the Pope issued in 1237,[4] attest also the doubts which needed to be silenced. The first, addressed to all believers in Christ, while asking their devout belief in the miracle, and their faith in the saint's intercession, exhorts them to turn a deaf ear to all assertion of the contrary; the second denounces the sinful unbelief of a bishop, who had asserted that, as the Son of God alone had been crucified for man's salvation, neither Francis nor any other saint ought to be painted with the marks of crucifixion; while the third, addressed to the Provincial Priors of the Preachers, threatens excommunication against a Dominican friar, for the madness and impudence with which he had opposed the miracle, publicly calling the Franciscans, who had promulgated the "pious statements," questuaries and false preachers.[5] The opposition of the Dominicans is expressed more moderately by their great writer, Jacobus de Voragine, who reverentially accepts the fact of the *stigmata*, but explains their appearance on the body of St. Francis as the physical effect of exalted imagination, combined with vehement love, admiration, meditation, and compassion.[6]

This explanation is accepted by Archbishop Trench, who says:

[1] Thom. Celan., 98–110; *III. Socii*, 68; Bonav., 213; Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 375–6. [2] See above, p. 387.

[3] Alexander IV., another ardent supporter of the mendicant orders, further decreed that any one who should speak against the *stigmata* of St. Francis was to be excommunicated, and no one might absolve him from the offence except the Pope alone. (Robertson, *l. c.*)

[4] Raynald., ann. 1237; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 252.

[5] The Franciscan Pope Nicolas IV. issued a Bull silencing a Dominican who had dared to make the sarcastic comparison that in Peter Martyr (a Dominican) there were signs of the living God, in St. Francis only *Dei mortui*. Raynald. ann. 1291; Milman, vol. vi. p. 39.

[6] *Sermo III. de S. Francisco* (about 1290), *ap.* Gieseler, ii. 252. He confirms his explanation by parallel cases, which belong, however, to a another and well-attested class of physical effects, from the impression made on the mind of a mother during pregnancy. Archbishop Trench, however affirms that "there have been so many analogous cases verified beyond all doubt—some eighty at least, by no means all in the Roman Catholic Church—that it is idle to urge a physical impossibility." (*Lectures on the Medieval Church*, p. 243.)

"*Assuming their existence as sufficiently proved by contemporary evidence,*[1] I must wholly reject the explanation which sees in them special marks of divine favour miraculously imprinted on his body to bring him into closer conformity with his crucified Lord; while, on the other hand, I dismiss with scorn the suggestion that they were marks artificially and fraudfully brought about by the Saint himself, for his own greater glorification, with or without the assistance or connivance of others;" and, after arguing the physical possibility, he comes to the conclusion,—"*I am as confident that there was no miracle, as I am that there was no fraud.*" But is this the sole alternative? May not that pervading idea of conformity to his Lord and Saviour, combined with his constant literal reading of the divine Word, which in Francis himself was as far removed from any desire of "his own glorification" as with his followers it was perverted into an almost blasphemous equality with Christ,—may not this have led him, in one of his ecstasies of mystic devotion, not only without a fraudulent purpose, but with an imperfect consciousness of the mechanical act itself, to work upon his own person a literal fulfilment of the Apostle's words, "*I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus?*"[2] And while he himself, in deep humility—possibly, in a less ecstatic frame, not without misgiving—concealed the marks, it was equally in full accordance with the spirit of his idolizing disciples to magnify and exalt them in every way, as the crowning example of the "conformities" which they pushed beyond the bounds of reason and reverence;[3] so that

[1] We emphasize this passage as containing, after all, a considerable assumption; and when Dr. Trench adds that "There is no *à priori* ground for refusing credit to the statements of those who testified that *they had seen these wound-prints and handled them*," he seems to imply too high an estimate of *the evidence itself*, apart from all *à priori* objections. Besides the doubt as to whether they did "see and handle" the wounds which Francis himself carefully concealed, and besides the grave discrepancies in the evidence, the most positive witnesses labour under the suspicion of "proving too much."

[2] Galat. vi. 17. The probability of this explanation is confirmed by other examples in the same age. Thus we are told of a Marquis of Montferrand, who, from devotion, "bore in his body the marks (*stigmata*) of the Lord Jesus, with other penitential inflictions (*pœnitentiis*), which he used to make in memory of the passion of the Lord, and on every Friday he pierced his flesh with nails even to the shedding of blood" (Steph. de Borbone, in D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, i. 85, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 253). Another case is mentioned in England in 1222 (two years before the *stigmata* of St. Francis), when a council, held by Archbishop Langton at Oxford, condemned to perpetual imprisonment a rustic "who had made himself Christ, and pierced his own hands and side and feet." (*Annal. Dunstapl.* p. 76; Trivet, 210–211; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 375.)

[3] See Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 253–4, for examples of the length to which

they might at length silence every doubting Didymus who was disposed to say, "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hands into his side, I will not believe."[1]

But Francis himself is not to be judged by the faults or frauds of his followers. His character has been admirably drawn by Dean Milman[2]:—"Of all saints, St. Francis was the most blameless and gentle. In Dominic and in his disciples all was still rigorous, cold, argumentative; something remained of the Crusader's fierceness, the Spaniard's haughty humility, the Inquisitor's stern suppression of all gentler feelings, the polemic sternness. Whether Francis would have burned heretics, happily we know not, but he would willingly have been burned for them: himself excessive in austerities, he would at times mitigate the austerities of others. Francis was emphatically the Saint of the people—of a poetic people, like the Italians. Those who were hereafter to chant the Paradise of Dante, or the softer stanzas of Sappho, might well be enamoured of the ruder devotional strains in the poetry of the whole life of St. Francis. The lowest of the low might find consolation, a kind of pride, in the self-abasement of St. Francis even beneath the meanest. . . . In his own eyes (says his most pious successor) he was but a sinner, while in truth he was the mirror and splendour of holiness. It was revealed, says the same Bonaventura, to a Brother, that the throne of one of the angels, who fell from pride, was reserved for Francis, who was glorified by humility. If the heart of the poorest was touched by the brotherhood in poverty and lowliness of such a saint, how was his imagination kindled by his mystic strains! St. Francis is among the oldest vernacular poets of Italy.[3] His poetry, indeed, is but one long passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre; it has not even the order and completeness of a hymn: it is a sort of plaintive variation on one simple melody—an echo of the same tender words, multiplied again and again, it might be fancied, by the voices in the cloister walls. But his ordinary speech is more poetical than his poetry. In his peculiar language he addresses all animate, even inanimate, creatures as his brothers; not merely the birds and beasts: he had an especial fondness for lambs and larks, as the images of the Lamb

they carried the principle, which they expressed in the words of the son of Sirach, "He made him like in the glory of the saints" (Ecclus. xlv. 2), nay, even asking of St. Francis, "Who is like God among the sons of God?" (Ubertinus de Casali, about A.D. 1312.)

[1] John xx. 25. [2] Vol. vi. p. 34 fol.

[3] "M. de Montalembert is eloquent, as usual, on his poetry." (Preface to *La Vie d'Elisabeth d'Hongrie.*)

of God, and of the Cherubim in heaven.[1] I know not if it be among the Conformities, but the only malediction I find him to have uttered was against a fierce swine, which had killed a young lamb. Of his intercourse with those mute animals we are told many pretty peculiarities, some of them miraculous. But his poetic impersonation went beyond this. When the surgeon was about to cauterize him, he said, 'Fire, my brother, be thou discreet and gentle to me.' In one of his Italian hymns he speaks of his brother the sun, his sister the moon, his brother the wind, his sister the water. No wonder that, in this almost perpetually ecstatic state, unearthly music played around him, unearthly light shone round his path. When he died, he said with exquisite simplicity, 'Welcome! sister Death.' St. Francis himself, no doubt, was but unconsciously presumptuous, when he acted as under divine inspiration, even when he laid the ground-work for that assimilation of his own life to that of the Saviour, which was wrought up by his disciples, *as it were into a new Gospel, and superseded the old.* His was the studious imitation of humility, not the emulous approximation of pride, even of pride disguised from himself; such profaneness entered not his thought. His life might seem a religious trance. The mysticism so absolutely absorbed him, as to make him unconscious, as it were, of the presence of his body. Incessantly active as was his life, it was a kind of paroxysmal activity, constantly collapsing into what might seem a kind of suspended animation of the corporeal functions.[2] It was even said that he underwent a kind of visible and glorious transfiguration."[3]

[1] Bonaventura, c. 8. "He often bought off lambs which were on their way to the slaughter. . . . Once, as he was about to preach, and found that some swallows were making a noise, he addressed them: 'Sisters, you have spoken enough for the present, and it is my turn; be silent, and listen to the word of God.' He spoke to the fishes, to the worms, and even to the flowers. . . . He saw, says an early biographer, the Creator in all His creatures; and it has been conjectured that the pantheism, with which the order was afterwards infected, may perhaps be traced to the founder's love of nature, and to his fondness for personifying it (Neander, vii. 382)." Robertson, vol. iii. p. 373, where see also the anecdote of his taming a wolf by a remonstrance addressed to "Brother Wolf" for his cruelty.

[2] A modern biographer of St. Francis (Foligno, 1824) says that he was often so absorbed, immersed, swallowed up, and concentrated in Jesus, that sight, hearing, feeling, and the actions of his body were suspended, with all his knowledge and recollection. This state is thus illustrated: "he was riding on an ass; he was almost torn in pieces by devout men and women, shouting around him; he was utterly unconscious, like a dead man."

[3] Bonaventura, *Vit. Minor.* 1

Assisi: showing the Churches of St. Francis.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE FRANCISCANS.

A.D. 1226–1256.

§ 1. Place of the Mendicants in the Church—Dangers from Oriental influence—New spirit rising in the towns—The Franciscan the missionary of the town—Influence of their poverty—Opposition of St. Francis to secular learning. § 2. Special character and power of the Franciscan preaching. § 3. The Friars as Confessors: their consequent power, and complaints of the clergy—Their disparagement of the old orders—Intrusion on parochial ministrations. § 4. Impossibility of the Franciscan ideal—The rule of absolute poverty—St. Francis on churches and houses—Decree of the general chapter—Necessity above the law: other pretexts for its breach. § 5. Course of the English Provincials, Agnellus and Haymo—Building a spoiling of preaching and devotion—

Even debts might be contracted. § 6. Elias, the vicar and successor of St. Francis, the evil genius of the order—Contest about his election—His breach of the rule of poverty, and tyranny over the *Spirituals* or *Zealots of the Order*—Chapter for the reformation of the order—Elias deposed by Gregory IX.—His subsequent contumacy and league with Frederick II. § 7. Increasing corruptions of the rule—Innocent IV. sanctions the possession of property, *under the Holy See*—Growing dissensions—Resignation of the General Minister, John of Parma—Apologue of Alexander IV.: the two walls of knowledge and morals.

§ 1. A MEDIEVAL historian[1] regards the Mendicant Orders, and especially the Franciscan, as a fourth institution, added by the Lord in those times to the three orders of Eremites, Monks, and Canons, to complete the square and solid foundations of the religious life. But if, he says, we consider carefully the state and order of the primitive Church, Divine Providence did not so much add a new rule, as renew the old one, lift it up from its fallen condition, and rouse almost from a state of death the religion which seemed all but setting in the eventide of the world, when the age of the son of perdition was at hand, that He might prepare new champions (*athletes*) against the perilous times of Antichrist, and strengthen the Church with new outworks. This view of the work of the Friars, in its relation to the wants of the age, finds an echo in Mr. Brewer's able and interesting essay on the mission of the Franciscans.[2] At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the fabric of Latin Christianity, in the form which it had assumed under the ascendancy of Rome, was threatened with the twofold danger of heresy and infidelity. "When the policy of Innocent III. seemed on the eve of being crowned with success, a new and more potent influence had started up to threaten the faith of Christendom. The genius of the Papacy had provided for all other contingencies: not for this. Slowly had it come to be recognized as the central and supreme authority of the West. The ideal of Gregory VII. had

[1] Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Hist. Occident.* c. 32, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 235.

[2] Preface to the *Monumenta Franciscana* (1858), in the "Rolls Series" of the "Chronicles," &c. The student must be warned, once for all, that Mr. Brewer's picture is coloured by a generous sympathy; but it is drawn with his characteristic faithfulness to facts. The author, whose loss is recent as we write, was not of those who allow strong opinions to distort the essential outlines of history. In placing the rich matter contained in that costly work within reach of every student, we prefer for the most part to preserve the freshness and power of the writer's own language, marking the passages quoted, though compelled to omit much of the highest value. An able and impartial estimate of the good and evil of the mendicant orders is given by Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iii. pp. 46 f.

been wrought into a system; Italian policy was playing a successful game in all the courts of Christendom. But a new difficulty had arisen; the Crusades, fostered by the Popes to support the Papacy, had ended, as all violent antagonisms do end, in producing the most opposite results to those which the promoters of these expeditions had anticipated. The conversion of the Saracens had not been secured; it seemed much more likely that the converters would become converted. Oriental habits, tastes, and sciences, Oriental modes of thought,[1] and with them the moral and physical diseases of the East, were advancing with a fascination and rapidity not easily described. The simpler people were falling before the more cultivated and subtle."

More especially was this the case in the towns, which, having been long the refuge of the people from feudal oppression, and having thus gathered into themselves all that remained unsubdued of the spirit of freedom and energy, were rising into power through the commerce which had been quickened by the Crusades; but comparatively free also from the intellectual and spiritual control of the clergy and monasteries. "At this day we contrast the superiority in point of intelligence and education of the town over the country. In the thirteenth century these advantages were reversed. Schools and libraries, all that survived of art and science from the Teutonic and Norman deluge, existed only in the great monastic societies. Like colleges or universities spread throughout the country, monasteries diffused learning and education, habits of order and economy, among the tenants of the soil. The inhabitant of the town, deprived of these benefits, had to struggle on to light and order, self-taught and self-sustained. He learned from early times, as best he could, habits of independence. The same spirit, which animated the great manufacturing cities in the south of France, and made them the centres of opposition to the feudal baron and equally feudal bishop, constituted them also the centres of all freedom of opinion, of all subtle and obstinate heresies; subtle, because the clergy did not understand them; obstinate, because they could feel no sympathy for those who entertained them. If the towns sympathized with any faith, or any forms of philosophy, the Oriental had for them the greatest temptation. It was most opposed to that

[1] "The facts cannot be disputed," says Mr. Brewer elsewhere (p. xxxix. note); "strange and unaccountable as they seem. The accusation against the Templars, and their practice of magic, will occur to the reader's mind. To these must be added the charge of Manichæism, imputed to the Albigenses; the two infamous books of the age, the 'Eternal Gospel' and the 'Three Impostors,' the latter of which is attributed to the Emperor Frederick II. The communistic excesses of this century, especially in France, had the same origin." We treat all these in their places.

authority which they disliked; it was most intimately connected with their commercial prosperity.

"It was fortunate, then, that the efforts to carry Christianity among the masses of the towns proceeded from one who was not an ecclesiastic, and had received no ecclesiastical education. Happily for the objects of his mission, St. Francis had early opportunities, through his mercantile occupations, of coming into contact with the manufacturing population; and his whole life shows, as well as the rule which he gave to his followers, that he understood better than most men (whatever else might be his failings) the true nature of his mission, and the character of the people with whom he had to deal. . . . *The Franciscan is the missionary of the town.* . . . He is the poor missionary preaching to the poor; dependent entirely on their sympathies; disappearing when those sympathies are withdrawn." And among the poor, he is the poorest and most miserable. In the medieval towns, whose dirty narrow streets, stagnant ditches and ponds, receiving the refuse of the kennels and shambles, were constant sources of fever and pestilence, we find the head-quarters of the Franciscans in the poorest and most neglected suburbs;[1] and, after the example of their founder, the lowest depths of those depths of misery were reached by their special ministrations to the outcast lepers.[2] "Repulsive as that service was in all respects, especially to men of gentle blood and education, to these he looked for converts, and in this he was eminently successful. Unlike other and earlier founders of religious orders, the requisites for admission into his fraternity point to the better educated, not to the lower classes. 'He shall be whole of body and prompt of mind; not in debt; not a bondsman born; not unlawfully begotten; of good name and fame, and competently learned.'[3] Such were the early disciples of

[1] See Mr. Brewer's illustrations of this point with respect to the Franciscan establishments in England (p. xvii. f.). In London the significant name of *Stynkyng-lane* occurs again and again in the documents relating to the earliest gifts of land for the site of their chief convent near Newgate. (*Prima Fundatio*, &c., pp. 495, 497, 499.)

[2] The whole subject of the state of lepers in the medieval towns, and the self-denying care bestowed on them by St. Francis, is richly illustrated by Mr. Brewer, pp. xxi.-xxvii.

[3] These are among the twelve qualifications ordained "in the General Chapter called Bercynonde," appended to the English "Testament of St. Francis." (*Monum. Franciscc.*, p. 574.) But to the requirement "that he be competently learned," there is the alternative, "or else that he be of such condition that he may profit the brethren by labour." It is further ordained "that he be of such condition that his reception may be of great edification to the people." The other qualifications are "that he believe of the Catholic faith; that he be suspect of no error; that he be not

the Order. The effect of such men upon the neglected masses of the population may be easily imagined."

"But the poverty thus strictly enjoined had another and not less important object. It was intended to prevent the friars from giving themselves up to the popular studies of the age. Logic and the canon law monopolized the clergy. . . . Possibly the secular training and occupations of St. Francis in his earlier years may have kept him from those ecclesiastical influences under which he must of necessity have fallen, had he at first proposed to himself the career of a preacher against heresy, like the Dominican. He had no temptation to magnify pursuits in which the clergy of his days universally engaged; he must have seen how little suited they were for his Order, how little calculated to accomplish the object he desired. Therefore he set his face against learning; he would have his followers like the poor, not in dress only, but in heart and understanding. Total, actual poverty secured this; it was incompatible with the possession of books or the necessary materials for study. When the stringency of the rule had been in some measure relaxed, much of its ancient severity remained. Roger Bacon had to carry on his researches and experiments without books or instruments, except what he could procure from his friends. He tells the Pope, to whom he dedicated his works, that he possessed no MSS., that he was not permitted the use of ink or parchment, that nothing but a distinct order from his Holiness could dispense with the stringency of the rule. In the letters of Adam de Marisco the reader will see other instances of the penuriousness of the General Ministers, and their reluctance to furnish the members of the Order engaged in teaching and lecturing with the requisite means of study."

On this point Francis himself was inflexible. "I will, I ought not, I cannot allow that which is contrary to my conscience and the profession of the Gospel which we have both embraced"—was his reply to a provincial minister, who asked whether he might make his books an exception to the renunciation of all his property;[1] and he laid down the rule, "A man's knowledge is equal to his works." His was not a blind fanatical hatred

bound to matrimony; if he be clerk at the least that he be going of XVI year of age"—an exemplification of the prevalence of juvenile ordination. As a *lay* brother no one was to be received into the order under the age of twenty or over forty, unless "he be so notable or noble a person that, through his receiving great edification may come to the people." Brethren of other mendicant orders were not to be received; probably to prevent those jealous rivalries which speedily broke out.

[1] See the anecdote of the novice who asked his permission to have a Psalter, p. 386, note [1].

of learning; but a firm belief, not unjustified by the kind of learning then pursued, that it hindered the work to which he and his followers were devoted. "Many brethren," he said; "who bestow all their time and thought on the acquisition of philosophy, forsaking their proper vocation, and wandering in mind and body from the way of prayer and humility, when they have preached to the people, and have turned some to repentance, are inflated and conceited at the result, as if it were their own work, and not another's. Whereas it happens not unfrequently that all they have done is to preach to their own prejudice and condemnation. In the conversion of men they have really done nothing; they have been no more than the instruments of those by whom the Lord has truly reaped the fruit." When it was told him, as joyful news, that a great Doctor of the University at Paris had been received into the order, greatly to the edification of the clergy and people there, he said to those about him, "I am afraid, my sons, that such doctors will be the destruction of my vineyard. They are the true doctors who, with meekness of wisdom, exhibit good works for the improvement and edification of their neighbours. A man has no more knowledge than he works, and he is a wise man only in the degree in which he loves God and his neighbour." It is conjectured that the Parisian Doctor was Alexander Hales; and we shall presently be able to judge how far the saint's doubts and fears were fulfilled in the Schoolmen of his order.[1]

§ 2. "A style of preaching" (says Mr. Brewer),[2] "founded on meditation and experience was precisely adapted to the require-

[1] How soon the spirit which Francis dreaded began to work in the order, and how it was regarded by his own first comrades and disciples, is illustrated by what we are told in the *Liber Conformitatum* (i. 79) of the leader and first Minister of the Franciscans in England:—"This Friar Agnellus received English lads into the Order, and, setting up schools for the poor, was zealous for study; but afterwards had reason for regret, when he saw the Friars bestowing their time on frivolities, and neglecting needful things. For one day, when he wished to see what proficiency they were making, he entered the schools whilst a disputation was going on, and, hearing them wrangling and questioning, *Utrum sit Deus*, he cried: 'Woe is me! Woe is me! Simple brothers enter Heaven, and learned brothers dispute whether there is a God at all!'"

[2] Preface, pp. xxxiv. f. We reluctantly omit what is added on the prominence which St. Francis's lively imagination and sympathies led him and his followers to give to the bodily sufferings of Jesus Christ, and also "to exalt the Virgin Mother, to present her as an actual woman, endowed with every grace and beauty, to the degraded population whom they addressed; to set her before men, as an actual object of faith, hope, and devotion, as sympathizing in human sorrow and human evils, in sorrows which have pierced through her own heart, in evils from which she is entirely free."

ments of those classes of the community for whose improvement and welfare St. Francis felt the deepest sympathy; . . . . suited to an audience consisting as much of women as of men, appealing more directly to the feelings; more popular and more dramatic. This is one of the common accusations brought against the Friars by the Clergy, partly jealous of their new influence, partly suspicious of the result.[1] They are loudly condemned by their opponents for magnifying preaching, and declining, like the older Orders, to confine themselves exclusively to manual labour, to reading and prayer. They are accused of studying eloquence and the art of rhetoric in the composition of their sermons, of making their addresses agreeable to the people, of communicating with secular persons, of derogating from the dignity of the clerical office, and bringing a scandal on the Church. . . . Here was a body of religious teachers, supported by the Head of the Church, as like the poorest of the laity in all respects, learning excepted, as could possibly be conceived. The Church, hitherto standing apart, was brought home to the people. Cold, and distant, and far removed from their sympathies, it now appealed to them directly: occupied by abstract discussions and formal statements of doctrine, it passed at once into the human, the sentimental, and the personal; a great advance towards the sixteenth century." In this character of the Franciscan teaching the writer whom we are quoting sees an antidote, at least in part, to the Manichæan tendencies of the times, which were setting in upon Christendom through several channels of Oriental influence—the Crusades and commerce, the Moors in Spain, and Arabian learning affecting the Universities.

§ 3. How the mendicant friars—and in England, especially, the Franciscans—added to their work among the people that of teachers in the Universities, and how they became the leading and permanent authorities in systematic theology—will claim our attention presently. Meanwhile we have to notice another most powerful and subtle source of their influence with all classes, which tended to bring the highest affairs of Church and State under their control. The historian of the Franciscan settlement in England[2] tells us that there were many brethren who, though not holding the office of preaching, or of lecturing in the Universities, yet by the favour of the prelates and the appointment of the provincial minister, heard the confessions both *of religious and secular*

[1] See the summary of the complaints against the Friars, as enumerated in the reply of Thomas Aquinas, in Brewer, pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.

[2] Thom. de Eccleston, Coll. XI. *De Institutione Confessorum*, p. 41.

persons, in various places. Thus in London a certain Fr. Salomon became the general confessor both of the citizens and the courtiers; and a friendly controversy with the bishop,[1] who required of him canonical obedience, was decided in favour of the order by a decretal which the provincial minister, Fr. Agnellus, obtained from Rome.[2] Another confessor, at Gloucester, is described as "of such abstinence and rigour towards himself, and such sweetness and sociality to those under him, that he was beloved by all like an angel;" and the writer joyfully records the success of these confessors in persuading the sick and penitent to enter the order. The privilege of hearing confessions everywhere gave the friars a share, not only in the secrets of all classes, but in the councils of the highest, which led to their employment in affairs of Church and State. The power obtained by this mighty means of influence, added to the popularity won by the preaching and lives of the friars, is attested by the complaints which were raised against them by the clergy, jealous of the invasion of their functions, and especially by the older orders, who found their claims to sanctity and popular favour eclipsed.[3] "The two great mendicant orders surpassed all other monastic bodies in vigour and popularity. They were to the elder orders much as these had been to the secular clergy—outshining them in the display of the qualities which were most admired, and endeavouring to surpass and supersede them in every way. Matthew Paris tells us that they disparaged the Cistercians as rude and simple; the Benedictines as proud and epicurean. The mendicants increased the more readily, because they were able to dispense with costly buildings. Their numbers were recruited, not only by young men who flocked into the mendicant cloisters, often against the will of their parents, but by many members of the older orders; and, while the friars were allowed by popes to receive accessions from other orders, it was forbidden that any other order should receive members from the friars. By the institution of Tertiaries they were so widely connected with the laity, that a writer of the age speaks of almost every one as being enrolled on the lists of one or other of the orders. And while the mendicants penetrated, as none had done before, to the very poorest classes of men, they knew also how to recommend themselves to the rich and great.

[1] Roger Niger, bp. of London from 1229 to 1241.

[2] The decretal *Nimis iniqua*.

[3] It must be remembered that Matthew Paris, from whom the following picture is chiefly drawn, represents the feeling of the old Benedictine community of St. Albans, which was thoroughly hostile to the friars.

They were favoured by the popes, who employed them in business both ecclesiastical and secular; they were familiar with the courts of princes, and were trusted by them with offices, and with the conduct of negociations, which might have seemed strangely incongruous with their rigid and unworldly professions.[1] Bishops of the more zealous kind, such as Grosseteste of Lincoln,[2] employed them in their dioceses, to make up for the deficient zeal and ability of the secular clergy; and they soon assumed for themselves authority to act independently of episcopal sanction, and were so far countenanced by the privileges which they acquired from popes, that they had little fear from the opposition of bishops. They invaded parishes, and derided the ministrations of the secular clergy, while they endeavoured to draw everything to themselves; they preached, administered the sacraments,[3] and directed consciences; they persuaded the dying that bounty to their fraternity, death in the habit of their order, and burial in their cloisters, were the surest means to salvation. By hearing confessions, they annulled the penitential discipline; for, while one formal confession a year to the parish priest was considered to satisfy the decree of the Lateran Council,[4] the intention of that canon was frustrated by the system of confession to strangers and interlopers."[5]

[1] M. Paris, pp. 419, 518, 612, 727.

[2] This great light of the English Church and State under Henry III., though not himself a member of the order, consented to lecture (before he became bp. of Lincoln) to the brethren of the school established by Fr. Agnellus at Oxford. He was succeeded in that office by the Franciscan Adam Marsh (Ada or Adam de Marisco), whose Letters in the *Monumenta Franciscana* abound with interesting information respecting the order in England and its relations to Rome. There are other letters by Grosseteste himself, and other eminent men, including the great Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Richard, earl of Cornwall, the King's brother.

[3] "Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. allowed them to celebrate the Eucharist on portable altars, 'omni parochiali jure parochialibus ecclesiis reservato' (Wadding, ii. 603; iii. 97); but the reservation seems to relate to money matters only."

[4] See above, Chap. XVII. § 5.

[5] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 590–2. "The order of the Lateran Canon, that any one wishing to confess to another than his parish priest, should obtain the parish priest's leave, was neglected. (Collier, ii. 512.) In 1287, the Franciscan Archbishop Peckham, as protector of his order in England, decreed that the friars might receive confessions and enjoin penances without the leave of the parish priest, and even against his protest. (Wilkins, ii. 168.) Boniface VIII. (in 1298) interfered with the mendicants by ordering that any one who confessed to them should confess the same sins to his parish priest; but Benedict XI., himself a Dominican, altered this." In 1321 the same question, debated at Paris between John of Billy, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and Peter Paludanus, a Dominican, was decided by John XXII. in favour of the friars.

All this is in striking contrast with the injunctions of Francis himself: "If (he said) I had as much wisdom as Solomon, and happened to find the poorest simplest priests in the world, I would not preach in the parishes wherein they dwell, without their will." The Franciscans were always to show profound reverence for the clergy; if they met a priest riding, they were to kiss his horse's feet.

§ 4. The cardinal who at first advised Innocent III. that the rule proposed by Francis was *impossible*, gave utterance simply to a truth respecting human nature, which had been confirmed not only by the whole history of Monasticism, but more and more strongly by each new reforming effort to raise the standard higher and higher, and which was most signally illustrated in this last and highest effort. The Mendicant Orders gave the crowning example of the failure of a religious system pitched too high and supported only by an artificial power, which, like the wings of Icarus, fails through the intenseness of the test to which it is exposed, and ends in headlong ruin; while those content quietly to walk the earth in the discharge of common duties, secular and religious, move safely in the path of usefulness and honour:—"the path of the *just*, shining more and more unto the perfect day." Matthew Paris, writing in the next generation after St. Francis, records it as "a terrible truth and sad presage, that, during more than three or four centuries the monastic orders had not made such progress in the downward path, as the order of friars within scarce twenty-four years from their entrance into England." And this, though the testimony of an enemy, agrees but too closely with the records of the earliest Franciscans themselves, which enable us to trace the downward steps with curious precision. At the very threshold of their course, there lay a twofold stumbling-block, in their founder's rules of absolute poverty, and renunciation of all knowledge save that of the first elements of Christianity. Of the latter point we have said something, and shall have presently to return to its later developments. As to the former, even St. Francis himself seems to have stopped short of the rigid consequence of his principles, which would have forbidden the possession of any property at all, even for homes and churches. What he required was that the cells and churches of the brethren should be of the humblest and plainest character. "We full gladly dwelt and tarried" (he says)[1] "in poor desert and desolate churches. . . . . And my

[1] *Testament of St. Francis in English* (*Monum. Francisc.*), p. 564; with the spelling modernized. It is worth while to notice the disclaimer of any novel or special forms of worship:—"Our divine service the clerks said as other clerks, and the lay brethren said their *Pater Noster*." But

brethren must be well ware and advised in any wise that *they receive no churches, nor dwelling-places*, or any things, but if[1] they be as seemeth (becomes) holy poverty, the which in our rule we have vowed and promised, always longing and abiding there in those places but as pilgrims and strangers. I command also stedfastly and straitly by obedience unto all my brethren, that, wheresoever they be and abide, they be not so bold or so hardy, either by themselves or by any other mean person, to desire or ask or to get or purchase any letter or writing from the Court of Rome, neither for the church nor for any manner of place, neither for preaching nor under that colour, neither yet for the persecution of their bodies; but wheresoever they be not received, they may flee away and depart thence to another place, to do penance with the blessing of God." The spirit of these injunctions is quite clear. The brethren sent forth into the world, like the first Evangelists by Christ, might accept not only temporary but more permanent hospitality in such form as to provide them with plain churches and humble homes, which they were to hold with the light grasp of strangers and pilgrims, nor use the favour of the Pope to obtain either property, exemptions, or privileges. So, in the second general chapter of the order, it was decreed that the churches should be poor and humble, and that the other buildings should be of wood or wattled with clay; and any costly buildings were to be destroyed.[2]

But when the little bands of wandering brethren began to settle in strange cities and foreign lands, where numbers soon flocked into the order, the plea of necessity began to assert its proverbial power over law; nay, the strict necessity was amplified by more worldly motives. In the plain language of the historian of the mission to England, not only did the rapid growth of numbers require larger houses and plots of grounds (*areæ*); but "besides, by the Providence of God, persons of such quality (*tales*) often entered the brotherhood, for whom it seemed (and rightly so) that more honourable provision ought to be made."[3]

§ 5. The Provincial Minister, Agnellus, indeed, would only allow

the later Franciscans could not let even the Lord's Prayer alone, without bringing their founder into it: "Pater Noster *et Beati Francisci.*"

[1] *I.e.* "except," or "unless they be," or "but such as be:"—the old English *but* = *be-out*, i.e. *without* or *except*. The ensuing injunction against the use of letters from Rome is a significant allusion to the practices of other orders, which the friars themselves were not long in imitating.

[2] Wadding, i. 302; *Vita Franc.* 89. Yet Francis is said to have foreseen the certain infraction of the rule, throwing the responsibility on his successors with a vague hope as to the result: "Sed sufficit in tempore illo quod fratres mei custodiant se a peccatis." (Wadding, i. 129.)

[3] Thom. de Eccleston, p. 34.

such enlargements when required by "inevitable necessity;" but his second successor, Haymo of Feversham, though himself also a companion of St. Francis, and one of the stricter party, yet avowed the principle, that "he would rather the brethren should have large spaces, and till them that they might be able to have pot-herbs at home," than (perhaps he meant) betray luxurious tastes by begging for more than bread; and he made the ingenious apology for the concession, "that the buildings ought to be made moderately large, lest future brothers should make them too large." But the Minister had the roof of the new church in London pulled off, and the wooden enclosure of the cloisters torn down;[1] and when a more fastidious brother threatened to complain to the Minister-General of the want of an enclosure, he replied, "And I will answer the General, that I did not enter the order to build walls." The zeal of such opponents was supported by St. Francis himself, in visions and miracles; and a famous preacher confessed that in the occupation of his mind about building he had lost his former power of preaching and devotion. In like manner, brother William of Abingdon had "an incomparable gift of preaching" before he erected the buildings at Gloucester, but afterwards his mean concern about temporalities brought on this rebuke from Henry III.: "Brother William, you used to speak so spiritually; but now all that you say is, '*Give! Give! Give!*'" And if men receive because they ask, the words may seem confirmed by the long list of benefactions to the order.[2] Nor was the rule of poverty infringed only by the possession of property, but even by the contraction of debts, which had the sanction of the fourth provincial minister of England, William of Nottingham, a man of the highest repute for piety.

§ 6. Unfortunately for the fair trial of the principles of Francis, the very person next to him in the order was one for whom his standard was too high. As a native of Assisi, Elias (or Helias) was among

[1] Sometimes the people interfered with such zeal, as when the second minister in England, Albert of Pisa, had great difficulty in destroying the stone cloister at Southampton, on account of the objection of the townsmen. (Eccleston, p. 55.)

[2] *Prima Fundatio*, &c. A letter written to Henry III. in the name of the secular clergy of England makes a sarcastic application of St. Paul's words to contrast the profession of the friars with their practice: "Although having nothing, they possess all things; and although without riches, they grow richer than all the rich." (Peter de Vineis, i. 37; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 593.) See also the remarkable letter of Adam Marsh to William of Nottingham (fourth provincial minister of England), regretting the relaxation of discipline in the order, and the love of secular employments. The great edifice (he says) is being overthrown from its foundations, not so much through negligence as wilful waste of power. *Epist.* ccii.; *Mon. Francisc.* p. 361 f.

Francis's earliest friends and converts,[1] and he was his vicar during his almost constant journeys. But, from his connection with the University of Bologna, he probably brought into the order a spirit adverse to the simple faith of the founder.[2] Even while Francis was yet alive, and during his absence in Egypt, Elias took advantage of his position as vicar to propose a mitigation of the rule, alleging that the grace which had been given to the founder was not to be expected of his successors.[3]

On the death of Francis, the order appears to have been divided between the claims of Elias, as their founder's chief friend and vicar, and the higher personal character of Johannes Parens, minister of Spain, "a wise and religious man, and of the most rigorous strictness." It would seem that Elias was at first elected almost as of course (or he may have assumed the generalship provisionally in virtue of his office as vicar); but that the more deliberate choice of the general chapter fell on John Parens, in favour of whom Elias was deposed.[4] He retired to a hermitage, allowed his hair and beard to grow, and by this affectation of sanctity became reconciled to the brethren.

At the general chapter held for the translation of St. Francis, Elias contrived to secure the attendance of a number of his partisans, who, silencing the opposition of the provincial ministers,[5] made a tumultuous re-election of Elias, to which John Parens yielded, for peace-sake (1231). The disregard which Elias showed for the strict rule of poverty, both in his own habits and in the decoration of the new church of St. Francis at Assisi, provoked opposition from the stricter brethren,[6] which he punished with tyrannical

[1] His claim to succeed St. Francis as minister-general was "præcipue propter *familiaritatem quam habuerat cum beato Francisco.*" (Eccleston, p. 45; and again, p. 46.) But the same writer, moralizing on his subsequent fall, bears testimony to his high reputation: "Quis in universo Christianitatis orbe vel gratiosior vel famosior quam Helias?" (p. 23).

[2] It appears that Elias, as the intimate friend of Francis, was received into the order without taking the vow of absolute poverty, and he afterwards availed himself of this freedom for his conscience.

[3] Wadding, i. 331. "St. Francis rebuked Elias for dressing too well (*ibid.* p. 340), but on his deathbed he especially blessed him (T. Celan. 108)." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 596.)

[4] For the details, see Thomas of Eccleston (*Coll.* xii. p. 44), and the list of General Ministers in the *Mon. Francisc.* (p. 558). But as the list in the *Prima Fundatio* (pp. 532–533) places John Parens *before* Elias, we may infer that he was almost immediately superseded by John Parens.

[5] Eccleston, p. 44. Though the *custodes* and wardens were qualified to be present at the general chapters, the provincial ministers alone had a voice in the election of a general.

[6] They were called the *Spirituales* or *Zelatores Ordinis*, while the less rigid party adopted the title of *Fratres de Communitate*. Eccleston stamps

severity; and in this he was for a time supported by Gregory IX., who had himself sanctioned a relaxation of the rule. At length the whole order was so disturbed by the "carnality and cruelty"[1] of Elias, that the zealots, headed reluctantly by Haymo of Feversham, took the bold step of obtaining the convention of a general chapter, which was held by the vicar of the order, who was the "penitentiary" of Gregory IX. The numerous provincial ministers who were opposed to Elias were assembled with the most approved of the Cismontane (*i.e.* Italian brethren).[2] After long discussion, brethren were elected to consider the reformation of the order—this being only a dozen years since the founder's death. Their report was presented at a general chapter held in presence of the Pope and seven cardinals; where Elias defended himself so plausibly, that the Pope refused even to listen to Haymo in reply, till one of the cardinals said, "My lord, this old man is a good man; it is good that you should hear him, because he is brief in speech." In a tone of great respect for his superior, Haymo described his luxury in such plain language, that Elias interrupted him with the "lie direct;" and the wrangling of the partisans on both sides, provoked a rebuke from the Pope, which described but too truly the future conduct of the friars: "This is not the manner of religious persons." Ultimately the Pope gave his decision, prefaced by a personal commendation of Elias and a reference to his intimacy with St. Francis, that "he had believed his ministry to have been acceptable to the brethren, but since the contrary was now proved, he decreed his deposition"[3] (1239). He then held a new election, which

Elias with the title of *turbator Ordinis*; and he describes the complaints of Haymo against him, which led to his deposition, as "propter *scandala* quæ fecit, et *tyrannidem quam in zelatores Ordinis* exercuit" (p. 23).

[1] Eccleston, p. 45.

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§ 7. We have related this affair fully, to show how immediately the ideal of St. Francis succumbed to the inevitable faults of human nature; and, under the more rigid successors of Elias, we still find a constant growth of the more worldly elements, alike in wealth, learning, and even moral corruption. Measures were taken again and again to reform the rule, notwithstanding visions of St. Francis himself to sanction the resistance of the stricter brethren to any change.[4] The possession of property was formally sanctioned by Innocent IV. (1245) in a form which strengthened the bond between the order and the Papacy. He declared that the property of the Minorites belonged to the Holy See, but that the brethren might appoint prudent men to manage it for their use.[5] We read of frequent dissensions, which led to the resignation or deposition of provincial ministers and even generals; as in the case of the seventh General Minister, John of Parma, in whom the "spiritual" party rejoiced "as a second St. Francis."[6] But, with his zeal for the

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Christ the Good Shepherd, with subjects from the Old Testament.
An archaic bronze Medallion, found in the Catacombs at Rome (Buonarotti).

Franciscan Friar and Trinitarian Monk.

CHAPTER XXV.

LATER HISTORY OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS.

§ 1. ST. BONAVENTURA General of the Franciscans—Conflict with the secular clergy and Doctors—His rebuke of the corruptions of the order. § 2. Exactions, backed up by pious frauds—Indulgence of the Portiuncula—Dying in the cowl—Rivalry of the orders for privileges and exemptions—Charges of heresy. § 3. Mystical and prophetic views of the Franciscan *Spirituals* or *Zealots* — The *Millennium* at hand — Prophecies of Abbot JOACHIM—His three states of the world, ending A.D. 1260—Denunciations of the Clergy, Papacy, and Empire—The

All this is in striking contrast with the injunctions of Francis himself: "If (he said) I had as much wisdom as Solomon, and happened to find the poorest simplest priests in the world, I would not preach in the parishes wherein they dwell, without their will." The Franciscans were always to show profound reverence for the clergy; if they met a priest riding, they were to kiss his horse's feet.

§ 4. The cardinal who at first advised Innocent III. that the rule proposed by Francis was *impossible*, gave utterance simply to a truth respecting human nature, which had been confirmed not only by the whole history of Monasticism, but more and more strongly by each new reforming effort to raise the standard higher and higher, and which was most signally illustrated in this last and highest effort. The Mendicant Orders gave the crowning example of the failure of a religious system pitched too high and supported only by an artificial power, which, like the wings of Icarus, fails through the intenseness of the test to which it is exposed, and ends in headlong ruin; while those content quietly to walk the earth in the discharge of common duties, secular and religious, move safely in the path of usefulness and honour:—"the path of the *just*, shining more and more unto the perfect day." Matthew Paris, writing in the next generation after St. Francis, records it as "a terrible truth and sad presage, that, during more than three or four centuries the monastic orders had not made such progress in the downward path, as the order of friars within scarce twenty-four years from their entrance into England." And this, though the testimony of an enemy, agrees but too closely with the records of the earliest Franciscans themselves, which enable us to trace the downward steps with curious precision. At the very threshold of their course, there lay a twofold stumbling-block, in their founder's rules of absolute poverty, and renunciation of all knowledge save that of the first elements of Christianity. Of the latter point we have said something, and shall have presently to return to its later developments. As to the former, even St. Francis himself seems to have stopped short of the rigid consequence of his principles, which would have forbidden the possession of any property at all, even for homes and churches. What he required was that the cells and churches of the brethren should be of the humblest and plainest character. "We full gladly dwelt and tarried" (he says)[1] "in poor desert and desolate churches. . . . . And my

[1] *Testament of St. Francis in English* (*Monum. Francisc.*), p. 564; with the spelling modernized. It is worth while to notice the disclaimer of any novel or special forms of worship:—"Our divine service the clerks said as other clerks, and the lay brethren said their *Pater Noster*." But

brethren must be well ware and advised in any wise that *they receive no churches, nor dwelling-places*, or any things, but if[1] they be as seemeth (becomes) holy poverty, the which in our rule we have vowed and promised, always longing and abiding there in those places but as pilgrims and strangers. I command also stedfastly and straitly by obedience unto all my brethren, that, wheresoever they be and abide, they be not so bold or so hardy, either by themselves or by any other mean person, to desire or ask or to get or purchase any letter or writing from the Court of Rome, neither for the church nor for any manner of place, neither for preaching nor under that colour, neither yet for the persecution of their bodies; but wheresoever they be not received, they may flee away and depart thence to another place, to do penance with the blessing of God." The spirit of these injunctions is quite clear. The brethren sent forth into the world, like the first Evangelists by Christ, might accept not only temporary but more permanent hospitality in such form as to provide them with plain churches and humble homes, which they were to hold with the light grasp of strangers and pilgrims, nor use the favour of the Pope to obtain either property, exemptions, or privileges. So, in the second general chapter of the order, it was decreed that the churches should be poor and humble, and that the other buildings should be of wood or wattled with clay; and any costly buildings were to be destroyed.[2]

But when the little bands of wandering brethren began to settle in strange cities and foreign lands, where numbers soon flocked into the order, the plea of necessity began to assert its proverbial power over law; nay, the strict necessity was amplified by more worldly motives. In the plain language of the historian of the mission to England, not only did the rapid growth of numbers require larger houses and plots of grounds (*areæ*); but "besides, by the Providence of God, persons of such quality (*tales*) often entered the brotherhood, for whom it seemed (and rightly so) that more honourable provision ought to be made."[3]

§ 5. The Provincial Minister, Agnellus, indeed, would only allow

the later Franciscans could not let even the Lord's Prayer alone, without bringing their founder into it: "Pater Noster *et Beati Francisci.*"

[1] *I.e.* "except," or "unless they be," or "but such as be:"—the old English *but* = *be-out*, i.e. *without* or *except*. The ensuing injunction against the use of letters from Rome is a significant allusion to the practices of other orders, which the friars themselves were not long in imitating.

[2] Wadding, i. 302; *Vita Franc.* 89. Yet Francis is said to have foreseen the certain infraction of the rule, throwing the responsibility on his successors with a vague hope as to the result: "Sed sufficit in tempore illo quod fratres mei custodiant se a peccatis." (Wadding, i. 129.)

[3] Thom. de Eccleston, p. 34.

such enlargements when required by "inevitable necessity;" but his second successor, Haymo of Feversham, though himself also a companion of St. Francis, and one of the stricter party, yet avowed the principle, that "he would rather the brethren should have large spaces, and till them that they might be able to have pot-herbs at home," than (perhaps he meant) betray luxurious tastes by begging for more than bread; and he made the ingenious apology for the concession, "that the buildings ought to be made moderately large, lest future brothers should make them too large." But the Minister had the roof of the new church in London pulled off, and the wooden enclosure of the cloisters torn down;[1] and when a more fastidious brother threatened to complain to the Minister-General of the want of an enclosure, he replied, "And I will answer the General, that I did not enter the order to build walls." The zeal of such opponents was supported by St. Francis himself, in visions and miracles; and a famous preacher confessed that in the occupation of his mind about building he had lost his former power of preaching and devotion. In like manner, brother William of Abingdon had "an incomparable gift of preaching" before he erected the buildings at Gloucester, but afterwards his mean concern about temporalities brought on this rebuke from Henry III.: "Brother William, you used to speak so spiritually; but now all that you say is, '*Give! Give! Give!*'" And if men receive because they ask, the words may seem confirmed by the long list of benefactions to the order.[2] Nor was the rule of poverty infringed only by the possession of property, but even by the contraction of debts, which had the sanction of the fourth provincial minister of England, William of Nottingham, a man of the highest repute for piety.

§ 6. Unfortunately for the fair trial of the principles of Francis, the very person next to him in the order was one for whom his standard was too high. As a native of Assisi, Elias (or Helias) was among

[1] Sometimes the people interfered with such zeal, as when the second minister in England, Albert of Pisa, had great difficulty in destroying the stone cloister at Southampton, on account of the objection of the townsmen. (Eccleston, p. 55.)

[2] *Prima Fundatio*, &c. A letter written to Henry III. in the name of the secular clergy of England makes a sarcastic application of St. Paul's words to contrast the profession of the friars with their practice: "Although having nothing, they possess all things; and although without riches, they grow richer than all the rich." (Peter de Vineis, i. 37; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 593.) See also the remarkable letter of Adam Marsh to William of Nottingham (fourth provincial minister of England), regretting the relaxation of discipline in the order, and the love of secular employments. The great edifice (he says) is being overthrown from its foundations, not so much through negligence as wilful waste of power. *Epist.* ccii.; *Mon. Francisc.* p. 361 f.

Francis's earliest friends and converts,[1] and he was his vicar during his almost constant journeys. But, from his connection with the University of Bologna, he probably brought into the order a spirit adverse to the simple faith of the founder.[2] Even while Francis was yet alive, and during his absence in Egypt, Elias took advantage of his position as vicar to propose a mitigation of the rule, alleging that the grace which had been given to the founder was not to be expected of his successors.[3]

On the death of Francis, the order appears to have been divided between the claims of Elias, as their founder's chief friend and vicar, and the higher personal character of Johannes Parens, minister of Spain, "a wise and religious man, and of the most rigorous strictness." It would seem that Elias was at first elected almost as of course (or he may have assumed the generalship provisionally in virtue of his office as vicar); but that the more deliberate choice of the general chapter fell on John Parens, in favour of whom Elias was deposed.[4] He retired to a hermitage, allowed his hair and beard to grow, and by this affectation of sanctity became reconciled to the brethren.

At the general chapter held for the translation of St. Francis, Elias contrived to secure the attendance of a number of his partisans, who, silencing the opposition of the provincial ministers,[5] made a tumultuous re-election of Elias, to which John Parens yielded, for peace-sake (1231). The disregard which Elias showed for the strict rule of poverty, both in his own habits and in the decoration of the new church of St. Francis at Assisi, provoked opposition from the stricter brethren,[6] which he punished with tyrannical

[1] His claim to succeed St. Francis as minister-general was "præcipue propter *familiaritatem quam habuerat cum beato Francisco.*" (Eccleston, p. 45; and again, p. 46.) But the same writer, moralizing on his subsequent fall, bears testimony to his high reputation: "Quis in universo Christianitatis orbe vel gratiosior vel famosior quam Helias?" (p. 23).

[2] It appears that Elias, as the intimate friend of Francis, was received into the order without taking the vow of absolute poverty, and he afterwards availed himself of this freedom for his conscience.

[3] Wadding, i. 331. "St. Francis rebuked Elias for dressing too well (*ibid.* p. 340), but on his deathbed he especially blessed him (T. Celan. 108)." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 596.)

[4] For the details, see Thomas of Eccleston (*Coll.* xii. p. 44), and the list of General Ministers in the *Mon. Francisc.* (p. 558). But as the list in the *Prima Fundatio* (pp. 532–533) places John Parens *before* Elias, we may infer that he was almost immediately superseded by John Parens.

[5] Eccleston, p. 44. Though the *custodes* and wardens were qualified to be present at the general chapters, the provincial ministers alone had a voice in the election of a general.

[6] They were called the *Spirituales* or *Zelatores Ordinis*, while the less rigid party adopted the title of *Fratres de Communitate.* Eccleston stamps

severity; and in this he was for a time supported by Gregory IX., who had himself sanctioned a relaxation of the rule. At length the whole order was so disturbed by the "carnality and cruelty"[1] of Elias, that the zealots, headed reluctantly by Haymo of Feversham, took the bold step of obtaining the convention of a general chapter, which was held by the vicar of the order, who was the "penitentiary" of Gregory IX. The numerous provincial ministers who were opposed to Elias were assembled with the most approved of the Cismontane (*i.e.* Italian brethren).[2] After long discussion, brethren were elected to consider the reformation of the order—this being only a dozen years since the founder's death. Their report was presented at a general chapter held in presence of the Pope and seven cardinals; where Elias defended himself so plausibly, that the Pope refused even to listen to Haymo in reply, till one of the cardinals said, "My lord, this old man is a good man; it is good that you should hear him, because he is brief in speech." In a tone of great respect for his superior, Haymo described his luxury in such plain language, that Elias interrupted him with the "lie direct;" and the wrangling of the partisans on both sides, provoked a rebuke from the Pope, which described but too truly the future conduct of the friars: "This is not the manner of religious persons." Ultimately the Pope gave his decision, prefaced by a personal commendation of Elias and a reference to his intimacy with St. Francis, that "he had believed his ministry to have been acceptable to the brethren, but since the contrary was now proved, he decreed his deposition"[3] (1239). He then held a new election, which

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Greek and Roman Churches—Final triumph of the monks—Prophecy of the two Mendicant Orders, a Franciscan forgery. § 4. Development of his views by the extreme Franciscans—The *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*—A Third Dispensation from A.D. 1260—Its antipapal spirit—The three angels: Joachim, St. Dominic, and St. Francis—Franciscan authorship, by Gerardino. § 5. Schism of the *Fraticelli* or *Spiritual* Franciscans. § 6. Relaxations granted by Nicolas III.—Opposition of Peter John Olivi—The Celestine Eremites—Secession and persecution of the Fraticelli — Condemnation of Olivi's *Postilla in Apocalypsin*—His Seven States of the Church, culminating in St. Francis—The carnal clergy, papacy, and Antichrist—The seventh age. § 7. Growth of the Schism—Quarrel with John XXII.—Persecution—Michael Cesena—The Chapter at Perugia—The "spirituals" Ghibelline and anti-papal—The *Conventuals* and *Observants*. § 8. Progress and corruption of the order—They become champions of ignorance and superstition. § 9. ST. FRANCIS OF PAOLA and his order of *Minims*. § 10. The "unbridled multitude" of Friars, restricted to *Four Orders*—*Carmelites*—*Augustinian Eremites*—Martin Luther—The fifth order of *Servites* of the Virgin. § 11. Universal influence of the Mendicant Orders, both for good and evil. § 12. *Beguines* and *Beghards*—Their origin and true character—Secular Canonesses—These societies confused with the Mendicants, and persecuted as heretics—Their later history.

§ 1. THE Pope's allusion to the growth of learning in the order was strikingly illustrated by the successor, who was elected on the recommendation of John of Parma, the great schoolman BONAVENTURA.[1] But the "Seraphic Doctor's" learning was more than equalled by his piety and zeal for Franciscan purity; and under him the order obtained leave from Alexander IV. to abolish the interpretations by which Innocent IV. had modified the rule, except in so far as they agreed with those of Gregory IX. It was at the very time when, in the person of Bonaventura among the Franciscans, and Thomas Aquinas among the Dominicans,[2] the mendicant orders had placed

[1] John of Fidanza, of a Tuscan family, called "de Balneo Regio" from his birthplace (now Bagnorea), and by the conventual name of Bonaventura, was the 8th general of the order, and held the office 18 years, till his death at the Council of Lyon, at the age of 52 (1274). He taught theology at Paris, where he was known as the *Doctor mellifluus* (as well as *seraphicus*), and was made Cardinal-Bishop of Albano by Gregory X. He was canonized by the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV. (1482), and was ranked by Sixtus V. (1587) as the sixth in order among the great teachers of the Church. His *Life of St. Francis* has been already mentioned. His great master, Alexander Hales, said that in him Adam did not appear to have sinned; and his pure piety is celebrated by the less partial testimony of Dante (*Paradiso*, c. xii. 127–9).

[2] Concerning the scholastic fame of these great representatives of the two orders and the contest with the University of Paris, see below, Chaps. XXIX., XXX.

themselves at the head of the theological learning of the age, that they had to encounter the full storm of opposition from the combined elements of secular learning and clerical jealousy; a combination all the more powerful, as the clergy, whose jealousy was excited on the grounds of the superior zeal and still more of the special privileges of the friars, were the chief teachers in the great seats of learning. The vehement conflict which now broke out at Paris will be better understood when we have reviewed the great intellectual movement of the age. Meanwhile, suffice it to say that in the controversy between William of St. Amour, as the chief assailant of the friars, and their champions Bonaventura and Aquinas, the attack derived its whole force from those corruptions for which we need not cite the bitter censures of the enemy, because they are set forth even more forcibly in the frank calmness with which they are confessed and lamented by the pious Franciscan General himself. While answering the accuser, he deemed it quite as much a duty to address a circular to the Provincial Ministers,[1] plainly stating the result of his "diligent consideration of the causes, why the splendour of our order is somewhat obscured." His mind had been struck[2] by the multiplicity of business caused by money, the greatest enemy of the order, which was greedily sought, recklessly accepted, and more recklessly handled;—the idleness, that sink of all vices, in which certain brethren, choosing a sort of monstrous condition between the contemplative and active life, cruelly rather than carnally destroyed the blood of souls;—the wandering life in which very many, to indulge their bodies, made their visits a burthen to those whom they visited, leaving behind them, not examples of life, but stumbling-blocks for souls;—the importunate begging, which made travellers abhor and fear to meet friars as much as robbers;—the sumptuous and artistic construction of buildings, which broke the peace of the brethren,[3] laid burthens on their friends, and exposed them in manifold ways to the perverse judgments of men. Not to dwell on all the points of the recital, he mentions the invasion of the province of the clergy; and the imprudent assumption of varied functions, which laid an intolerable burthen on brethren not trained to them, nor qualified for them by self-denying habits of body or spiritual strength. Nor does he con-

[1] Paris, April 3, 1257 (in Wadding, *s. a.* No. 10); similar confessions and exhortations are in his tract *De Reformandis Fratribus.*

[2] "Occurrit mihi"—a phrase suggesting *offences* or *stumbling-blocks.*

[3] When Bonaventura wrote this censure, the great artists of the dawning revival were engaged on the decorations of the church of St. Francis at Assisi. The phrase *quæ fratrum pacem inquietat* is illustrated by the dissensions which we have already seen arising so early about that edifice.

ceal the moral scandals, suspicions, and ill-repute, arising from the intimacies forbidden by the rule,[1] which were before long to make the friars a byword for corruption and a danger to social life. As the sum and root of all, he names the violation of that poverty which was the first rule of the order. "I am struck, finally, by the sumptuous expenditure of money; for, since the brethren will not be content with few things, and the charity of men has grown cold, *we have become burthensome to all, and we shall become more so in future, unless a remedy be quickly opposed to the disease.*"[2]

§ 2. These words are prophetic of the fate reserved for the ideal poverty which repaid the bare support it asked from pious charity by a return of spiritual wealth and life, when it had become in fact a luxurious, wealthy, and corrupt system of ever-growing exaction, killing the charity on which it preyed, and turning it into hatred and disgust. As the source of willing charity ran dry, while the demands on it were ever growing, new means had to be found for working upon fear or favour; and, in addition to papal privileges, fables and frauds were resorted to, to enhance the dignity and spiritual power of each order. "The more they degenerated, the more did their shamelessness in such pious frauds increase; and thus they became the most active promoters of ecclesiastical superstition."[3] One chief means used by the Franciscans for attracting devotees, was the plenary indulgence for all sins to contrite visitors to the church of the Portiuncula at Assisi on every first of August, when as many as 100,000 persons are said to have often assembled there. This privilege, said to have been granted to the founder's prayers by Pope Honorius III., but unheard of during the life of Francis, was first attested by two of his disciples half a century later[4] (1277), and another added that it was confirmed by the voice

[1] Those who are inclined to regard the prevalent immorality of the friars as a libel, should ponder these words of the pious general as but the *keynote* of a vast body of unanswerable evidence to the fact, that human nature revenged itself on a system pitched too high for all but the few purest spirits.

[2] These confessions and rebukes are not very different in substance from the account given at the very same time by an enemy, Matthew Paris (A.D. 1256, p. 939) of the popular feeling towards the friars at this time:—"The people ridiculed them, and withheld their accustomed alms, calling them hypocrites, successors of Antichrist, false preachers, flatterers and evil advisers of kings and princes, despisers and supplanters of ordinary preachers, clandestine intruders into the bed-chambers of kings, and prevaricators of confessions; men who vagabondized through countries where they were unknown, and gave encouragement and boldness to sinners."

[3] Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 247.

[4] Not, however, of their own knowledge, but on the report of another friar, that he had heard the account from St. Francis. It is mentioned by

of God, assuring Francis, as he left the Pope's presence, that, as thi indulgence had been granted to him on earth, so it was confirmed in heaven. The promise, which we have already noticed as having originated with the Carmelites, of sure salvation to all dying in the habit of the order, though assumed only on the deathbed, was adopted by all the mendicant orders. The motive for such inventions, to exalt the sanctity of their respective orders, was enhanced by the bitter rivalry which very soon sprung up, especially between the Franciscans and Dominicans. United at first by the enthusiastic adoption of evangelic poverty, and by the zeal which made them the common opponents of the secular clergy and the old monastic orders, they soon naturally became rivals on their own ground of fame as preachers and of popular favour; they sought privileges and exemptions at one another's expense; and, as we shall presently see, the division was widened by the formation of antagonistic theological schools, Dominican and Franciscan. The rivalry between the two orders, which had started from common principles and for a common work, became as vehement as that of the two great military orders; and the parallel extends to the charges of heresy and secret profanity, which were made against the friars, especially against some branches of the Franciscans.

§ 3. The mystical element, which was predominant in Francis himself, became a general characteristic of the party of "Spirituals" or "Zealots," whose opposition we have seen excited by the first infractions of the rule of poverty; and this feeling chimed in with the idea, prevalent throughout the 13th century, that the millennial consummation of all things was at hand.[1] As they exalted their founder to a perfect parallel with Christ, and wanted but little of making him a new Messiah, so the promise of an approaching renovation of the corrupt church and ungodly world seemed to mark the great destiny of their order. The famous prophecies of the Abbot Joachim concerning the approaching end of the world, had a charm even for the most rational minds of the order.[2] Though

none of his early biographers, not even by Bonaventura. For the history of the pretension, and the marvellous additions made to it by one Franciscan after another, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 245–6.

[1] As has been said above, when the year 1000 passed away without the expected catastrophe, a new millennial period was imagined, dated from the imperial establishment of Christianity; just as, in our day, we have seen the great epoch of 1260 prophetic days shifted by apocalyptic theorists.

[2] Besides the case of John of Parma already noticed, we have an example of this in the strong terms used by the great Oxford Franciscan, Adam Marsh, in sending to Bp. Grosseteste some of the "Expositions" of Joachim, which had been brought to him from Italy (*Epist.* xliii., *Monum. Francisc.* pp. 146, 147).

severity; and in this he was for a time supported by Gregory IX., who had himself sanctioned a relaxation of the rule. At length the whole order was so disturbed by the "carnality and cruelty"[1] of Elias, that the zealots, headed reluctantly by Haymo of Feversham, took the bold step of obtaining the convention of a general chapter, which was held by the vicar of the order, who was the "penitentiary" of Gregory IX. The numerous provincial ministers who were opposed to Elias were assembled with the most approved of the Cismontane (*i.e.* Italian brethren).[2] After long discussion, brethren were elected to consider the reformation of the order—this being only a dozen years since the founder's death. Their report was presented at a general chapter held in presence of the Pope and seven cardinals; where Elias defended himself so plausibly, that the Pope refused even to listen to Haymo in reply, till one of the cardinals said, "My lord, this old man is a good man; it is good that you should hear him, because he is brief in speech." In a tone of great respect for his superior, Haymo described his luxury in such plain language, that Elias interrupted him with the "lie direct;" and the wrangling of the partisans on both sides, provoked a rebuke from the Pope, which described but too truly the future conduct of the friars: "This is not the manner of religious persons." Ultimately the Pope gave his decision, prefaced by a personal commendation of Elias and a reference to his intimacy with St. Francis, that "he had believed his ministry to have been acceptable to the brethren, but since the contrary was now proved, he decreed his deposition"[3] (1239). He then held a new election, which

Elias with the title of *turbator Ordinis;* and he describes the complaints of Haymo against him, which led to his deposition, as "propter *scandala* quæ fecit, et *tyrannidem quam in zelatores Ordinis* exercuit" (p. 23).

[1] Eccleston, p. 45.

[2] Eccleston, p. 45. It should be borne in mind that the terms *Cismontane* and *Ultramontane* are always used by the medieval writers as equivalent to the classical terms *Cisalpine* and *Transalpine*, the point of view being at *Rome*. The opposite use of *Ultramontane* as equivalent to *Roman* or *Italian* has grown up gradually from the point of view of the countries of Northern and Western Europe. Eccleston says (p. 48) that the corruption (*deformatio*) of the order through the excesses of Elias was greater "ultra montes," meaning chiefly France and Germany; for, on the other hand, Albert, the reforming successor of Elias, commended the English above all nations in respect of their zeal for the order. The like praise was given by John of Parma, the sixth general, when he visited England (between 1247 and 1250); but this was *after* he had "brought back the brethren to unity" in a provincial synod held at Oxford.

[3] The satisfaction which the decision gave is described by Eccleston, who further states that Albert, on his election, celebrated *the first mass ever celebrated by a minister general*—a proof that St. Francis had not performed sacerdotal functions.

fell upon Albert of Pisa, a strong representative of the rigid party, who had succeeded Agnellus as provincial minister of England; and the latter office was now conferred on Haymo.[1] In the retreat to which Elias was relegated at Cortona, he was guilty of new violations of the rule, which caused Albert to summon him to Rome, to obtain the grace of absolution. He disdained compliance; and when the Pope declared that he must obey the general like any other brother, Elias, unable to bear his humiliation, as one who had not learnt to obey, went over to the party of Frederick II., and thereby brought on himself a public sentence of excommunication from Gregory IX. "for his disobedience and apostasy."[2] Elias spent the rest of his life at the court of the Emperor, "whose hatred of the Papacy and the mendicant orders he probably helped to exasperate."[3]

§ 7. We have related this affair fully, to show how immediately the ideal of St. Francis succumbed to the inevitable faults of human nature; and, under the more rigid successors of Elias, we still find a constant growth of the more worldly elements, alike in wealth, learning, and even moral corruption. Measures were taken again and again to reform the rule, notwithstanding visions of St. Francis himself to sanction the resistance of the stricter brethren to any change.[4] The possession of property was formally sanctioned by Innocent IV. (1245) in a form which strengthened the bond between the order and the Papacy. He declared that the property of the Minorites belonged to the Holy See, but that the brethren might appoint prudent men to manage it for their use.[5] We read of frequent dissensions, which led to the resignation or deposition of provincial ministers and even generals; as in the case of the seventh General Minister, John of Parma, in whom the "spiritual" party rejoiced "as a second St. Francis."[6] But, with his zeal for the

[1] Scotland was now reunited to England under the administration of Haymo; the minister of Scotland, Robert de Ketene, being transferred to Ireland. [2] Eccleston, p. 23.

[3] Wadding, ii. 241–2, 412; iii. 21, f.; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 596. Wadding says that he repented on his deathbed; but according to another account he had refused the invitation of the general, John of Parma, to return to the order, and his bones were taken up and thrown on a dunghill (Salimb. 412). [4] See an example in Eccleston, p. 49.

[5] In the bull *Quanto Studiosius*, addressed *ad Generalem et Provinciales Ministros Fratrum Minorum.* (Wadding, vol. iii. pp. 129–131; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 255; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 597.)

[6] "Præcipuus zelator Ordinis" (Eccleston, pp. 49, 50): he had lectured on theology at Paris, "cursorie legerat sententias (*ibid.*)." He is also described as "sanctæ memoriæ, magister in theologia, et lector curiæ, de provincia Bononiæ." He wrote a treatise, addressed to Roger Bacon, as "Innominato Magistro." (*Prima Fundatio*, &c., p. 533.) Cf. Chap. XXXI. p. 529.

purity of the order, John carried the mystic spirit of the founder to such lengths, as to adopt the apocalyptic fancies of the Abbot Joachim of Fiore,[1] which were scarcely consistent with loyalty to the Church of Rome. His resignation (1256) was therefore suggested by Alexander IV., ostensibly on the ground of his inability to control the disorders, which were thus confessed to prevail in the order. The Pope, a zealous friend of the order, complained of its state in a figurative apologue, that "whereas the order was built up with two walls — moral goodness and knowledge — the brethren had reared the wall of knowledge to the height of heaven, so as to be asking *whether God exists*; but they had allowed the wall of morals to be so low, that it was great praise to say of a brother, *He is a safe man*;" and soon few would give them even this praise. His warning that they should protect themselves and the reverence for their profession against prelates and princes, rather by their manifest merits than by apostolic privileges, was pointed by a contrast between their humble name and their actual pretensions.[2]

[1] See next Chapter, p. 419 f.
[2] "Ut essent *minores* inter omnes humilitate et mansuetudine."

Christ the Good Shepherd, with subjects from the Old Testament.
An archaic bronze Medallion, found in the Catacombs at Rome (Buonarotti).

Franciscan Friar and Trinitarian Monk.

CHAPTER XXV.

LATER HISTORY OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS.

§ 1. ST. BONAVENTURA General of the Franciscans—Conflict with the secular clergy and Doctors—His rebuke of the corruptions of the order. § 2. Exactions, backed up by pious frauds—Indulgence of the Portiuncula—Dying in the cowl—Rivalry of the orders for privileges and exemptions—Charges of heresy. § 3. Mystical and prophetic views of the Franciscan *Spirituals* or *Zealots* — The *Millennium* at hand — Prophecies of Abbot JOACHIM—His three states of the world, ending A.D. 1260—Denunciations of the Clergy, Papacy, and Empire—The

1200 A.D. (the crowning epoch of Joachim's life), the Spirit of life went forth, to make of the two Testaments the Everlasting Gospel, the superior excellence of which is set forth in various figures. The Old Testament shone with the brightness of the stars, the New with the lustre of the moon, the Eternal Gospel with the splendour of the sun: the Old was the outer sanctuary, the New the Holy place, the Eternal the Holy of Holies: the first was the operation of God the Father, the second of God the Son, the last of the Holy Spirit with the whole power of the Trinity. The Gospel of Christ was literal, the Eternal Gospel is spiritual, fulfilling the promise of the prophet, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts;"[1] and this third state of the world will be free from all figures and enigmas, according to the saying of the Apostle, "For we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away;"[2] as if he would say, Then shall all figures cease, and the truth of the two Testaments shall appear without a veil: for the New Testament is as temporary as the Old, and it was to last only till the year 1260. This consummation was to be brought about by the power of the Holy Ghost, but instrumentally by the prevalence of the writings of Joachim; and in it the papal authority was to have no place. For the spiritual understanding of the New Testament has not been committed to the Roman Pope, but only the understanding of the letter. Hence the Church of Rome has no power to judge of the spiritual sense; and its judgments are random (*temeraria*), for the Roman Church is itself literal and not spiritual. The Greek Pope walks more according to the Gospel than the Latin Pope, and is nearer to the state of those who shall be saved, and rather to be adhered to than the Pope or Church of Rome.

In all those utterances, which are the representations preserved by enemies, we see the vague expression of that mystic spiritualism, exalted by fancies concerning the near fulfilment of the apocalyptic prophecy, and deeply imbued with a sense of the evils of the Papal system, which had begun to spread far and wide within the Church itself, even when it did not go to the length of separation. But other passages point to the friars, and especially the Franciscans, as the chief ministers of this new dispensation of the Spirit or Everlasting Gospel. In the spirit of their favourite "conformities" we find that, as in the beginning of the first dispensation three great men appeared—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with his twelve (sons); and as in the beginning of the new, there appeared three—Zacharias,

[1] Jerem. xxxi. 33. [2] 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10.

John the Baptist, and the man Christ Jesus, who likewise had twelve with Him; so in the beginning of the third there would be three like them, and these are found in the Apocalypse; namely, the Angel clothed in linen,[1] the Angel having a sharp sickle (Dominic),[2] and the Angel having the seal of the living God;[3] and the last Angel is in like manner to have twelve—the mystic number by which his followers were likened to the sons of Jacob and the Apostles, and to the tribes both of the natural and the spiritual Israel.[4] The Everlasting Gospel is entrusted and committed principally to that order which is created as a new ministry, and which is composed alike of the laity and the clergy—which the book designated as the "Order of Independents."[5]

Here we seem to have sufficient internal evidence of the Franciscan origin of the work; that is to say, that it contained ideas which, put forth already before the ministry of Francis began, were adopted more or less fully—not indeed by the ruling party in the order—but by its "spiritual" section; and its authorship seems in fact to have been charged upon them by their own brethren of the ruling party.[6] For a long time it was ascribed to John of Parma, who was deposed, as we have seen, for his leaning to the doctrines of Joachim; but at length its authorship has been fixed by clear evidence on John's friend and fellow-sufferer, the Franciscan "zealot," Gerard or Gerardino of Borgo San Donnino, who was condemned by his superiors as a follower of Joachim, and, after eighteen years' imprisonment, was buried in unconsecrated ground.[7]

[1] The idea seems to be a comparison of Joachim to that *one* of the seven angels clothed in linen and holding the vials of the seven plagues, who acted as hierophant or *interpreter* of the visions to St. John. (See Rev. xv. 6, 7; and xvii. 1.)

[2] Rev. xiv. 14. [3] Rev. vii. 2.

[4] The xii. belonging to the Angel of the new Gospel are evidently (from the context) the whole body of friars, starting from the twelve companions of St. Francis, and, as it seems, not excluding the Dominicans; the object being to exalt the *system* rather than the one order.

[5] The "*Ordo Independentium*" seems to describe their independence of clerical orders and episcopal jurisdiction.

[6] When Matthew Paris (A.D. 1256, p. 939), in his account of the offence given by the "*Preacher Brethren*" to the University of Paris, says that they composed a book which they entitled "Here begins the Eternal Gospel," he is clearly not ascribing its authorship to the *Dominicans*, but using a phrase which had come to designate the friars in general, for the Franciscans were as great preachers as the other order, which bore that specific name.

[7] Wadding, s. ann. 1256, iv. 5; Salimb. 102. The discovery of the authorship was made by Echard (*Scriptor. Domin.* i. 202) in the MS. *Acta Processus in Evangelium æternum* of the Sorbonne. (Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 257.) "Salimbene's evidence (p. 233) is conclusive as to Gerardino,

§ 5. The sentence on the book, which the University of Paris obtained from Alexander IV., was perhaps hardly more their triumph over the friars, than that of the less rigid party[1] over the "spirituals." But the latter were not to be suppressed; and, in proportion as they were discouraged by their rulers and the Popes, they tended more and more to become a distinct sect, and indulged more and more in apocalyptic denunciations of Rome as the mystic Babylon and harlot. To mark their adherence to the strict rule of St. Francis, they adopted the name of humility which he had chosen for his order, calling themselves *Fraticelli* instead of Fratres.[2] "So grew this silent but widening schism. The Spiritualists did not secede from the community, but from intercourse with their weak brethren. The more rich, luxurious, learned, became the higher Franciscans; the more rigid, sullen, and disdainful, became the lowest. While the church in Assisi was rising over the ashes of St. Francis in unprecedented splendour, adorned with all the gorgeousness of young art, the Spiritualists denounced all this magnificence as of this world; the more imposing the services, the more sternly they retreated among the peaks and forests of the Apennines, to enjoy undisturbed the pride and luxury of beggary. The lofty and spacious convents were their abomination; they housed themselves in tents and caves; there was not a single change in dress, in provision for food, in worship, in study, which they did not denounce as a sin—as an act of apostacy. Wherever the Franciscans were, and they were everywhere, the Spiritualists were keeping up the strife, protesting, and putting to shame these recreant sons of the common father."[3]

§ 6. In 1279, Pope Nicolas III. issued a Bull,[4] revising the interpretations of the Franciscan rule concerning property by Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. Under the form of a high assertion of the principle of poverty, according to the teaching and example of Christ, which it proceeds ingeniously to explain away, chiefly by a distinction between individual and common ownership, it grants the

whom he knew well and speaks of with regard (102, 236), although he resisted all Gerardino's attempts to convert him to Joachism." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 599.)

[1] The *Fratres de Communitate.*

[2] The name was afterwards extended, as a sort of heretical brand, to various parties who resembled the Franciscan zealots in their strict views of evangelic poverty or in their apocalyptic fancies and anti-hierarchical spirit.

[3] Milman, vol. vii. pp. 345–6; founded on a passage (cited in the Italian in a note) of an ancient *Carta d'Apella* in the possession of the author of a "*Vita di S. Francesco*, Foligno, 1824."

[4] The Bull "*Exiit*" in Sextus, *Decretal.* lib. v. tit. 12, c. 3; Wadding, iv. 74–5. For the chief passages of it, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 259.

brethren "the *use*—the moderate use—of things necessary;" an elastic licence, which they were sure to stretch to the measure of the liberal practice already established. This decision exasperated the zealots, who found a new chief in PETER JOHN OF OLIVI, a native of that region of Southern France where the apocalyptic fancies were most prevalent. Born at Serignan, near Narbonne, in 1247, Olivi was devoted to the Minorite order at the age of twelve, and studied at Paris. That exaltation of the Virgin, which the Franciscan doctors taught, was carried by him to such extravagant lengths, causing so great a scandal,[1] as to incur the censure of the general, Jerome of Ascoli (afterwards Pope Nicolas IV.), who compelled him to burn his writings with his own hand (about 1278). His attacks on the mitigations of the rule subjected him to several examinations from the chiefs of the order, who at first condemned his doctrines (1282), but were satisfied of his orthodoxy[2] when he voluntarily came before them again; but, in 1290, under directions from Nicolas IV., to the general of the Franciscans, an inquisition was held against the "brethren of Narbonne" as followers of Olivi, and several of them were imprisoned or put to other severe penances. Olivi himself is said to have retracted in 1292; and on his deathbed (1297) he made a profession which was accepted as satisfactory, though it condemned, as mortal sin, all relaxations of the rule of poverty and all persecutions of those who maintained its strictness.[3]

Shortly before Olivi's death, the "spiritual" party had found a period of rest, and peace seemed to be restored to the whole order, under the hermit-pope, Celestine V. (1294–5), who formed the Fraticelli, in conjunction with his own hermits, into a new society, under the name of the *Celestine-Eremites*.[4] Boniface VIII., who

[1] The Franciscan annalist Wadding (v. 51, 2) who himself wrote in defence of the Immaculate Conception, designates these utterances of Olivi as "not praises, but fooleries," such as the object of them would herself be unwilling to accept. (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 600.)

[2] Wadding, s. ann. 1282, 1283, 1285, 1290, 1292. Olivi's defence in his first examination, disclaiming the errors imputed to him, is still extant, in the condemnation called the "Book of the Seven Seals," because it was attested by seven inquisitors. (D'Argentré, i. 226, 227.) Notwithstanding this suggestive title (given to it doubtless by Olivi's followers) it contains nothing of his apocalyptic fancies.

[3] Wadding, v. 379, 380; Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 260, 261. Mr. Herbert doubts the genuineness of the two deathbed professions thus attributed to Olivi. (*British Mag.* xviii. 135.)

[4] *Pauperes Eremitæ Domini Celestini;* see Raynaldus and Wadding, s. a. 1294; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 263. Before his election to the Papacy, Peter, called of Murrone, from his retreat among the rocks of the Abruzzi, had there formed, under the sanction of Gregory X., a society of austere

detested the mendicants, dissolved the new order (1302), and banished its members to one of the Greek islands, where they were not allowed to remain. From this time a large portion of the Fraticelli seceded from the Franciscan order, and renounced the authority of the persecuting Pope. "One of Olivi's disciples, a Provençal, is said to have been elected Pope at St. Peter's by five men and thirteen women of the party; and by these and others their doctrines were spread into Sicily, Greece, and other countries, acting everywhere as a leaven of opposition and discontent, actively though secretly working against the Papacy."[1]

The ruling party showed special hostility against the followers and memory of Olivi. The reading of his works was forbidden in the Franciscan order; the Inquisition of Toulouse pronounced him a false prophet, and persecuted his followers, who kept a festival in his honour as their great prophet, the "mighty angel" who "had in his hand a little book open," and announced the end of time and the finishing of the mystery of God (Rev. x.).

Some opinions attributed to him were condemned by the Council of Vienne under Clement V., in 1311. The chief cause of offence was given by the prophetic views put forth in Olivi's *Postilla in Apocalypsin*, which was solemnly condemned by John XXII., after an examination by eight doctors (1326); but the condemnation was rescinded a century and a half later by Sixtus IV. From the sixty articles enumerated by the eight doctors, which contain all that is extant of the work,[2] it seems to have followed the outlines traced in the prophecies of the Abbot Joachim and the "Everlasting Gospel." In the visions of St. John, the seven seals symbolized seven states of the Christian Church: the *first* was the laying of its foundations in Judaism by the apostles; the *second*, its probation and confirmation by martyrdom; the *third*, the doctrinal exposition of the faith in the triumph of sound reasoning over heresies as they arose; the *fourth* was that of the early monastic life, from St. Antony to St. Benedict; the *fifth*, that of the common life, divided between severe zeal and worldly conciliation, under the monks and clergy holding temporal possessions. The *sixth* is (for the tense changes to denote the present age) that of

hermits, whom he named after St. Peter Damiani, but the designation was changed into that of his papal name.

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 603. See the note (*ibid.*) for various accounts of this Pope's relations to the order. It is quite probable that Boniface may have used and favoured the ruling party, while persecuting the Fraticelli.

[2] Baluzii, *Miscellanea*, i. 213, ii. 258; see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 261 f. for full extracts. *Postilla* signifies a running Commentary.

the renovation of the evangelic, and conquest of the antichristian life, and the final conversion of Jews and Gentiles, or the renewed rebuilding of the Church as in the first age. As in that first state, when carnal Judaism and the old dispensation were cast aside, "the *new man* CHRIST appeared, with a new law, and life, and cross," so in the sixth, the carnal church will be cast aside, and the law and life and cross of Christ renewed, beginning from the appearance of "*the man our father* FRANCIS, marked with the wounds of Christ, and completely conformed to Christ in his crucifixion and likeness." Francis is the Angel who opens the sixth seal;[1] as well as the Angel ascending from the East, having the seal of the living God,[2] renewing the evangelic life by his rule, and himself the greatest pattern of that life, after Christ and His Mother. The servants of God sealed by that Angel[3] with the sign of Christ, "the militia of Christ," are those awakened to the spirit of Christ and Francis, in the time when his rule is wickedly and sophistically impugned and condemned by the church of the proud and carnal, as Christ was condemned by the synagogue of the Jews. The parallel was even pressed to a crucifixion of Francis in the Babylonish trial of his order (referring, doubtless, to the persecution of the Zealots), to be followed by his resurrection in glory, bearing the *stigmata* with which he was marked while alive—a resurrection as needful to confirm his disciples, as that of Christ was for the Apostles. And, as those fishermen learned that they could not cast the Gospel net with such success in the land of the Jews as in the heathen seas, so that Angel will find success, not so much in the carnal church of the Latins, as among the Greeks and Saracens and Tartars, and finally the Jews. The new state must be preceded by the temporal putting away (*exterminium*) of the Church, as this was preceded by the putting away of the Synagogue: that is to say, the whole state of the Church, consisting of prelates, people, and the "religious" (the monastic orders), will be overturned from the foundations, except what shall survive hidden in the few elect.

Besides the *seven states or ages*, Olivi taught that there were *three* "*general*" *states* of the Church; in the first, God revealed Himself as Fear; in the second as Wisdom, in the third as Love; and in

[1] Rev. vi. 12. This identification is said to have been revealed in vision to Bonaventura; from which it would follow that it was later than Joachim, and that these apocalyptic fancies were indulged in to some extent by the ruling and scholastic party among the Franciscans, as well as by the zealots. In fact they were the natural offspring of the mystical side of Francis's own mind, and of his manner of applying Scripture. [2] Rev. vii. 2. [3] Rev. vii. 3.

this last St. Peter was to give way to St. John. The beginning, in the full sense, of the third general state of the Church, including the sixth and seventh ages, is reckoned either from its solemn revelation made to the Abbot Joachim, or from the foundation of the order of St. Francis, and perhaps some others of his contemporaries, or from the judgment of Babylon, the great harlot, the carnal church, and her destruction by the ten horns of the beast, that is, by ten kingdoms.[1] As the climax of this carnal system, some suppose that the *Antichrist* will be a false Pope and false prophet; others, that he will call himself God as claiming to be the Messiah of the Jews. From the slaying of Antichrist, or more fully from the last judgment of the reprobate and the elect, will begin the *seventh age* of the Church, which has a two-fold character as it respects this life and the life to come; in this life it is a certain quiet and wonderful participation of future glory, as if the heavenly Jerusalem were seen to come down upon the earth;[2] but, as it respects the other life, it is the general state of the resurrection, and of the glorification of the saints, and of the final consummation of all things.[3]

§ 7. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Fraticelli became mixed up with the Cathari and other sects, whose predictions of the speedy fall of the Papacy, from the imagery of the Apocalypse, subjected them to frequent persecution. They were very generally identified with the Beghards (see below, § 12); in fact, many of them left the order to join that sect.

Their relations to the Papacy were brought to a crisis under John XXII., whose splendour gave the "Spirituals" at Avignon occasion to insist anew on the extreme doctrines of absolute poverty. That party abounded in the south of France as well as in Italy; and John XXII. took up the feud with them, which had begun under Boniface VIII., and had been continued under Clement V., in violent persecutions both of the Fraticelli and others who held similar tenets.[4] While the itinerant friars spread far and wide their testimony against John's avarice and luxury and the corruption of his court, which they contrasted with their evangelic

[1] Rev. xvii. 16, 17. For the further application of the prophetic imagery to the clergy and Papacy, see the extracts given in Gieseler.

[2] Rev. xxi. 2.

[3] Other statements of the apocalyptic views of Olivi are given by his ardent disciple and defender, Ubertinus de Casali, in the *Apologia* for his master, for which he was called to account under John XXII. (1317).

[4] For the movements and fate of Wilhelmina of Bohemia, at Milan, Pongilupo of Ferrara, Sagarelli of Parma, and especially Dolcino of Novara, all more or less followers of, and martyrs to, the teaching of Olivi, see Milman, vol. vii. pp. 353–368.

rule of poverty, and familiarized the common mind with the notion that the Papacy was the mystic harlot and Babylon, the forerunner of Antichrist, the Pope followed up his repeated Bulls[1] against them by a violent persecution. At first his enmity was assisted by the schism in the order, and its General, Michael di Cesena, consented to conduct, with seven others, an inquisition against the rebellious brethren of Narbonne and Béziers. Twenty-five friars were sentenced to degradation and perpetual imprisonment; and some of them, who boldly protested that they were the true brethren of St. Francis, and their persecutors were not the Church, but the blind synagogue, were burned at Marseille for their "apostacy" and the heresy of denying the Pope's authority.[2] The cruelties thus begun by the Franciscans themselves, were continued with the added zeal of party spirit by the ordinary inquisition of the Dominicans, of which one of the victims[3] declared that if St. Peter and St. Paul should return to earth, the Inquisition would lay hands on them as damnable heretics.

In one of these trials, before the Grand Inquisitor and the Archbishop of Narbonne, with all the most learned clergy of the province, the court was about to condemn a Beghard for asserting the absolute poverty of Christ and His Apostles, when Berenger de Talon, a simple reader, but whose character gave weight to his opinion, declared the tenet to be sound, catholic, and orthodox. He cited the Bull of Nicolas III.[4] as the law of the Church on the subject, and when the court tried to put him down by clamour, he appealed to the Pope. After defending his position before John XXII. and the cardinals, Berenger was put under arrest, and a Bull[5] was issued, not indeed going the length of reversing that of Nicolas,

[1] The Bull *Gloriosam Ecclesiam* (dated Avignon, 23rd Jan. 1316) enumerates the five errors of the spiritual Franciscans:—"(i.) Their assertion of the two Churches, the one carnal, oppressed with wealth, stained with crimes, and lorded over by its Roman head and the inferior prelates; the other spiritual, pure in its frugality, seemly in its dress, girt with poverty. (ii.) That the acts and sacraments of the clergy of the carnal church were invalid. (iii.) The unlawfulness of oaths. (iv.) That the wickedness of the individual priest invalidated the sacrament. (v.) That they alone followed the Gospel of Christ."—Milman, p. 374.

[2] All kinds of charges were preferred against them, as heresy, magic, treason, and other crimes. Mosheim (ii. 670) has a list of 113 persons of both sexes who were put to death, between 1318 and the pontificate of Innocent VI., for their adherence to the rigorous idea of Franciscan poverty. He supposes that about 2000 suffered in all.

[3] The Franciscan friar, Bernard Deliciosi, of Montpellier, who was tried at Toulouse in 1319, on various charges, including heresy, magic, treason, and contriving to poison Pope Benedict XI.

[4] The famous Bull *Quis exiit.* See above, § 6, p. 426.

[5] *De Verborum Significatione.*

but suspending his anathema against all who should reopen the discussion. Against this virtual withdrawal of the Papal sanction of their fundamental principle the General Chapter at Perugia unanimously protested, appealing both to the Bull of Nicolas and a decree of the Council of Vienne (1322). Its president was the General, Michael di Cesena, who had so lately persecuted the Spiritualists, but now took the lead against the Pope, with William of Ockham,[1] and with Bonagratia, who had been the vehement opponent of Ubertino di Casale, the follower of John Peter Olivi. The Pope replied by a Bull charging the chapter with heresy, condemning and annulling the legal fiction by which his predecessors had enabled the order to hold property, nominally vested in the see of Rome, and bitterly taunting them with the wealth they had thus acquired. The Dominicans joined eagerly in the condemnation of their rivals, and the University of Paris pronounced an elaborate judgment against the Franciscan doctrine of poverty. The papal party in the order elected a new General[2] in place of Michael Cesena, who had fled from Avignon (1329); and who now, with the extreme Franciscans as a body, joined the Ghibelline party. We have seen the services which he and Ockham, and other Schoolmen of the order, rendered to Louis IV. in his struggle with John;[3] and how they charged the Pope himself with heresy. Thus that order, on which the Popes had relied as their surest support and instrument, was turned in great part into dangerous opposition to their interest. Meanwhile the internal schism widened, till, in the latter part of the 14th century, the order was divided into two distinct bodies:[4] the *Conventuals*, who lived together in their houses, and the *Observants*, whose name proclaimed their adhesion to the founder's rule. The latter, after undergoing some persecution, were recognized by the Council of Constance.

§ 8. These divisions did not prevent the growth of the order by its own energy, the favour it long enjoyed with the people, and the protection of several Franciscan Popes.[5] Meanwhile it more and more developed the natural consequences of increasing wealth and

[1] Besides his great work in defence of the imperial power against the Papacy, William of Ockham wrote against John on the question of poverty, charging him with thirty-two errors on this head.

[2] This new General, Gerard, attempted to procure the abrogation of St. Francis's prohibition against the acceptance of gifts of money; but John sternly refused his consent. Wadding, *s. a.* 1331.

[3] Chap. VII. §§ 7, 9, 12. Comp. as to Ockham, Chap. XXXII. §§ 2, 3.

[4] The spirit of independence led to a further division into various classes. Thus, in contradistinction to the bare-footed friars were those called *Soccolanti*, from their wearing wooden shoes like the peasantry.

[5] For the special case of Alexander V. see Chap. IX. p. 148.

luxury, ecclesiastical assumptions and exemptions, and influence both in the highest affairs of state and the most private concerns of families. In these several relations, the Franciscans earned in an ever-growing measure the distrust and jealousy of civil and ecclesiastical powers, contempt and dislike from the people for their high pretensions and low morals, and a well-founded suspicion of the footing they gained in households. An historian so competent and impartial as Von Ranke has pronounced that, at the time of the Reformation, they were "perhaps the most profoundly corrupted of all the orders."[1] In spite of bitter quarrels with the Popes about the privileges and property which it was their very first principle to renounce, they united with the Dominicans in support of the corrupt Romanism in the contest with the growing spirit of reform; and the orders which had produced the greatest teachers of the Church in the 13th and 14th centuries became the chief enemies of knowledge and champions of superstition.

§ 9. In the darkest time of the 15th century, one earnest effort to revive the founder's rule was made by a namesake who is held in scarcely less reverence. FRANCIS OF PAOLA[2] (so called from his birthplace in Calabria) was devoted to the order of St. Francis by his mother's gratitude for a miracle;[3] but, following the example of Peter of Murrone (Pope Celestine V.), he retired to a hermit's cave, and became so renowned for his austere sanctity and miraculous powers, that Louis XI. besought the King of Naples and Pope Sixtus IV. to send the holy man to calm the terrors of his death-bed (1482). On his way through Rome, where his appearance caused great excitement, Francis obtained from the Pope, who was himself a Franciscan, leave to found a society of "Hermits of St. Francis," which he humbly named no longer *Minors* but *Minims* (*Minimi*).[4] At the court of France he was received with as much honour "as if he had been the Pope himself"—says Philip de Comines, who adds that the Holy Spirit seemed to speak from his mouth, though he was quite illiterate. The court were disposed to ridicule the rude hermit, but Louis, with abject reverence, entreated him as if he had the power of life and death. Besides other rich

[1] *Hist. of the Popes*, translated by Mrs. Austin, vol. i. p. 172.

[2] The name is often written, less accurately, Paula, and so made Paul.

[3] The story is, that he was born with only one eye; but his mother vowed that, if the other eye might be granted to him, he should wear the habit of St. Francis for a year at least: and so it was. *Acta SS.*, April 2, vol. i. p. 103. His earliest biography is by a disciple, A.D. 1502 (*ibid.*).

[4] Not that he thereby affected to transcend the humility of his pattern, who—as is shown by a remarkable passage in his Life—chose the title *Minores* to signify what St. Paul expresses by the emphatic *comparative of a superlative*, ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ, *less than the least* of all saints (Ephes. iii. 8).

rewards, the King founded convents for the new order at Plessis and Amboise. Charles VIII. continued these royal favours, and, on his expedition to Italy, he founded for the Minims the famous convent of Trinità del Monte at Rome, which remained in their possession till the great Revolution. Francis himself died at Plessis, April 2, 1507, and was canonized by Leo X. in 1519. The Minims, like the Minors, comprised the three classes of Brethren, Sisters, and Tertiaries. Their rule, drawn up by the founder, and confirmed by Alexander VI. and Julius II., added to the three Franciscan vows a fourth of the *Quadragesimal Life*, that is, a perpetual lenten fast of abstinence from all sorts of animal food.[1]

§ 10. It remains to speak of the less famous, but not unimportant orders of mendicant friars. The new enthusiasm of the two great orders, their speedy popularity, and the attraction of the wandering life of mendicancy for those of idle and unsettled habits, raised up so many imitators, that it was deemed necessary to check their "*unbridled* multitude," as they were designated by the second General Council of Lyon, under Gregory X., in restricting the mendicant friars to *four orders:* the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Eremites (1274). The *Carmelites*, whose origin in Palestine has been related above, were transplanted into Europe in 1238.[2] The brotherhood of *Augustinian Eremites* (*Austin Friars*)[3] was formed in 1256 by a Bull given by Alexander IV., uniting a number of Italian cœnobite establishments in this one society, under the rule of St. Augustine. This order spread and grew in popularity, till at the time of the Reformation it numbered 30,000 friars; but it is most memorable from the fact that one of that number was MARTIN LUTHER. The restriction did not prevent the recognition of a fifth mendicant order in the *Servites* (the "Slaves of the Blessed Virgin Mary"), which had been founded at Florence in 1233 under the rule of St. Augustine.[4] All these orders had the associated class of *tertiaries*.

§ 11. While the mendicant orders retained the first impulse of their popularity, they absorbed into their several fellowships all that was most vigorous in the religious and intellectual life of the Church. Amidst all their differences and jealousies, they had, even in a far

[1] The *votum vitæ Quadragesimalis*, which interdicted, besides flesh itself, fat, butter, cheese, and all preparations of milk.

[2] For an account of them, see Chap. XXI. § 11.

[3] *Eremitæ S. Augustini:* the Bull *Licet Ecclesiæ*. (*Bullar. Rom.* No. vi.)

[4] *Servi B. Mariæ Virginis.* They were recognized by John XXI. (in 1277), only three years after the Council of Lyon, and by Benedict XI. in 1304. The *tertiaries* of the three lesser orders were not confirmed till comparatively late: the *Augustines* by Boniface IX. (1401), the *Servites* by Martin V. (1424), the *Carmelites* by Sixtus IV. (1476).

higher degree than the whole body of the clergy, the power of a universal bond of fraternity with one another and with the old monastic orders. "This all-comprehending fraternization had the power, and some of the mystery, without the suspicion and hatred, which attaches to secret societies. It was a perpetual campaign, set in motion and still moving on with simultaneous impulse from one or from several centres, but with a single aim and object, the aggrandisement of the Society, with all its results for evil or for good."[1]

Here is another side of the picture, showing the burthen they imposed on all classes of the people, to be one day repaid by disgust and hatred:—"Besides all the estates, tithes, oblations, bequests, to the clergy and the monasteries, reckon the subsidies in kind to the Mendicants in their four Orders—Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites. In every country of Latin Christendom, of these swarms of Friars, the lowest obtained sustenance; the higher, means to build and to maintain splendid churches, cloisters, houses. All of these, according to their proper theory, ought to have lived on the daily dole from the charitable, bestowed at the gate of the palace or castle, of the cottage or hovel. But that which was once an act of charity had become an obligation. Who would dare to repel a holy Mendicant? The wealth of the Mendicants was now an object of bitter jealousy to the Clergy and to the older Monastic Orders. They were a vast standing army, far more vast than any maintained by any kingdom in Christendom, at once levying subsidies to an enormous amount, and living at free quarters throughout the land. How onerous, how odious, they had become in England, may be seen in the prose of Wycliffe, and in the poetry of Piers Ploughman."[2]

§ 12. Somewhat related to the orders of friars in spirit and by the accidents of their history, though quite distinct and much earlier in their origin, were the societies of *Beguines* and *Beghards*, "these male, those feminine" (to use Milton's phrase). The origin of both names is involved in a maze of doubt and guesses;[3] and we only

[1] Milman, *Lat. Christ.* vol. ix. p. 27–8.

[2] "Later, Speed, from the Supplication of Beggars, asserts, as demonstrated, that, reckoning that every householder paid the five Orders fivepence a year only, the sum of 43,000*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid them by the year, besides the revenues of their own lands."—*Ibid.* p. 25.

[3] Setting aside derivations manifestly absurd or historically false, the choice lies between the Low German *beggen* or *beggeren*, to "beg" or "pray" (the latter meaning being somewhat arbitrarily chosen, because the former does not suit these *non-mendicant* societies), and the name of their reputed founder at Liège, Lambert le Bègues or le Bèghe. Gieseler prefers the latter as having an historical ground; but, even so, it remain-

know for certain that, in the cities of Belgium, there grew up during the 12th century societies of pious ladies, called *Beguines* (*Beguinæ* or *Begutæ*), united in a religious life and charitable labours, under a rule which simply governed their devotions, without imposing monastic vows or restraints. So far from at first adopting the mendicant principle (which, indeed, came into vogue much later), they maintained themselves by their own property and the work of their hands—and devoted their spare income and earnings to the poor, the sick, and strangers, for whom they established hospitals.[1] Each society lived together in a small house with a court, called a Beguinage (*Beginagium*). The earliest clear historic testimony respecting them is in the traditions of Liège, which ascribed their institution to a priest of the city, named Lambert le Bèghe, or le Bègues, about 1180. In imitation of them, other societies were formed exclusively of high-born ladies, the daughters of nobles and knights, who lived together like the regular canons, and called themselves Secular Canonesses;[2] but they also were sometimes popularly called Beguines. They were free to quit the society and marry. Similar societies of men grew up under the name of *Beghards* or *Beguines*,[3] whose earliest known house was founded at Louvain in 1220. These sisterhoods and brotherhoods had spread

doubtful whether Lambert's designation was a family name or an epithet descriptive of this very society. Mr. Algernon Herbert thinks that *Beguine* was derived from Lambert's surname, and *Beghard* from *beggen*, and that the names, originally independent, were afterwards confounded (*Brit. Mag.* xviii. 131). William of St. Amour cites the *puns* rather than derivations of *Beguinæ* from *benignæ* or *bono igne ignitæ*. (See further, Mosheim, *de Beghardis et Beguinabus*, Lips. 1780; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 263 f.; Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 567–8.)

[1] Very interesting is the testimony of Robert Grosseteste, with all his admiration for the Franciscans. After preaching to their chapter at Oxford on the almost heavenly virtue of mendicancy, he freely told their minister, William of Nottingham, that there was still a higher grade of holy poverty—to live by one's own labour: "unde dixit quod *Beginæ* sunt perfectissimæ et sanctissimæ religionis, quia vivunt propriis laboribus, *et non onerant exactionibus mundum.*" (Thomas de Eccleston, p. 69.)

[2] Jacobus de Vitriaco (cir. 1220), *Hist. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. c. 31; *Canonicas sæculares* seu *Domicellas* appellant, non enim *Moniales* nominari volunt." He speaks of them as abundant in Germany and Brabant. A chronicler of the 15th century (Theodorus Engelhusius) ascribes to Henry I. numerous foundations of churches in Germany with secular canonesses, expressly in order to provide for the support of the daughters of nobles slain by the infidels for the faith of Christ, that they might not be driven to beg; but (as Gieseler observes) this reason points to the time of the Crusades. St. Louis established such societies of noble but impoverished females at Paris and elsewhere, who were called Beguines.

[3] *Beghardi*, *Beguini*, also called in France *Boni Pueri* or *Boni Valeti*.

so rapidly, Matthew Paris tells us, especially in Germany, that, by the middle of the 13th century, there were in and about the one city of Cologne 2000 such devotees of both sexes, but principally women.[1]

The number of women who were bereft of fathers and brothers by the Crusades doubtless furnished one motive for these societies; but they also shared, in a very high degree, in the same spirit of religious enthusiasm which produced the mendicant orders. From the first, whether from a real excess of feminine exaltation, or from not having secured—as the friars did—the special protection of the Papacy, they seem to have been regarded with suspicion, which soon passed into persecution. They therefore sought refuge in the tertiary class of the mendicant orders. From this arose a remarkable double application of the name. On the one hand, it was used as almost equivalent to the tertiaries or even the mendicant orders themselves. Thus Bonaventura, in his defence against William of St. Amour, calls the Franciscan tertiaries simply *Beguinæ*;[2] and the assailant veiled his attack on the friars under the pretence that it was directed against "Beghards who were not sanctioned by the Pope," and, if others took it to themselves, that was their affair. But the identification was more especially made with the extreme Franciscan zealots, or Fraticelli; and the confusion of names was connected with a real change in the character of those, at least, who assumed them, so that the once honoured appellations of *Beguine* and *Beghard* came to signify vagabond mendicants, tainted more or less with heresy.[3] This was especially the case in Germany and France, where decrees were issued against them; and they were treated with severity by the Popes of the 14th century. But orthodox societies of Beghards continued to exist; and in 1650 they were placed by Innocent X. under the authority of the Franciscan tertiaries. In Belgium, however, where the Beguine societies were first founded, they seem to have escaped degeneracy, and, under the sanction and regulation of Popes and councils, they have lasted to the present day.

[1] M. Paris, *s. a.* 1250, p. 611.

[2] *Lib. Apolaget.* qu. 6; for other examples, see Mosheim, *op. cit.* A little later we find the Beguins and Beghards identified with the female and male tertiaries (*fratres gaudentes*) of the Dominicans.

[3] As early as 1259, the Council of Mainz issued a decree against the sect, and dress, and meetings (*conventicula*) of the Beghards. This use of the name was carried back in so general a way, that we find the Albigenses called *Beguini*, and the name applied to a heretic who lived in 1176. (See Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 267.) Among other sects persecuted as heretics were the *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, who mingled evangelical principles with Pantheism and licentious practices. For their tenets and history, see Robertson, iii. 569; iv. 314–15.

Tomb of the Venerable Bede: in the Galilee of Durham Cathedral.

BOOK V.

ECCLESIASTICAL LEARNING, THE UNIVERSITIES, AND SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.

CENTURIES XI.–XV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RETROSPECT OF CENTURIES VI.–X.

§ 1. The Middle and "Dark" Ages—Decline of Learning from the fall of the Western Empire—Corruption of the Latin language and literature

—Neglect of classical writers — Meagre course of education—The *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. § 2. Twofold preservation of Learning by the Church: the copying of MSS. and continuity of Latin. § 3. The Episcopal schools—Gregory the Great—Gaul and Britain—Schools of King Sigbert and Bishop Felix—GREEK taught by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian. § 4. Learning in Northumbria: Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop—Monastic Libraries at Wearmouth and Jarrow—BEDE: his works: knowledge of Greek. § 5. Archbishop Egbert's Library and Schools at York—ALCUIN, the tutor and educational minister of CHARLES THE GREAT, who restores the cathedral and conventual schools—Intellectual state of Europe in the 9th and 10th centuries. § 6. JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA and GERBERT (Sylvester II.), precursors of science and the scholastic learning—Erigena's Rationalism and Pantheism—His Greek learning—At the court of Charles the Bald—The Palatine school at Paris—His works—Neo-Platonism—Use of dialectic reasoning—Charged with heterodoxy.

§ 1. THE common confusion, by which the Middle and Dark Ages are spoken of as almost synonymous, requires correction, not only as concerns the time spoken of, but as to the degrees of light and darkness diffused throughout the period under review. There are those who write and speak as if the intellectual splendour of antiquity, and the purer light of primitive Christianity, were together and all at once overwhelmed by the clouds of barbarian conquest and corrupted religion, nay, even all but extinguished, to be rekindled by the new light of intellect at the "Renaissance" and of spiritual life in the Reformation. But in truth the darkness was neither so absolute nor so universal; and a careful survey of the period enables us to trace the light always shining behind the passing clouds, and here and there breaking through them on some favoured spot, till it bursts forth again over the states of Europe and the Latin Church in great power, long before it attains what we now regard as its purity. The epoch of this marked revival is fixed with tolerable precision about the middle of the 11th century; but it can only be properly seen by tracing its earlier course while it was struggling through the darkness, though never extinguished.

It is the part of the historian of the whole period to trace the decline of learning and civilization, consequent on the fall of the Roman Empire, in the descending scale, "from ignorance to superstition, from superstition to vice and lawlessness, and from thence to general rudeness and poverty."[1] The great overturning and

[1] We quote these words from Hallam, with the special view of directing the reader's attention to the concluding chapter of his *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, in which (part i.) he follows this decline during six centuries (the 6th–11th), and then (part ii.) pursues an inverted order in passing along the ascending scale through the

reconstruction of civil and political society was attended by a complete revolution in language itself—the organ of all intelligence. The corruption of the Latin tongue, and the formation of new languages derived from it, side by side with the languages of the conquering tribes (for the most part Teutonic) which were without a literature, would have been the utter destruction of learning, had it not ridden out the deluge in the Church, which in this respect also justified its own favourite figure of the Ark.[1] Even before the deluge of barbarism came down upon the empire,[2] Latin literature had lost its life with the decline of Rome's old supremacy and religion; and, after the fall of the Western Empire, the last flash of the spirit of her classic writers died with Boëthius (A.D. 524). So long as heathenism retained any power—and we have seen that it died much harder than many think—the controversy with it made the study of the old pagan writers necessary for the teachers of Christianity; and their supreme value in training the mind had been recognized by the greatest of the Latin Fathers. But the dislike of profane literature gradually prevailed in the Church;[3] and the study of secular literature was for the most part confined to meagre epitomes of general history, compiled with a pious purpose,[4] and bald treatises on the elements of an ecclesiastical education. "That encyclopædic method, which Heeren observes to be a usual concomitant of declining literature, superseded the use of the great ancient writers, with whom they were themselves acquainted only through similar productions of the fourth and fifth centuries. Isidore speaks of the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian as too diffuse to be read. The authorities upon which they founded

remaining four centuries (the 12th–15th) "under three principal heads —the wealth, the manners, and the taste or learning of Europe." See also the first chapter of his *Literary History of Europe.*

[1] For an account of the symbolical use of the Ark of Noah as a type of the Church, see the article ARK in the *Dict. of Christian Antiquities.*

[2] It must be remembered that we are now speaking of the Western Empire and the Latin Church. The state of Greek learning in the East requires separate consideration.

[3] This is strongly shown in Gregory the Great, whose time may be regarded as marking the epoch from which the Middle Ages begin (A.D. 600), especially from the ecclesiastical point of view.

[4] The chief example of such works, written with a view to trace the Divine working in the whole course of history, is the *Universal History* of the Spanish presbyter Paulus Orosius, the disciple and friend of Augustine and Jerome, and the opponent of Pelagianism, in the 5th century. It was chiefly from this work, which bears the significant title of *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII.*, that the early medieval writers took what they knew of ancient history. When Bede, for example, quotes Cæsar, it is through Orosius.

their scanty course of Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, were chiefly obscure writers, no longer extant; but themselves became the oracles of the succeeding period, wherein the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, a course of seven sciences, introduced in the 6th century, were taught from their jejune treatises."[1]

§ 2. In spite of this rejection of all but the driest bones of secular knowledge, the Church played a twofold part in preserving the treasure, nay more, the living germs, to be hereafter restored to full vitality and fruitfulness—the living germ of language, the treasure of literature. The former might have perished in the wide prevalence of the unlettered northern dialects, and the transformation of Latin into the Romance languages: the latter might have been sacrificed (like the Alexandrine library) to religious zeal. But Divine Providence had ordered both events otherwise. We have seen that the monks of the order of St. Benedict used their leisure in collecting and copying books, as to the nature of which their founder had fortunately been silent. Not merely the mechanical habit of such work, but doubtless, in many cases, the love of learning kept alive by their studies, prevailed over narrow-minded zeal; and while, on the one hand, the scarcity of writing materials caused the sacrifice of many a classic work to the multiplication of religious treatises,[2] a more enlightened zeal caused the continued reproduction,

[1] Hallam, *Lit. Hist.* vol. i. p. 3 (cab. ed. 1879). We shall have presently to recur to this famous classification of studies into the threefold and fourfold course (the Latin words signify literally the meeting of three roads ⊀, and of four +). The lower *Trivium* comprised *Grammar*, *Logic* (*Dialectics*), and *Rhetoric;* i.e. the laws of language, its use in reasoning, and its power and ornament for discourse. The higher *Quadrivium* consisted of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Music*, and *Astronomy;* but in a sense immensely below the modern significance of the terms. The seven were summed up in the following rude hexameter couplet, as an aid to the memory (observe the false quantity *Geŏ.*):—

GRAMM. loquitur; DIA. vera docet; RHET. verba colorat:
MUS. canit; AR. numerat; GEO. ponderat; AST. colit astra.

[2] It is perhaps superfluous to remind the reader that some works of great value have been recovered from these "palimpsest" MSS. (παλίμψηστα, "scraped over again"), in which the bold characters of the original writing had been erased (fortunately, only imperfectly), for another work to be written over it. A signal example is Cardinal Mai's discovery (in the Vatican, 1822) of Cicero's long-lost work *De Republica* (perhaps the most ancient classic MS. in existence) beneath a copy of St. Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms*, written over it at some time before the 7th century. The scarcity of writing materials was greatly aggravated at the beginning of the 7th century by the Arab conquest of Egypt, putting a stop to the export of papyrus; and the naturally limited supply of parchment was of course especially restricted in times of public disorder and rapine.

as well as the preservation, of the ancient masterpieces. Then, as regards the language, the Latin Vulgate was the authorized form of the Holy Scriptures; the works of the Latin Fathers were regarded with only less reverence; the decrees of councils and the whole body of church law were constantly referred to; the Latin liturgy was in daily use; and Latin was the common language of correspondence among ecclesiastics. Thus its living continuity was preserved, ready to be applied at any moment to the revived study of ancient literature.

§ 3. Nor must it be supposed that learning was preserved only in the monasteries, as a germ of future life. It was still imparted to the young by their pastors, especially in those episcopal schools, which became the successors of the old imperial schools. At the very beginning of the "Dark Ages," we have a signal testimony to the care of Gregory the Great for children. "He instructed the choristers of his convent himself in those famous chants which bear his name. The book from which he taught them, the couch on which he reclined during the lesson, even the rod with which he kept the boys in order, were long preserved at Rome; and, in memory of this part of his life, a children's festival was held on his day as late as the 17th century."[1] The episcopal schools were numerous in Gaul; and it was from that neighbouring province, as well as through the mission sent to the English by Gregory, that our island became for a time the chief home of the learning that decayed elsewhere, and the source from which it was returned to the Continent. In this respect, as in so many others throughout our history, the saying was verified, that "Britain is a world by itself." It appears, indeed, though amidst obscurity and exaggerated pretensions, that much of the old learning was preserved by the ancient British Church, especially in the monasteries of Ireland, to which students are said to have resorted from the Continent, returning thither to diffuse the light they had received; and doubtless this source of influence was combined with the new impulse from the south, to raise the kingdom of Northumbria to the distinction it enjoyed in the 7th and 8th centuries. But we are on safer ground of positive evidence as to the results of the new conversion of England in diffusing learning as well as religion. The safe assumption, that Augustine would not neglect to train the children of his converts, is confirmed by an interesting testimony. About the year 629 or 630, Sigbert succeeded to the kingdom of East Anglia, returning from banishment in Gaul, where he had embraced the

[1] Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 23; on the authority of Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 130. (Eng. trans.)

Christian faith. He is described by Bede as not only a most Christian but a *most learned* man,[1] who made it his first care to copy the good institutions he had seen in Gaul. With this view, "he *founded a school for the instruction of boys in letters*;[2] assisted by Bishop Felix, who had come to him from Kent, and *who provided for them (the boys) pedagogues and masters* after the manner of those at Canterbury." Thus this record of the first foundation of schools in East Anglia before the middle of the 7th century testifies also to their previous existence in Kent, and that in such vigour that Canterbury was able to supply teachers for—tradition would fain fill up the unknown site with the name of *Cambridge*.[3] The intellectual progress of England was aided by another element besides the Latin language and literature—less widely diffused, indeed, but preserving still purer and more powerful germs of that life, which (next to divine truth) has been the chief vivifying principle of literature in every age. To the GREEK language belongs the twofold excellence, above every other subject of study; first, of having been the organ of the highest thoughts of the ancients, and the chief source from which all later literature and science have drawn both in spirit and in form; secondly, and supremely, when it is asked "What advantage have Greek letters, and what profit is there in learning them"—the ready answer is, "Much every way, chiefly because that unto them were committed the oracles of God." From this source it has been the happiness of England, twice in her long history, to receive a new impulse of intellectual and spiritual life. But many, who know how much the study of the Greek Testament and the spirit of Greek literature did to advance the Reformation in the 16th century, are unaware of the like seed which was sown nine centuries earlier, when the fellow-countryman of St. Paul, Theodore of Tarsus, arrived as Archbishop of Canterbury, bringing with him, not only his native Greek learning, but an eager zeal for its diffusion (A.D. 668); a work effected the better because he was also the primate who first united the English Church.[4] He was powerfully aided by his companion Hadrian,

[1] *H. E.* ii. 15: praise, without exaggerating its significance, especially rare for a layman in those days. [2] *H. E.* iii. 18.

[3] The claim of Cambridge to be the *site of the school, which really was founded* by Sigbert in East Anglia, is at all events less purely fictitious than that of Alfred's foundation of Oxford, which rests on the spurious testimony of the false Ingulphus. While rejecting, in both cases, the traditional antiquity of the *University*, properly so called, we must not forget that the Universities arose out of schools; and so the tradition may be truer in spirit than in fact.

[4] See Part I. Chap. XIX. §§ 18–20. See also Bede's account of Theodore and Hadrian in his *History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (§ 3),

whom he made Abbot of St. Peter's, Canterbury, and who, whether a native Greek or not, was equally familiar with Greek learning. Of these two, Bede[1] says: "Both of them being, as we have said, abundantly instructed at once in *sacred and secular letters*, they gathered a crowd of learners, whose hearts were daily watered with the streams of saving knowledge (*scientiæ salutaris*) which flowed from them; so that, besides the volumes of the sacred writings, they also imparted to their hearers instruction in the metrical art, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic.[2] The proof of this is seen in those of their disciples still living, *who know the Latin and Greek languages* as well as their own native tongue." The last words are not only a signal proof of the widely diffused study of Greek as well as Latin, but, taken with the emphasis which Bede lays on the *secular* learning of Theodore and Hadrian, they prove a wider range of study than the merely religious and ecclesiastical use, to which all was certainly subordinate. Nor was there wanting the most essential element of an enthusiastic love of learning in the disciples. "Never before," exclaims Bede, "since the Anglians first came to Britain, were there happier times; when . . . . all who desired to be instructed in sacred lessons had masters ready to teach them."

§ 4. The northern kingdom, whose kings had now for some time held the supremacy of Britain, was equally well prepared to receive the new impulse of learning. Trained in the old Scottish[3] monastic schools, the princes of Northumbria were only too much disposed to study instead of action, and to lay aside the crown for the cowl. While Wilfrith, bishop of York, rivalled Theodore in love of learning, his early friend, a Northumbrian named Biscop and, by his conventual name, Benedict, returned in company with Theodore, to carry on the work in his native land. After two years' service as Abbot of St. Peter's at Canterbury, he made a third, and soon after a fourth journey to Rome, whence he brought back "not a few books of all divine learning, either purchased, or given to him by friends;"[4] for which he made a home in the two famous Benedictine abbeys,

where we have incidental testimony to the learning cultivated at Canterbury before Theodore's arrival. [1] *H. E.* iv. 1, 2.

[2] That is, the art of calculating the Church seasons, which is the subject of Bede's own work *De Ratione Temporum*. The *metricæ artis* doubtless refers chiefly to hymnology and sacred music.

[3] This word is used in the proper sense of that age, for the ecclesiastical system of Ireland and Scotland, which had its centre at Iona.

[4] Bede, *Hist. Abbat. Uyremuth. et Gyruuens.* § 4. Presently afterwards he calls them *divina volumina;* and that this does not mean only (in modern phrase) *books of divinity*, is clear from the further description (§ 5): "quod innumerabilem librorum *omnis generis* copiam apportavit."

which he founded at the mouths of the Wear and the Tyne—St. Peter's at Wearmouth, and St. Paul's at Jarrow—which were united under Abbot Ceolfrith (684). Biscop is, in fact, the first known medieval founder of a great library; for, as Bede says further, "he strictly enjoined, that *the most noble and most copious library*, which he had brought from Rome, *necessary for the instruction of the Church*, should be carefully preserved entire, and neither spoilt through negligence, nor dispersed."

The monasteries, which possessed these materials for study, were also *Schools*, the centre of that learning and civilization for which Northumbria now became famous, not only above the rest of England, but of all Europe. The most distinguished type of the learning they fostered is seen in the pupil of Abbot Ceolfrith, for ever famed as the VENERABLE BEDE.[1] Of his great Ecclesiastical History of England, and his other writings, we have spoken in their place: here we are concerned with his life-long work as a student and a teacher, which is summed up in his own simple words, "I have always found my pleasure in learning, or teaching, or writing."[2] We have the distinct testimony of Bede that several of the English ecclesiastics knew Greek, and the clear evidence of the list of his works that he himself was of that number.[3] It is quite true that the bulk of his works was scriptural and religious; but his "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation (*Gentis Anglorum*)" is also a secular history; and among his other works we find treatises on grammar, rhetoric, the metrical art, chronology (with some reference to astronomy), and the "nature of things." The studious monk, in his cell at Jarrow, courted the Muses, not only in hymns, but in "a book of epigrams, in heroic or elegiac metre." These were in Latin; but we possess a fragment of a hymn in the vernacular, sung upon his deathbed, which might be called "The Dying Christian to his Soul."

§ 5. The library and schools founded by Biscop were soon afterwards eclipsed by those of York, which owed their chief fame to the labours of Archbishop Egbert (*ob.* 766), supported by the power of his brother, King Eadbert; and the very year of Bede's death was probably that of the birth of Egbert's pupil ALCUIN,[4] whose wider

[1] Bede was born (probably, for the exact date is doubtful) in 672 or 673. He died in 735. (Comp. Part I. Chap. XIX. § 20, pp. 516 f.).

[2] *H. E.* v. 25: "Semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui."

[3] *H. E.* v. 24: "Librum vitæ et passionis sancti Anastasii, *male de Græco translatum, et pejus a quodam imperito emendatum*, prout potui, *ad sensum correxi.*" Here we have Bede, not only reading Greek, but criticizing and correcting the translations of two predecessors.

[4] Alcuinus is the Latin form of the English name Ealwine.

and deeper learning outshone the diligence of the monk of Jarrow. And now Britain repaid the light she had received from the Continent, at the crisis when order was restored to Western Europe by the supremacy of CHARLES THE GREAT, to whom Alcuin became at once his own tutor and the director of the system of education which Charles established throughout his dominions. The effect of these establishments cannot be described better than in the words of Hallam:[1] "The cathedral and conventual schools, created or restored by Charlemagne, became the means of preserving that small portion of learning which continued to exist. . . . It was doubtless a fortunate circumstance, that the revolution of language had now gone far enough to render Latin unintelligible without grammatical instruction. Alcuin, and others who, like him, endeavoured to keep ignorance out of the Church, were anxious, we are told, to restore orthography, or, in other words, to prevent the written Latin from following the corruptions of speech. They brought back also some knowledge of better classical authors than had been in use. Alcuin's own poems could at least not have been written by one unacquainted with Virgil; the faults are numerous, but the style is not always inelegant; and from this time, though quotations from the Latin poets, especially Ovid and Virgil, and sometimes from Cicero, are not very frequent, they occur sufficiently to show that manuscripts had been brought to this side of the Alps. They were, however, very rare: Italy was still the chief depository of ancient writings; and Gerbert speaks of the facility of obtaining them in that country." The centre of intellectual light was now shifted from Italy and England to Germany and France (to use the latter name in the sense which it was just about to assume). Amidst the weak barbarism of the later Merovingian kings, all liberal studies had come to an end;[2] but the schools founded by Charles the Great flourished even amidst the contests of his successors, and were especially fostered by Louis the Pious, Lothair, and Charles the Bald. Meanwhile Northern Italy was ravaged by the Lombards, who destroyed the libraries and closed the schools; the Roman States were darkened by the lowest degradation of the Papacy; and England was devastated by the Danes. The mighty efforts of Alfred to revive learning reveal the depth of ignorance to which he testifies even among the clergy; and the light he kindled

[1] *Lit. Hist. of Europe*, ch. i. § 9. He says in a note: "The reader may find more of the history of these schools in a little treatise by Launoy, *De Scholis Celebrioribus a Car. Mag. et post Car. Mag. instauratis.*"

[2] "Ante ipsum Carolum regem in Gallia nullum fuerat studium liberalium artium" is the testimony of a monastic writer, quoted by Hallam (*Lit. Hist.* vol. i. p. 6) from Launoy, *De Scholis Celebrioribus.*

was soon again partially eclipsed by the troubles of the State, and the general apathy of the Saxon clergy. On the 10th century in general, Hallam makes the following discriminating remarks: "The 10th century used to be reckoned by medieval historians the darkest part of this intellectual night. It was the iron age, which they vie with one another in describing as lost in the most consummate ignorance. This, however, is much rather applicable to Italy and England, than to France and Germany. The former were both in a deplorable state of barbarism; and there are, doubtless, abundant proofs of ignorance in every part of Europe. But, compared with the 7th and 8th centuries, the 10th was an age of illumination in France; and Meiners, who judged the Middle Ages somewhat, perhaps, too severely, . . . has gone so far as to say that, 'in no age, perhaps, did Germany possess more learned and virtuous churchmen of the episcopal order, than in the latter half of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.'[1] Eichhorn points out indications of a more extensive acquaintance with ancient writers in several French and German ecclesiastics of this period. In the 11th century this continues to increase; and towards its close we find more vigorous and extensive attempts at throwing off the yoke of barbarous ignorance, and either retrieving what had been lost of ancient learning, or supplying its place by the original powers of the mind."

§ 6. It is in the point touched by the last words, that the distinguished historian just quoted finds the first half of the medieval period most signally deficient. "The mere ignorance of letters has sometimes been a little exaggerated, and admits of certain qualifications; but a tameness and mediocrity, a servile habit of merely compiling from others, runs through the writers of these centuries. It is not only that much was lost, but that there was nothing to compensate for it—nothing of original genius in the province of imagination;[2] and but two extraordinary men, SCOTUS ERIGENA and GERBERT, may be said to stand out from the crowd in literature and philosophy." These two great lights of the 9th and 10th centuries are in truth the precursors and types of the two chief directions which were to be taken by the revival of learning in the 12th, and between which intellectual activity has ever since been divided; and both also bear witness, in their early training, to the sources of knowledge which were still flowing amidst the prevailing

[1] "*Vergleichung der Sitten*, ii. 384."

[2] Fair as may be this judgment of the mass of the Latin literature, it is certainly qualified by our better knowledge of the vernacular literature of the times, which produced the Lay of Beowulf, the songs inserted in the *English Chronicle* and the sublime effusions of Caedmon.

ignorance. Gerbert, a native of Auvergne, brought up first in the schools of France, then learnt in Spain the mathematical and physical science which the Arabs had derived from the Greeks, and were now beginning to restore to Europe; and he first introduced this science into the French schools. The reputation of witchcraft is a testimony, characteristic of the age, to the man who may be regarded as the father of physical studies at the end of the 10th century.[1] (He died in A.D. 1003.)

A century earlier,[2] we have in John Scotus Erigena the forerunner of the wide and bold range into which study and thought were breaking forth in the whole range of literature, and especially in philosophy and its application to theology. In spirit, if not in direct succession, he is justly regarded as the earliest type of the medieval schoolmen;[3] and indeed, like most prophets of a new system, he went far ahead of his followers in that which was, in one word, their great common principle, the attempt to lay the foundations of truth and knowledge in reason and not only in authority. To use the words of Milman:[4] "Erigena was a philosopher of a singularly subtle mind: men wondered at this subtlety, which was so high above the general train of popular notions, as to command universal reverence rather than suspicion. But he had not only broken the bonds of Latin Christianity; he went almost beyond the bounds of Christianity itself. The philosopher dwelt alone in his transcendental world; he went fathoming on, fearless and unreproved, in the very abysses of human thought; and, it is not improbable, had followed out his doctrines into that theory, at which men in whom the rationalistic faculty prevails, and who are still under the influence of a latent religiousness, so often arrive. He had wrought out a vague Pantheism, singularly anticipative of that which in its various forms now rules in modern Germany. . . . Erigena is in one sense the parent of scholasticism, but of scholasticism as a free, discursive, speculative science, before it had been

[1] See further respecting Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.) and his connection with the Emperor Otho III., Part I. Chap. XXIII. §§. 10-14.

[2] John Scotus Erigena died about A.D. 880.

[3] Archbishop Trench, in speaking of Anselm as the founder of scholastic theology, says: "But even he was not without forerunners. Thus, not to speak of Augustine, a forerunner in every great and fruitful movement of the after ages, there was *a very wonderful and mysterious apparition* in the 9th century of a profound and original thinker, JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA, whose very name, not to speak of so much else about him, is an unsolved riddle; and whose writings on their better side—for there was a worse and pantheistic—anticipated much of what was most characteristic in the Schoolmen." (*Lectures on Medieval Church History*, p. 209.)

[4] *Latin Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 388.

bound up with rigid orthodoxy by Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus."

John's distinctive name of *Scotus* (the Scot),[1] and the later epithet of *Erigena*, form another testimony to the survival of sacred learning in the old Scoto-Irish church, the more interesting from the fact that John was learned in *Greek*.[2] He appears, indeed, to have been better versed in Greek than in Latin theology, and he leaned to the Eastern doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession, if not even to a preference for the claims of the patriarchate of Constantinople above Rome. It was probably between 840 and 846 that he went to the court of Charles the Bald, who honoured John the Scot above all the learned men he loved to gather about him, and his teaching revived the reputation of the Palatine School at Paris. In his Latin translation of the Greek works falsely ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite (the patron Saint Denys of France), which had been sent as a present by the Emperor Michael I. to Louis the Pious, as well as in his original works,[3] Erigena showed that love of Neo-Platonism, which places him more in sympathy with the later mystics than with the Aristotelian schoolmen; though he professed to reverence Aristotle[4] equally with Plato. In

[1] The epithet *Scotus*, though applicable to the Scots who had crossed to the western isles and shores of the present Scotland, usually denoted at this time and still later a native of Ireland; and such, in fact, John appears to have been; for his contemporary, Prudentius, says that *Ireland sent John to Gaul* (*De Prædest.* 14, in *Patrolog.* cxv. 1194). The epithet *Erigena* (born from Erin), afterwards added to his name, would therefore seem mere repetition; but in the oldest MSS. it is *Iuugena*, which Dr. Floss (*Patrol.* cxxii. Præf. xix.) derives from the well-known epithet of Ireland (*ἱερὸς νῆσος*), after the analogy of *Grajugena*; and Dr. Christlieb (*Joh. Scot. Erig.* 16, 17) approves the derivation, which would make the full name to signify "John the Scot from the Sacred Island." See Robertson, vol. ii. p. 313.

[2] Canon Robertson (*l. c.*) states, on the authority of Christlieb (p. 22), that Greek was then an ordinary branch of education in Ireland, as well as in Britain.

[3] The most remarkable of these bore a Greek title, **Περὶ Φυσεῶν Μεριστοῦ** (*De Divisione Naturæ*). It was burnt by a decree of Honorius III. in 1225, and, when published by Gale (Oxon. 1681), it was placed in the Roman Index Expurgatorius. It has been edited again by Schruter, Münster, 1838. Respecting the mystic Pantheism and Angelology of this book, see Milman (*Lat. Christ.* vol. iv. pp. 333–4), who quotes the saying of Hauréau, that, though Erigena "left no direct inheritor of his doctrines, yet he will always have the fame of having heralded and preceded Bruno, Vanini, Spinoza, all the boldest logicians who have ever wandered beneath the plane-groves of the Academy." (Hauréau, *De la Philosophie Scholastique*—"an admirable treatise," says Milman.)

[4] But the works of Aristotle were not at this time sufficiently known in Europe for him to have been familiar with them.

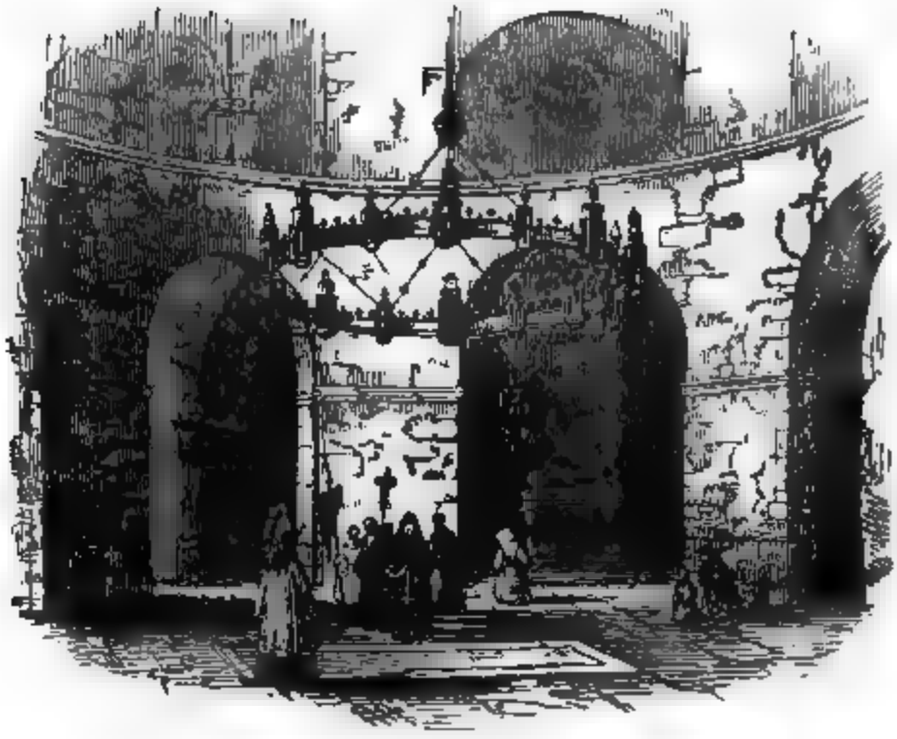
the two great controversies which agitated the Frank Church, Erigena played, as we have seen,[1] a powerful part; on the one hand opposing the growing tendency to a materialistic view of the Real Presence in the Eucharist; while, on the other hand, he supported the ruling party in their reaction against the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, with arguments that were deemed as dangerous as the heresies of Gottschalk himself. For, while hitherto every controversy had been argued on the authority of Scripture and the Fathers, John brought theological questions to the test of dialectic reasoning, and aspired to harmonize philosophy with religion, declaring them in their highest sense to be the same. He was the first to apply this method—at least in the form of sustained argument[2]—to high speculations on the Divine Being, in which he appears (as Milman says),[3] "not by remote inference, but plainly and manifestly, a Pantheist. With him, God is all things, all things are God. The Creator alone truly *is*: the Universe is but a sublime Theophany, a visible manifestation of God. He distinctly asserts the eternity of the Universe; his dialectic proof of this he proclaims to be irresistible. Creation could not have been an accident of the Deity: it is of his essence to be a cause. All things flow from the infinite abyss of the Godhead, and are reabsorbed into it." Perhaps Milman overrates the effect of Erigena's work "on the whole ecclesiastic system and on the popular faith;" for he was eminently a man before his age, soaring above the thoughts of his contemporaries. Meanwhile it is not surprising that his mode of serving the Frank Church in controversy[4] was rewarded by charges of Pelagianism, Origenism, and other heresies; and that Pope Nicolas I. desired Charles the Bald to send Erigena to clear himself from these charges at Rome, or at least to dismiss him from Paris; but it seems, though we know nothing for certain of John's last years, that he was protected by Charles till his death about A.D. 880.[5]

[1] See Part I. Chap. XXII. §§ 13, 17.

[2] Without this qualification, we might seem to overlook many argumentative sayings, from St. Paul downwards through the Fathers. It was, for example, from Augustine that Erigena derived the fundamental proposition, "cogito ergo sum," which Des Cartes in his turn derived from Erigena. See Milman, *l. c.* p. 333. [3] Milman, *l. c.* pp. 332–3.

[4] His lost work on the Eucharist is said to have been composed by the desire of Charles the Bald, and that on Predestination was written at the request of Archbishop Hincmar.

[5] The story that he fled to England after the death of Charles the Bald (A.D. 884), and aided Alfred in his educational work, and in founding the University of Oxford (!), has been explained by a confusion between him and another John, a learned monk of Saxony. See Robertson, vol. ii. p. 312.



Tomb of Charles the Great, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER XXVII.

RISE OF SCHOLASTIC DIVINITY.

FROM LANFRANC AND BERENGAR TO ANSELM—SECOND HALF OF CENT. XI.

§ 1. New Modes of Thought and Study—Dialectics in Theological Controversy Sources of intellectual awakening *within the Church*, as well as from without—Connection of the Crusades and Scholastic Theology. § 2. Real Character of the SCHOOLMEN—Ignorant contempt for them—Testimonies of the best authorities in their favour. § 3. Limits of enquiry, and fatal faults of Scholasticism; but a training for future freedom. § 4. Impulses to the revival of learning in the 11th century—Intercourse with the Greeks—Study of the Civil Law. § 5. Study of Aristotle; at first as brought back from Arabia. § 6. Græco-Arabian philosophy, both direct from the East, and from the schools of Spain into Southern France—AVICENNA and AVERRHOES: their Commentaries on Aristotle received as his works. § 7. The *Dialectic* works of Aristotle only known as yet—Latin translations from Arabic and Greek—Their influence on the Church. § 8. Epoch of the intellectual Revival—LANFRANC and Berengar—Dialectics in the cathedral schools. § 9. Scholasticism a gradual growth—ANSELM, the father of Systematic Theology—Faith and understanding co-ordinate. § 10. Anselm's *à priori* proof of the existence of God—His *Cur Deus Homo?*

§ 1. IN every age of the Church, some special controversy calls into activity the new modes of thought which have long been ripening in comparative obscurity: and thus, as the bold genius of Erigena was brought into play by the controversies with Radbert and Gottschalk, so in the revived Eucharistic dispute just two centuries later, we have already seen the champions using the weapons of dialectics.[1] When, at the Roman synod of 1050, about the teaching of Berengar, Leo IX. called on Lanfranc to prove his belief "*rather by sacred authorities than by arguments*," we see the evidence of a new mode of thought and study, of which the sources have to be traced. They will be found partly in the Church itself, and partly in the progress of the world; but we have a strong conviction that the philosophic historians, who have diligently sought out these causes, have hardly allowed weight enough to one of the most powerful—the spontaneous love of learning and earnest enquiry after truth, which was kept in unbroken life in the cloister and the church schools, and which sustained the quiet studies of very many, of whose spirit we have the more conspicuous examples in men like Bede and Alcuin, Erigena and Lanfranc, all of whom lived *before* the new external impulses came into operation. When we are told of the influence of the Crusades in stirring the mind of Europe and pouring new light upon it from the East, we recal the simple fact, that the first decided symptoms of intellectual quickening were a still earlier expression of religious zeal. In the act of writing this, we meet with these admirable words of Archbishop Trench:[2] "The passion for the Crusades and for the Scholastic Theology may be regarded severally as the outer and the inner expression of one and the same movement in the heart and mind of Western Christendom. There were as adventurous spirits, as chivalrous hearts, in the cloister as in the camp. These, too, will not be content until they have grasped—not by faith alone, but with every faculty of their being, and therefore intellectually no less than morally and spiritually—that entire body of truth taught by Christ and by His Church. What they have taken upon trust, upon the Church's word, they avouch that they have so taken in the fullest assurance that it would justify itself to the reason as well. And that it could so justify itself throughout, that the *auctoritates* and the *rationes*, as severally they were called, were in perfect harmony with each other, the Schoolmen made it their task and their business to show."

§ 2. We cannot refrain from extending the quotation to the archbishop's admirable definition of the Schoolmen and their character.

[1] See above, pp. 316, 323.

[2] *Lectures on Medieval Church History*, Lect. xiv. p. 201.

"But the *Schoolmen*—what exactly do we mean when we speak of these? Who were they? What did they propose to themselves? Were they worthy of praise or blame? of admiration or contempt? The *name*, which oftentimes implies and reveals so much, does not materially assist us here. A *scholasticus*[1] in medieval Latin might be a teacher, or he might be a learner; all which the word affirms is, that it has something to do with *schools*. We must then look further for an explanation of what the schoolmen were, and what they intended. Persons, some will reply, who occupied themselves with questions like this, *How many angels could dance at the same instant on the point of a needle?* or with others of the same character. Totally uninformed of the conditions, moral and intellectual, of Western Christendom, which gave birth to these schoolmen, and which at the same time left room for no other birth, never having read a line of their writings, they have no hesitation in passing their judgment of contempt upon them. Thus, if Albert the Great is named, their ignorance about him may be complete; they may never so much as have seen the outsides of the twenty-one huge folio volumes which contain his works; but they will not let him pass without an observation of gratuitous contempt, to the effect that there was nothing great about him but his name.

"This contempt, it is worth remarking, is very far from being shared by the more illustrious thinkers of the modern world—not, for example, by Hegel, or Alexander von Humboldt; the latter characterizing the disquisitions of this same unfortunate Albertus on the subjects with which he, Humboldt, was chiefly conversant, as 'admirable beyond expression, for the period in which he lived;' while Von Raumer declares, under like reservations, that 'he might be called the Aristotle or Leibnitz of his age.' 'To the Schoolmen,' says Sir William Hamilton, 'the vulgar languages are principally

[1] The word σχολαστικός has, however, a curious history, like others which Dr. Trench has traced with well-known skill in another work (*The Study of Words*). It is a remarkable illustration of the absurdity of seeking all the actual meaning of words in their original sense, that *school* is the Greek word (σχολή) signifying *leisure, rest, ease;* not, however, as excluding all occupation, but in contrast to ordinary business. Where freemen were proprietors, and manual work was mostly performed by slaves, the right occupation of the leisure thus enjoyed was one chief object of life (τὸ σχολάζειν καλῶς, in opposition to that σχολή, *idleness*, which is called τερπνὸν κάκον by the same poet who describes a special call for attention as σχολῆς ἔργον); and among these objects the word was specially appropriated to study and instruction. At the same time, the word retained also the bad side of its meaning; and σχολαστικός signifies at once a *scholar* in the highest sense, and a *pedant* and *trifler*, and even the proverbial *simpletons*, whose absurdities enlivened our old-fashioned Greek school-books.

indebted for what precision and analytic subtlety they possess.' And only a few years ago one lost too early to the English Church wrote as follows:—'Through two eventful centuries, which witnessed, as they passed, the formation of nationalities, the establishment of representative government, the birth of vernacular literature, and the grand climacteric of ecclesiastical power, the philosophy of the Schools held on its way, not only commanding with an undisputed sway the intellect of those restless times, but elaborating its system, extending its influence, and drawing into its service some of the highest minds that the Christian world has produced. For two centuries longer, though spent in vital energy, it continued to rule on, till with the 15th century came the resistless onslaught, which, with the revival of classical letters, broke for ever the spell of its dominion.'" (Shirley.)[1]

§ 3. Those who delight to represent the progress of knowledge as a perpetual conflict with religion, may here learn that this great intellectual movement had its origin within the Church itself. It was by no fault of the enquirers after truth that their studies were confined (though not quite so exclusively as is commonly stated) within the narrow bounds of one field of knowledge, though that was at once the most profound and most sublime of all;[2] and the limited space within which they exercised their "sharp and wits and abundance of leisure"—to use Bacon's phrase—furnished probably the best training for taking sure possession of the vast

[1] This passage forms part of a most instructive discussion of the Schoolmen, especially in their relation to Wyclif, in Mr. Shirley's Preface to the *Fasciculi Zizaniarum*, 1858, Rolls Series. To these names Dr. Trench is able to add that of Coleridge from his own recollection of a conversation, or rather discourse, on the intellectual greatness of the Schoolmen, from whom Coleridge said that a larger amount of profit might even now be gotten than from the Fathers: "The manner in which Aquinas had met, as by anticipation, nearly all the later assaults on the miracles, and the greatness of the speculative genius of our English Ockham, with the perilous lines on which his speculation was travelling at the last, were the special subjects of his discourse."

[2] Fuller's quaint comparison (quoted by Dr. Trench) has acquired much more force in our own day: "As such who live in London and like populous places, having but little ground for their foundations to build houses on, may be said to enlarge the breadth of their houses in height, . . . so the Schoolmen in this age, lacking the latitude of general learning and languages, thought to enlarge their active minds by mounting up;" and though he justly describes their "towering speculations" as "some of things mystical that might not—more of things difficult that could not—most of things curious that need not be known to us,"—even such exercise of the faculties may have had a profit which will bear comparison with the "diluted omniscience" and agnostic philosophy of our own age.

realms of science which were soon to be laid open for their successors. And, while this narrow range of matter concentrated their powers, it was probably no disadvantage in the long run—as is confirmed by such exceptions as Erigena and Abelard—that the licence of speculation was curbed, till such time as wider and sounder knowledge justified the use of greater freedom, by a sense of fidelity to the received truth. "It was the *how* and the *why*, never the *what*, of the Church's teaching, which the Schoolmen undertook to discuss. *Doctores* they claimed to be, not *Patres*; not, as fathers, productive; not professing to bring out of their treasures things new, but only to justify and establish things old."[1] We may use their very name as suggestive of their position in the march of intellectual progress: for their work was like the proper business of the *School*, which is not to inform the pupil's mind with encyclopædic learning, but to train his powers for every future special use, by exercise within the narrow range of learning prescribed by the general consent of all, as concerned with truths already established and most necessary to be known. And, as the real fruits of such training are lasting, after the subject-matter of its exercise may have been forgotten or even have become obsolete, so has the historic place of the Schoolmen survived the fall[2] to which their system of philosophic theology was doomed by its inherent defects, of which the fatal one was this, "that the medieval Schoolmen started with the assumption, that all which the Church in their own day held and taught, all the accretions and additions to the pure faith of Christ which in successive ages had attached themselves to it, formed a part of the original truth once delivered, or had become no less sacred than that was, and were as such to be justified and defended."

But with all this profound submission to the authority of the Church, the Schoolmen themselves, in the whole principles and processes of their intellectual activity in its service, were unconsciously vindicating and preparing the coming age of emancipation from the bonds which they still consented to wear. This character of their work is well described by Dean Milman[3]:—"It was an extraordinary fact that, in such an age, when Latin Christianity might

[1] Trench, *loc. cit.* p. 206. See all of what follows (partly quoted above), comparing the failure of these intellectual knights of Christianity to that of the Crusaders.

[2] This is of course written from our point of view. In the Church of Rome the scholastic theology still reigns supreme, and Pope Leo XIII. has prescribed the full and faithful teaching of the *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas Aquinas as the panacea for the errors of these evil times.

[3] *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ix. p. 151.

seem at the height of its medieval splendour and power, the age of chivalry, of cathedral and monastic architecture, of poetry in its romantic and religious forms, so many powerful intellects should be incessantly busy with the metaphysics of religion; religion, not as taught by authority, but religion under philosophic guidance, with the aid—they might presume to say with the servile, the compulsory aid—of the pagan Aristotle and the Mohammedan Arabs, but still with Aristotle and the Arabians admitted to the honour of a hearing; not regarded as odious, impious, and godless, but listened to with respect, discussed with freedom, refuted with confessed difficulty. With all its seeming outward submission to authority, Scholasticism at last was a tacit universal insurrection against authority; it was the swelling of the ocean before the storm; it began to assign bounds to that which had been the universal all-embracing domain of Theology. It was a sign of the reawakening life of the human mind, that Theologians dared, that they thought it their privilege, that it became a duty, to philosophize. There was vast waste of intellectual labour; but still it was intellectual labour. Perhaps at no time in the history of man have so many minds, and those minds of great vigour and acuteness, been employed on subjects almost purely speculative. Truth was the object of research; truth, it is true, fenced about by the strong walls of authority and tradition, but still the ultimate remote object. Though it was but a trammelled reluctant liberty, liberty which locked again its own broken fetters, still it could not but keep alive and perpetuate the desire of more perfect, more absolute emancipation. Philosophy, once heard, could not be put to silence."

§ 4. We have already insisted that the root of this spirit of enquiry into truth for its own sake was silently germinating and gathering strength in the aspirations and labours of great men who were in advance of their age, in the quiet studies of the cloister, and in the practical teaching of the schools attached to cathedrals as well as monasteries. And when the foundation of Universities is named as one of the chief causes of the new intellectual movement, it is too often forgotten that the *name*, which is thus invoked as a sort of magic spell, is merely the *formal seal* set by competent authority on a voluntary society of teachers and students, which was thus recognized then, and only then, when it had grown up into vigorous life through the ability and fame of the teachers and the spontaneous love of learning in the students.[1]

But if the light and love of learning lived on, obscured though

[1] The origin and early history of the Universities is treated in Chap. XXIX.

not extinguished, through the worst period of the "dark ages," a number of impulses combined to revive it at the epoch already indicated, about the middle of the 11th century. The renewed intercourse with the Greek Empire, brought about by the Othos in the 10th century, was bearing its fruit in a new infusion of Greek learning into the West. The ideal of a Roman Empire, and the growing spirit of freedom in the Italian cities, combined to revive that study of the Roman Civil Law, which found its chief seats in the cities of Lombardy, and soon afterwards created the world-wide fame of the University of Bologna.[1] Not only was this a secular study, competing for attention with the courses of the church schools, but it had a great attraction for ecclesiastics. Peter Damiani complains to Alexander II.[2] of the whirl of mundane learning in which the rulers of the Church were involved, neglecting the eloquence of the Scriptures for the subtilties of laws and forensic disputes. By such studies Lanfranc sharpened the dialectic weapons which he was one of the first to wield in theological controversy.

§ 5. The influence which is usually regarded as most potent in determining the character of scholastic literature, is the revived knowledge of Aristotle, followed by a high reverence for his authority. But, in estimating this influence, both as a question of character and time, we must be careful to observe certain distinctions which are often confounded under the great name of the Greek philosopher. We must distinguish between the use of his dialectic method and the adoption of his metaphysical system; and also between the philosophy which was really Aristotelian, and that which, under the authority of his name, was mixed with the speculations of the Arabian translators and commentators, through whom his writings became first generally known throughout Latin Christendom. The circuit by which ancient Greek learning was poured into medieval Europe is one of the most interesting subjects in the intellectual history of man. "As to the sea returning rivers roll," having collected their waters from the vapours first dissipated in mid-air, and then condensed in remote regions,—so the Greek science, which, after flourishing for ages in Western Asia, Egypt, and North Africa,

[1] Here is one of the cases in which the uncertain origin of a famous school must not be confounded with the formal constitution of the university. We have other clear proofs, besides the cases of Lanfranc and Vacarius, of the study of civil law at Bologna and other cities of North Italy in the 11th century; but the first formal grant of privileges to Bologna was made by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158; and it does not appear to have been fully constituted a university, with a rector and governing body, till towards the end of the 12th century.

[2] *Epist.* 15. (Between A.D. 1061 and 1072.)

seemed doomed to destruction by the illiterate fanaticism of the Mohammedan conquerors, asserted the proverbial power of knowledge over mere force, and the Arab succumbed as the Roman had of old when, "Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit." The process is described in the eloquent words of Dean Milman: "The Arabians, in their own country, in their free wild life, breathing the desert air, ever on horseback, had few diseases, or only diseases peculiar to their habits. With the luxuries, the repose, the indolence, the residence in great cities, the richer diet of civilization, they could not avoid the maladies of civilization. They were obliged to call in native science to their aid. As in their buildings, their coinage, and their handicraft works, they employed Greek or Syrian art, so medicine was introduced and cultivated among them by Syrians, Greeks, and Jews. They received those useful strangers, not only with tolerant respect, but with high and grateful honour. The strangers brought with them,—not only their medical treatises, the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and besides these the Alexandrian astronomy, which developed itself in the general Asiatic mind into astrology—but at length also, and by degrees, the whole Greek philosophy, the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, and the Aristotelian dialectics of Greece."

§ 6. It would carry us too far beside our subject to trace the twofold growth of this Græco-Arabian philosophy, under the Abbaside caliphs in the East, and under the Ommiads in Spain, where great schools grew up at Cordova, Granada, Seville, Toledo, and other cities. What concerns us is the effect of its propagation from both those quarters into Western Christendom. Here also, the earlier stages of the process are involved in obscurity: its silent working is only traced when the fruit begins to mature, as we have seen already in the 10th century, in the Arab learning brought by Gerbert from Spain into the schools of France—a case doubtless representative of others less conspicuous. When this influence assumes a positive literary form, we can trace it chiefly to the works of two Arabian philosophers, representatives of the Eastern and Western schools, who are commonly mentioned together, though they lived a century and a half apart. Both were physicians; and both were led through physical science to the profound study and further development of the whole system of Aristotle's philosophy.

AVICENNA,[1] born near Bokhara, A.D. 980, died at Hamadan,

[1] This is the Latin form, through the Hebrew *Aben-Sina*, of his Arabian patronymic *Ibn-Sina;* his full name being *Abu Ali Al-Hossein Ibn-Abdallah Ibn-Sina*, with the honorary epithets of *Al-Sheikh* ("the doctor"), and *Al-Rayis* ("the chief").

A.D. 1037, having served the sovereigns of Bokhara and Persia as minister and physician. His education embraced the whole compass of Mohammedan theology, Hindoo arithmetic and algebra, Greek mathematics and physics, logic and philosophy; and, besides his "Canon" of Medicine, which was long the highest authority in Europe as well as the East, he wrote a Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics, which was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona at Toledo.

AVERRHOËS[1] was born at Cordova, as is commonly said in 1149, but probably much earlier in the century; as he is said to have been very old at his death, 1198. He succeeded his father as chief mufti of Andalusia, and afterwards held the same office in Morocco, where he was deposed for a time on a charge of heresy, but again restored to his post. An indefatigable student of the whole range of Arabian learning and philosophy, he was especially devoted to Aristotle, several of whose works he translated, and wrote commentaries on them, as well as on the Republic of Plato. But in reproducing the Aristotelian philosophy, he mixed up what belonged to the master himself with the views of his commentators, Ammonius, Themistius, and others; and it was this compound, mingled further with the speculations of the Arabian philosophers themselves, that was received by the schoolmen as the system of Aristotle, before they learned better from the original Greek.

§ 7. The influence of Aristotle on Latin Christendom through these channels belongs to the second stage of Scholasticism, in the latter part of the 12th century and throughout the 13th; but his fame and an imperfect knowledge of his dialectic system had never ceased to be preserved and honoured. The question, how and through what channels Aristotle rose to his ascendancy, is answered as follows by Dean Milman:[2] "During all the earlier period, from

[1] This is a curious corruption of his patronymic *Ibn-Rosh*, his full name being *Abul-Walid Mohammed Ibn-Ahmed Ibn-Mohammed Ibn-Rosh.*

[2] *Lat. Christ.* vol. ix. p. 111; where the following general conclusions are cited as having been determined by M. Jourdain (*Recherches sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, Paris, 1843):—"I. That the only works of Aristotle known in the West until the 12th century were the treatises on Logic, which compose the *Organon.* (The *Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistic Refutations*, are more rarely cited.) II. That from the date of the following century the other parts of his philosophy were translated into Latin. III. That of these translations, some were from the Greek, some from an Arabic text." These last retain internal evidence of their Arabic source: they came partly from Spain and the south of France, partly from Sicily, where Frederic II. fostered Arabic learning; and it was under his auspices that the famous Michael Scott translated the books on Natural History. Some came from Arabic through Hebrew, the fruit of the great Jewish philosophic school of Aben-Ezra, Maimonides,

Anselm and Abelard to the time of Albert the Great, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, the name of Aristotle was great and authoritative in the West, but it was only as the teacher of Logic, as the master of Dialectics. Even this logic, which may be traced in the darkest times, was chiefly known in a secondary form, through Augustine, Boëthius, and the *Isagoge* of Porphyry; at the utmost, the treatises which form the *Organon*, and not the whole of these, were known in the Church. It was as dangerously proficient in the Aristotelian logic, as daring to submit Theology to the rules of Dialectics, that Abelard excited the jealous apprehensions of St. Bernard.[1] Throughout the intermediate period, to Gilbert de la Porrée, to the St. Victors, to John of Salisbury, to Alain de Lille, to Adelard of Bath [in the 12th century], Aristotle was the logician and no more.[2] Of his *Morals*, his *Metaphysics*, his *Physics*, his *Natural History*, there is no knowledge whatever. His fame as a great universal philosopher hardly lived, or lived only in obscure and doubtful tradition." The commotion produced by his new revelation in this character, at the beginning of the 13th century, will claim our attention presently.

§ 8. Reverting to the origin of the Scholastic Philosophy and Theology, we repeat that, instead of being created suddenly by external impulses rousing the intellect from the deathlike sleep of the dark ages, it rather emerges from the obscurity as a living growth, which had been long maturing in the church schools, and which new intellectual forces now perfected, and the more settled political state of Europe fostered.[3] The epoch at which the revival assumes the special character now under consideration—the middle of the eleventh century—was also, as we have seen, that which marks the beginning of the new style of medieval church architecture. The most conspicuous name connected with the new movement is, as we have said, that of LANFRANC, to whom an

and Kimchi, contemporary with the later Arab school of Spain. "Among the earliest translations from the Greek was the *Nicomachean Ethics*, by no less a person than Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln" († 1253). "The greater Thomas Aquinas has the merit of having encouraged and obtained a complete translation of the works of Aristotle directly from the Greek." (*Ibid.* p. 115.)

[1] See the following Chapter. The terms in which Abelard confesses his ignorance of the *Physics and Metaphysics* show that those works were not yet translated into Latin, and only known by name:—"Quæ quidem opera ipsius nullus adhuc translata linguæ Latinæ aptavit; ideoque minus natura eorum nobis est cognita." *Op. Ined.* p. 200.

[2] "The name of Aristotle is not to be found in Peter the Lombard. Jourdain, 29."

[3] The Emperor Henry III. (A.D. 1039–1056) was a great patron of learning.

admiring disciple distinctly attributes *the revival of the liberal arts.*[1] But this very eulogy is given in a connection which implies that Lanfranc was not a light suddenly kindled in the midst of darkness; for Guitmund represents Berengar as practising the same dialectic art in which Lanfranc surpassed him. In claiming for Lanfranc an *equality* of the highest learning with Berengar, he bears witness to the standard already reached in one of the French schools (doubtless a type of others); and the spirit of scholastic rivalry is already so keen, that Berengar's defeat in the dialectic duel forms the motive imputed to him (justly or unjustly) for taking up the new weapons of heresy against Lanfranc. This critical example proves the truth of Dean Milman's account of the progress already made towards the methods of Scholasticism in the cathedral and monastic schools of this period[2]:—"In these schools, *the parents of our modern Universities*, the thought, which had been brooded over and perhaps suppressed in the silence of the cloister, found an opportunity of suggesting itself for discussion, of commanding a willing, often a numerous auditory; and was quickened by the collision of adverse opinion. The recluse and meditative philosopher became a teacher. *Dialectics*, the science of *Logic*, was one of the highest, if not the highest, intellectual study. It was part of the *Quadrivium*, the more advanced and perfect stage of public education; and, under the specious form of dialectic exercises, the gravest questions of divinity became subjects of debate."

§ 9. From this point of view, the Scholastic Theology must be regarded as a gradual growth rather than a sudden step,[3] "and its precise nature varies with the character of every chief doctor of the science. One of its noblest types is seen in ANSELM,[4] who is generally

[1] It is important to observe the connection of the passage, in which Guitmund says of Berengar: "Postquam a dom. Lanfranco in dialectica de re satis parva turpiter est confusus, *cumque per ipsum d. Lanfrancum, virum æque doctissimum, liberales artes Deus recalescere atque optime reviviscere fecisset:* desertum se iste a discipulis dolens, ad eructanda impudenter divinarum Scripturarum Sacramenta sese convertit." (*De Corp. et Sanguine Christi*, ap. Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 399.)

[2] *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* vol. iv. p. 335.

[3] Hence the various dates assigned to its origin by historians of philosophy, some carrying it back to Erigena in the 9th century (who can, however, only be regarded as its precursor); while others apply it only to the great schoolmen of the 13th century, beginning with Alexander of Hales (*ob.* 1245). But the most proper epoch seems to be that marked by the controversies that arose towards the end of the 11th century, namely, that between Roscellin and Anselm about Nominalism and Realism, followed by that between Abelard and Bernard.

[4] Born about 1033, succeeded Lanfranc as prior and master of the school at Bec, 1063, became abbot in 1078, on the death of Herlinus the

regarded as the founder of the system; "the real parent of medieval theology—of that theology which, at the same time that it lets loose the reason, reins it with a strong hand;"[1] but he deserves the higher title of the father of modern Systematic Theology. He has been called the Augustine of the Middle Ages, a name which Archbishop Trench[2] pronounces to have a special fitness, "for in him, as in Augustine, there met an eminent dialectic dexterity and subtilty of intellect, with the profoundest humility, the most ardent piety, and the most absolute affiance of the merits and righteousness of Christ." An Italian, like Lanfranc,[3] he was first his pupil, and afterwards his successor, in the school which Lanfranc had raised to renown at Bec. But in Anselm the controversial spirit was subjected to the desire for truth, and the dialectic method was valued only as the instrument by which reason was made the ally of revealed religion. Here is the great distinction—the direct antagonism between the Rationalism of John Scotus Erigena and the rational Theology of Anselm. The former taught that philosophy was theoretic religion, and religion practical philosophy, in a sense which seems hardly to have left any room for that Revelation, the belief of which was, with the latter, the foundation to be confirmed and built upon by reason.[4] He followed Augustine in taking as a general principle the words of the prophet: "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established;"[5] and his maxim was, "I do not ask to understand in order to believe, but *I believe, in order that* I may understand." That which was at first received by faith, under the guidance of God, was afterwards so understood, by His illumination, that, even if we wished to disbelieve His existence, the understanding would make such an attempt impossible.[6] But that this

founder of the monastery, archbishop of Canterbury, 1093; died 1109. See above, Chap. III. § 16. [1] Milman, *Lat. Christ.* vol. ix. p. 103.

[2] *Medieval Church History*, p. 209.

[3] But we must not overlook the important distinction between the learned city of Pavia, in Lombardy, the native place of Lanfranc, and the simpler and ruder birthplace of Anselm, at Aosta, amidst the mountains of Piedmont. Besides the original authorities and modern church historians, there are two important works on Anselm by Charles de Rémusat (Paris, 1853), and Dean Church (Lond. 1870). We have an original *Life of Anselm* by his disciple Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury. His works are in the Benedictine edition of Gerberon (Par. 1675 and 1721).

[4] The reader should bear in mind throughout the twofold use of this word; for what the metaphysicians call the "pure reason," and the process of reasoning, or understanding. The latter is chiefly its sense in the present connection. [5] Isaiah vii. 9.

[6] Proslog. 1. But it should be observed that this is said especially of the *existence of God.* We are not aware that Anselm anywhere goes

faith and understanding were to be co-ordinate bases of truth,—not antagonistic principles, of which one must succumb to the other—he made clear by such words as the following:—"As the right order demands that we believe the deep things of the Christian faith, before we presume to discuss them by reason, so it appears to me to be a piece of negligence if, after we are confirmed in the faith, we do not endeavour also to understand what we believe."

§ 10. Here we see that the proof of the perfect agreement between reason and revelation is, with Anselm, no mere scholastic exercise, but a Christian duty which truth imposes on the believer. In the discharge of that duty, Anselm made of reason the highest demand that has ever been required of it, the *à priori* proof of the existence of God himself.[1] The intellect of man, created in the image of God, bears its own witness to his Creator. From Augustine's famous, *Cogito, ergo sum*, Anselm advanced to the next step,—"The idea of God in the mind of man is the one unanswerable evidence of the existence of God."[2] Thus he is the true parent of the deductive branch of Natural Theology. This position is the foundation from which he argues out the whole doctrine of man's redemption through the perfect atonement made for sin by the incarnate Son of God, giving to Augustine's[3] view of the teaching of St. Paul the form in which it became a part of systematic theology. His chain of reasoning is briefly as follows: In man's consciousness of his own existence is of necessity involved his consciousness of the being of God: in his sense of the love of God, his own immortality and eternal bliss: but this pure religion and destiny, lost through sin, could only be restored through the vicarious sacrifice made by the death of the Divine Man. This argument—set forth in his tractate, *Cur Deus homo?*—fixed in the theology of the Church that view of the Atonement, which regards the death of Christ as a perfect *satisfaction*, due to the righteousness of God for all the sins of that human nature in which He bore the penalty of death.[4]

so far as to say that theological doctrines in general must be first believed and then understood.

[1] For a full elaboration of the argument, see the celebrated Boyle Lectures of Dr. Samuel Clarke, on *The Being and Attributes of God* and *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, 1704–5.

[2] In his *Monologium et Proslogium*, on the Trinity and the Incarnation of Christ.

[3] How closely he proposed to follow the authority of Scripture and St. Augustine, he tells us in a letter to Lanfranc (*Epist.* i. 68) about his *Monologium*.

[4] This is not a work of systematic or controversial divinity; but, in speaking of this view, *historically*, as Anselm's form of the doctrine of Augustine, it is not implied that it is anything different from the teaching of the Holy Spirit in the Word of God, especially in St. Paul's Epistles.

Vezelay—where St. Bernard preached the Second Crusade.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FIRST AGE OF SCHOLASTICISM.

REALISM AND NOMINALISM: ROSCELLIN, ABELARD, AND ST. BERNARD. THE VICTORINES AND PETER LOMBARD. FIRST HALF OF CENT. XII.

§ 1. The old and perpetual dispute between Realists and Nominalists—Its bearing on Theology. § 2. ROSCELLIN, champion of Nominalism, concerning the Trinity—Opposed by Anselm, and condemned at Soissons. § 3. William of Champeaux, and his pupil PETER ABELARD—Their friendship and rivalry. § 4. Abelard in the school of Anselm of Laon—His Lectures on Ezekiel—Great success at Paris. § 5. Abelard and Heloisa—Abelard at St. Denys—His rationalistic teaching. § 6. His *Introduction to Theology*—He is denounced by Roscellin and others; and condemned at Soissons—He retires from St. Denys, and founds the *Paraclete*. § 7. Opposition of NORBERT and BERNARD. § 8. Abelard abbot of St. Gildas—His reforms embroil him with his monks—Letters of Abelard and Heloisa, now abbess of the Paraclete—The *History of his Misfortunes*. § 9. Return to Paris—Lectures at Mt. St. Geneviève—Character of his teaching. § 10. His famous work *Sic et Non*, compared with the *Questions* of the later Schoolmen. § 11. Bernard's last and decisive attack—Abelard condemned at Sens—Sentence of Innocent II. § 12. Abelard's final retreat at Clugny—His *Apology for his Faith*—His character by the Venerable Peter—His death, and place in Theology. § 13. Gilbert de la Porrée—His contest with Bernard. § 14. The *Scholastic Mysticism* of the Victorine School—William of Champeaux—Hugh, Richard, and Walter, of St. Victor—Opposition to the dialectic

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§ 1. IN Anselm philosophy is always subordinate to religion; and he followed the study of Divine truth in the cloister rather than in the discussions of the Schools. He only entered on controversy in defence of theological doctrine impugned by a philosophy which was taught in the true spirit of scholastic disputation by his contemporary ROSCELLIN. It is this revival of the old controversy between the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies concerning the existence of universal ideas, under the respective titles of *Realism* and *Nominalism*, that marks the opening epoch of Scholasticism in that philosophic aspect which was, however, only subordinate to its theological applications.

The full statement of this great dispute, which has divided the ancient philosophers, the medieval Schoolmen, and modern metaphysicians, ever since men studied the operations of their own minds, must be left to special works on philosophy, and only touched on here so far as is needful for the understanding of its essential bearing on the philosophic theology of the Church. It springs out of the necessary classification of particular things under general heads, called *Universals*, expressed by common names; such as individual *men* under the generic idea and name of *man*, true words and righteous acts under *truth* and *righteousness*. Are then these *Universals* mere abstract *names* invented for the purpose of classification, or have they a *real existence*, as the archetypal patterns of the individual things, like the *ideas* of Plato's philosophy? The *Realist* maintains the latter position, the *Nominalist* the former, and their several positions are summed up in the respective formulæ of the Realist, that *Universals are before particulars*, of the Nominalist, that *Universals are subsequent to particulars*.[1]

[1] "*Universalia post rem* was the position of the *Nominalist*; *Universalia ante rem* was that of the *Realist*. These last sometimes advanced so far to meet their opponents, as to admit this statement, *Universalia in re*, which was the reconciling *via media* of the Aristotelians; even as Aquinas claimed for universals no more than an immaterial existence." (Trench, whose whole exposition of the subject is excellent, *Med. Ch. Hist.* p. 271 f.)

§ 2. Neither of these philosophic theories is inconsistent with the most spiritual views of God and His relations to creation and mankind; but such views have certainly a more natural association with the one than with the other. "A Nominalist need not be a Materialist; though this and other charges, as tritheist, atheist, were freely laid against him, as natural consequences of what he held; but a Realist cannot be a Materialist, seeing that, if there be an anterior independent world of thoughts or archetypal ideas, there must be a Thinker, who can be none other than God."[1] So far as the great teachers of the Church had a philosophy, it was that of Plato; and in this respect, as in many others, the authority of Augustine determined the orthodox opinion of the Latin Church.

But, at the time of which we are speaking, there was in the Schools a bold revival of critical enquiry into the foundations of knowledge; and a champion of Nominalism arose in ROSCELLIN, a canon of Compiègne. At this early stage, however, the whole importance of the controversy lay in its application, not only to Theology, but to one particular doctrine of the Church. In denying the real existence of Universals, and maintaining that nothing really *is* but the individual, he ventured to take the highest illustration of his thesis from the mystery of the Holy Trinity. So far as we can understand his view,[2] he seems to have resolved the doctrine into the individual existence of the three Divine Persons, representing the Triune Godhead as the merely nominal universal idea derived therefrom; and Roscellin stated that he had maintained this opinion, in disputation both with Lanfranc and Anselm. It was his assertion, that they in some degree consented to it, that provoked the public controversy. Being informed of the whole matter by a monk named John, Anselm, who was then Abbot of Bec, desired Fulk, bishop of

[1] Trench, *loc. cit.* p. 273. In the very beginning of the revived controversy, we find Anselm charging the tendency to materialism on the Nominalists. (See the passage quoted by Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 337.)

[2] There is no extant treatise of Roscellin himself, if indeed he ever wrote any, nor are even the Acts of the Council which condemned him preserved. Our knowledge of his tenets is derived from a letter of the monk John to Anselm (in Baluz. *Miscellan.* lib. iv. p. 478), and from Anselm's work *De Fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi contra blasphemias Ruzelini.* See the passages about the Trinity quoted by Milman (vol. iv. p. 337), and more fully by Gieseler (vol. iii. p. 281). The only known writing of Roscellin is a Letter to Abelard, discovered by Schmeller in the Royal Library of Munich (*Münchener gel. Anzeigen*, Dec. 1847), and printed in recent editions of Abelard's works (*Epist.* 15). It contains some statements about his views of the Trinity; but its great interest is in the light it throws on the relations between Roscellin and Abelard.

Beauvais, to clear both him and Lanfranc of the charge at the Council of Soissons, which condemned the view of Roscellin, as equivalent to tritheism, and obtained his retractation (1092). When he renewed the teaching of his doctrines, declaring that he had yielded through fear, Anselm, now Archbishop of Canterbury, completed the work *On the Faith of the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Word*, which gained so complete a victory for the time, that Nominalism was said to have vanished with Roscellin.[1]

Thus the victory over the philosophy heresy—accounted such for its consequences to Theology—remained with Anselm; but it was only a first victory in a contest which the champion of the Church had himself helped to make unceasing. "Anselm's lofty enterprise, the reconciliation of divinity and philosophy, had been premature; it had ended in failure.[2] . . . Questions, which he touched with holy dread, were soon to be vexed by ruder hands. Reason had received an admission which, however timidly, she would never cease to assert." The movement begun by Roscellin was followed up by his bolder pupil, the famous Abelard.

§ 3. In the last year of the 11th century, a teacher of the highest reputation, WILLIAM OF CHAMPEAUX,[3] archdeacon of Paris, drew crowds of students to the cathedral school, which was already becoming the germ of the famous University of that capital. Among his pupils, a young Breton appeared, with his great genius already fully trained by dialectic exercise, to wrest the sceptre of learning from the master. PETER ABELARD[4] was born in 1079, at Palais or Le Pallet, near Nantes, his father, Berengar, being the lord of the place. His early education rapidly ripened the impetuous and self-confident Breton character which he possessed in the highest degree. In the remarkable self-portraiture,—"that most

[1] So says John of Salisbury (*Metalog.* ii. 17). As to Roscellin's later career: having fled from France to England, his maintenance of the strict Hildebrandine views of clerical celibacy, and his personal opposition to Anselm, caused his banishment (1097); and, returning to France, he was received kindly by Ivo, bishop of Chartres, and became a canon of St. Martin's at Tours. (See Robertson, vol. iii. p. 27.)

[2] Milman (*Lat. Christ.* vol. ix. p. 103), quoting Haureau (i. p. 318) "L'entreprise de S. Anselme avait échoué; personne n'avait pu concilier la philosophie et la théologie." Comp. the passage, vol. iv. p. 340.

[3] In Latin, De Campellis.

[4] Properly Abailard, in Latin *Abælardus*. The chief sources of information concerning him are his own works (especially his *Letters* and *Historia Calamitatum*),—besides earlier editions—in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clxxviii., and by MM. Cousin and Jourdain (2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1849–59); *Lettres d'Abélard et d'Héloïse*, précédées d'un Essai par M. et Mme Guizot (1839); Charles de Rémusat, *Abélard* (1845); J. Jacobi, *Abälard und Heloise*, Berlin, 1850; Tosti, *Storia di Abelardo e dei suoi Tempi*, Napoli, 1851.

naked but unscrupulous biography,"[1]—entitled the "History of his Misfortunes," he tells us that he chose very early to sacrifice his advantages as the eldest son of a noble to distinction in the schools:—"I preferred the strife of disputations to the trophies of arms."

When, thus trained and eager in the dialectic strife, Abelard appeared, at the age of twenty-one, in the school of William of Champeaux, the favour which his ability won from the master was soon turned into disgust at the pupil's triumphs in disputation. Abelard opened a school of his own, first at Mélun, a royal residence, where he seems to have been supported by the court against William's attempt to silence him, and afterwards at Corbeil. His boldness of thought, clearness of exposition, and powerful eloquence, drew crowds of pupils, many of them deserters from his former master. It would be tedious to dwell on the vicissitudes of their twelve years' rivalry, especially at Paris, which was ended by William's promotion to the archbishopric of Châlons on the Marne (A.D. 1113).[2]

§ 4. From his signal triumphs as a philosophical disputant, it was inevitable that Abelard should advance to the master science of theology. Like many others who had already been teachers of philosophy, he entered the school of Laon, to attend the lectures of Anselm, the most renowned theologian of the day; "of whom it was said that he had argued a greater number of men into the Catholic faith, than any heresiarch of his time had been able to seduce from it."[3] But Abelard conceived, and expressed, the utmost contempt for the old-fashioned traditional teaching of Anselm; and, likening him to the barren fig-tree cursed by Christ, he says, "Having made this discovery, I did not idle away many days in lying under his shadow." Challenged by his fellow-students to produce on his own part something better than the glosses which he treated with scorn, he began a course of lectures

[1] Milman, *Lat. Christ.* p. 355. See his whole account of Abelard.

[2] See Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 28, 29, for the details, and for the passage in which Abelard describes the proposition about Universals, in which he not only refuted his master, but compelled him to retract his opinion. In his dialectic conflicts, Abelard assailed alike the Nominalism of Roscellin and the orthodox realism of William. His own position is that described as *conceptualism*, "that is, holding the real existence of universals as matters of conception, a middle view, but rather inclined to Nominalism." (Rémusat, ii. 15; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 33.) Of its precise character and bearings on Theology, we have to speak further in the sequel.

[3] Anselm of Laon died in 1117, six years after Anselm of Canterbury. He was the author of the *Glossa Interlinearis* on the whole of Scripture (*Patrolog.* clxii. 180).

without a day's preparation, choosing the prophecies of Ezekiel for their difficulty. As much from fear of being held responsible for his bold expositions, as from jealousy at the numbers attracted by their brilliancy, Anselm put in force his right, as master of the school, to forbid Abelard to teach at Laon. But the result was to put him in possession of the principal school of Paris; and here he reigned as a doctor of theology, in the chair from which he had once been expelled as a teacher of philosophy.[1] The crowds of hearers whom he attracted from all the provinces of France, from Spain, England, and even Rome, help us to understand the spontaneous growth of the University of Paris. "Wealth, as well as fame, flowed in on him; his personal graces, his brilliant conversation, his poetical and musical talents, enhanced the admiration which was excited by his public teaching."

§ 5. And now, when Abelard was nearly forty years old, he plunged into that indulgence of passion, which has been elevated to one of the famous romances of history by compassion for his misfortunes and admiration of the brilliant qualities and devotion of his victim.[2] Heloisa was distinguished alike for her surpassing beauty and for her wonderful talents and knowledge. Her uncle, the canon Fulbert, was so infatuated by Abelard as to allow him to reside in his house and take complete charge of Heloisa's studies; and Abelard makes the shameless avowal: "I was no less astonished at his simplicity than if he had entrusted his spotless lamb to a ravening wolf." His passion was openly proclaimed in amatory verses, which were the admiration of all Paris;[3] and when Fulbert's eyes were at last opened, Abelard sent Heloisa to his sister's house in Brittany, where she gave birth to a son, who was named Astrolabius.[4] Whether from remorse or fear of the furious threats of Fulbert, Abelard consented to a private marriage, in spite of the remonstrances of Heloisa herself against his sacrificing the prospect of preferment in the Church. When the secret was divulged by Fulbert, Heloisa denied the marriage, even with oaths, and took refuge from her uncle's cruelty in the convent of Argenteuil. Fulbert, eager for revenge, and fearing that Abelard might obtain

[1] It is uncertain at what time Abelard took orders and became a canon, either at Paris or Sens or Tours, and also whether he was ever a priest.

[2] The whole story is related by Abelard himself in the *Hist. Calamitatum.*

[3] "Abelard was the first recorded name, who taught the banks of the Seine to resound to a tale of love." Hallam, *Lit. Hist.* vol. i. p. 32.

[4] This curious name suggests a reference to astrology. There is a poem by Abelard, entitled *Monita ad Astrolabium.* There can be little doubt that he was the same Astrolabius who was a canon of Nantes in 1150, as we find Heloisa asking Peter of Clugny to obtain such an office for him. (Pet. Clun. *Epist.* vi. 21, 22; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 31.)

release by persuading Heloisa to take the veil, hired some ruffians to inflict on him a barbarous mutilation, which would disqualify him for all ecclesiastical advancement. The outrage caused universal sympathy with Abelard and indignation against Fulbert, who was deprived of his preferments, and his agents received an exemplary punishment.

Heloisa now took the monastic vows, at Abelard's desire, while he sought to hide his shame and grief in the cloister of St. Denys. His new zeal as a monastic reformer embroiled him with the dissolute brethren: and he was removed to a dependent cell. Here he resumed his teaching of philosophy and theology, which attracted such crowds that (as he says) "neither the place sufficed for their lodging, nor the land for their support." His envious opponents called on the ecclesiastical authorities to interdict his lectures, partly on account of the display of secular learning unbecoming in a monk, and also because he had presumed to teach as a master in divinity without the countenance of any master.[1]

But the great novelty which offended the orthodox doctors, and which marks his teaching as an epoch in Theology, was his setting the understanding above the old method of positive doctrine deduced from Scripture and ecclesiastical authority. The rationalistic spirit of his teaching is reflected in the admiring call of his hearers for the satisfaction of their reason, because (he says) "nothing could be believed, unless it was first understood"—the direct antithesis to Anselm's *Credo ut intelligam*—"and it was ridiculous for any one to preach to others that which neither he himself, nor those whom he taught, comprehended with the understanding."

§ 6. To meet this demand with respect to the mystery of the Trinity, Abelard composed an *Introduction to Theology*, which gave his watchful enemies their opportunity. Among the foremost of these was his old master Roscellin, who, having made his own peace with the Church, "denounced Abelard as a Sabellian, and in the grossest terms reflected on him for the errors and misfortunes of his life, while Abelard in his turn reproached his former master as alike infamous for his opinions and his character."[2] Alberic and Letulf,

[1] *Hist. Cal.* 8. Here we have an indication of the original sense of the degree of *master*, one authorized to teach. "In the University of Paris, somewhat later, a bachelor, after having been licensed to teach, gave his lectures for a time under the superintendence of a doctor; and from this passage it appears that a similar rule was already in force." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 33.)

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 33. These mutual recriminations are contained in the two Letters referred to above (Abælardi *Epist.* 14, 15).

who had been his chief opponents in the school of William of Champeaux, and were now teachers at Reims, denounced him to the bishop of that city and the papal legate; and he was summoned before a Council at Soissons (1121). Here the popular feeling, which we have seen frequently roused by the religious controversies of the age,[1] was so excited against him as a reputed tritheist, that he had a narrow escape of stoning to death; but the eloquence with which he expounded his doctrines publicly, during the session of the Council, caused a reaction that alarmed his enemies. They seem to have been unable to make out a case from his book, which he placed in the hands of the legate; but when Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, like a Gamaliel in the Council, spoke of Abelard's high fame and the propriety of having the charge clearly stated and then hearing him in reply, the cry was raised, that all the learning in the world would be unable to disentangle his sophisms. It was enough that he had lectured and published his book without the sanction of the Church and the Pope; and those who had denounced him as a tritheist now condemned him as a Sabellian. He was made to recite the Athanasian Creed, and to cast his book into the fire, shedding abundant tears—whether of contrition or rage. The sentence of confinement in a convent at Soissons was so generally condemned, that he was permitted to return to his cell at St. Denys. But here his restless passion for critical truth soon gave a worse offence than even speculative heresy, by denying, on the authority of Bede,[2] the identity of St. Denys with Dionysius the Areopagite. Such an insult to the patron saint, not only of the abbey but of France itself, was denounced to Philip Augustus as treasonable, and the Abbot Adam placed Abelard under guard. He tells us it was "almost in desperation, as if the whole world had conspired against him," that he made his escape by night to the cell of a friendly prior near Provins. On the speedy death of Abbot Adam, his successor, Suger, consented to release Abelard from his monastic obedience; and he retired, with a single companion, to a refuge near Nogent on the Seine. But the conflux of admiring disciples, who were content to live on bread and herbs and to lie on straw in that wild country, tempted him to adopt and paraphrase the words of Scripture: "Behold the whole world is gone after him; by our persecution we have prevailed nothing; we have but increased his glory." The rude oratory, which he built on a site granted him by Theobald, Count of Champagne, grew in three years (1122–5) into a monastery, with its church, which he con-

[1] As, for instance, against Berengar. (See Chap. XIX. p. 317.)

[2] The passage is in the *Commentary on the Acts*, but Bede confounded the Areopagite with Dionysius of Corinth.

secrated by the name of the *Paraclete*.[1] This title was a new offence, both as being presumptuous and because there was no precedent for a dedication to the Holy Ghost.

§ 7. But the enmity that pursued him was not only that which he "had excited by his haughty tone and vituperative language, or even by his daring criticism of old legends. His whole system of teaching, the foundation, and discipline, and studies, in the Paraclete, could not but be looked upon with alarm and suspicion. This new philosophical community,—a community at least bound together by no religious vow and governed by no rigid monastic rules,—in which the profoundest and most awful mysteries of religion were freely discussed, in which the exercises were those of the school rather than of the cloister, and dialectic disputations rather than gloomy ascetic practices the occupation,—awoke the vigilant jealousy of the two great reformers of the age, NORBERT, the archbishop of Magdeburg, whose great achievement had been the subjection of the regular canons to a severer rule, and BERNARD, whose abbey of Clairvaux was the model of the most rigorous, most profoundly religious, monastic life. Abelard afterwards scornfully designated these two adversaries as 'the *new apostles*, whom the world very greatly trusted;' but they were the apostles of the ancient established faith, himself that of the new school, the heresy, not less fearful, because undefinable, of free enquiry."[2] Without as yet attempting to bring him to judicial censure, their preaching and influence raised such an opinion against him, that he had the feeling of standing alone, and the fear that every synod he heard of was summoned for his condemnation. "Often"—he writes—"God knows that I fell into such despair as to be disposed to pass beyond the bounds of Christendom to the heathen and there, in peace secured at the cost of any tribute, live a Christian life among the enemies of Christ."[3]

§ 8. While suffering from this proscription of opinion, it was Abelard's strange fate to incur new dangers by emulating the monastic reforms of his great opponents. In 1125, he was invited to return to his native Brittany, as abbot of the ancient monastery

[1] The name of the Holy Spirit (παράκλητος), translated in the Vulgate and A. V. "the Comforter" (John xiv., xv., xvi.), though some would prefer "Advocate," as in 1 John ii. 1 (where it is applied to Christ). The verb παρακαλέω and the substantive παράκλησις are used very variously in the N. T. with the senses, *exhort*, *beseech*, *comfort*.

[2] Milman, vol. iv. pp. 352–3.

[3] *Hist. Calam.* 12. With reference to the words "sub quacunque *tributi pactione*," Milman suggests: "Does not the *tribute* point to some Mohammedan country? Had Abelard heard of the learning of the Arabs?"

of St. Gildas, at Ruys, on the coast of Morbihan. In this bleak and desolate region, which seemed like the extremity of earth looking out upon "the melancholy ocean," amidst a rude people whose very language was unknown to him, Abelard found, instead of a quiet though sad retreat, a band of boorish and licentious monks, who repaid his efforts to reform them by plots against his life. Without the walls ruffians lay in ambush for him, while treachery within drugged even the eucharistic cup. When at length he took refuge in a remote cell with some of the better monks, he was watched by hired assassins.

It was during his residence at St. Gildas that Abelard and Heloisa had the correspondence which has become so famous in later literature.[1] The convent of Argenteuil had been successfully claimed by Abbot Suger as the property of the monastery of St. Denys, and the expulsion of the nuns was justified by charges of misconduct, of which, however, Heloisa, now their prioress, was pronounced blameless. To her and such of the sisters as chose, Abelard offered a new home in the deserted Paraclete, and the gift was confirmed by Innocent II. About this time Abelard had written the famous *History of his Misfortunes*, in the form of a letter to a friend.[2] A copy of the work fell into her hands; and "that most naked and unscrupulous autobiography awakened the soft but melancholy reminiscences of the abbess of the Paraclete. Those famous letters were written, in which Heloisa dwells with such touching and passionate truth on her yet unextinguished affection. Age, sorrow, his great calamity, his persecutions, his exclusive intellectual studies, perhaps some real religious remorse, have frozen the springs of Abelard's love, if his passion may be dignified by that holy name. In him all is cold, selfish, almost coarse; in Heloisa, the tenderness of the woman is chastened by the piety of the saint: much is still warm, almost passionate, but with a deep sadness, in which womanly amorous regret is strangely mingled with the strongest language of religion."[3] While

[1] Mr. Hallam says (*Lit. Hist.* vol. i. p. 33): "These epistles of Abelard and Eloisa, especially those of the latter, are, as far as I know, the first book that gives any pleasure in reading which had been produced in Europe for 600 years, since the *Consolation* of Boethius. . . . Pope has done great injustice to Eloisa in his unrivalled *Epistle*, by putting the sentiments of a coarse and abandoned woman into her mouth. Her refusal to marry Abelard arose, not from a predilection for the name of mistress above that of wife, but from her disinterested affection. . . She judged very unwisely, as it turned out, but from an unbounded generosity of character. He was, in fact, unworthy of her affection, which she expresses in the tenderest language."

[2] Rémusat (i. 137) supposes this form to be only imaginary.

[3] Milman, *l. c.* p. 355.

she thus pours out her heart to her former husband, mingling her admiring love with self-reproach for having been the sole cause of his ruin, he prescribes the duties of the cloister as the means of peace and pardon for her former sins; and furnishes her sisterhood with a severe Cistercian rule, forms of prayer and hymns, and directions for their studies. His occasional visits to the Paraclete became infrequent when they were found to provoke scandal.

§ 9. In the course of nearly ten years the unruly monks of Gildas had been brought to some better order, when, without resigning his office, Abelard finally left them for the central scene of his former activity, and for the decisive conflict of his life. Returning to Paris about 1134, he resumed his lectures at Mt. St. Geneviève. The characteristics of his teaching, as we still find it in his works, are thus summed up by Canon Robertson:[1]—"On many important subjects—the mutual relations of the Divine Persons, and other points connected with the doctrine of the Trinity; the Divine attributes, the work and merits of the Saviour; the operations of the Holy Ghost; the sinfulness of man; the gift of prophecy; the inspiration and the integrity of the Scriptures; the eucharistic presence; the character of miracles altogether, and the reality of those which were reported as of his own time;[2] the relations of faith, reason, and Church authority; the penitential system, and the absolving power of the priesthood;—Abelard had vented opinions which were likely to draw suspicion on him. To this was added the irritation produced by his unsparing remarks on the faults of bishops and clergy, of monks and canons; and, in addition to the books which he had himself published, the circulation of imperfect reports of his lectures tended to increase the distrust of him which was felt. Yet, while bitterly complained of this distrust, it seems as if he even took a pride in exciting it. Without apparently intending to stray from the path of orthodoxy, he delighted to display his originality in peculiarities of thought and expression; and hence, instead of a harmonious system, there resulted a collection of isolated opinions, which, stated as they were without their proper balances and complements, were certain to raise misunderstanding and obloquy."[3]

§ 10. The crowning offence appears[4] to have been given by his

[1] Vol. iii. pp. 37, 38. We have already had occasion to cite the views of Abelard on some of the questions here enumerated.

[2] He plainly says, "præterierunt miracula." (*Theol. Christ.* iii. col. 1212.)

[3] For his views on the excellence of the Greek and Brahminical philosophy and the saving faith of the heathen, see the sequel of the passage here quoted.

[4] This qualified phrase refers to a certain degree of doubt as to whether, or how far, the *Sic et Non* was known to Bernard and his friends before

remarkable collection of 158 controverted questions, with the various decisions of Christian authority arrayed over against each other in the manner indicated by the title, SIC ET NON (*Yes and No:* or, as we prefer, *Aye and No*). From the time of Abelard's defeat by Bernard, the worst construction appears to have been put on this work, as if it had been a wantonly mischievous exposure of irreconcilable opinions on the essential points of the Christian faith, until the rediscovery of the book itself enabled the present age to form an independent judgment.[1] All agree that the work itself does not bear out the evil character so long imputed to it; but there is enough to prove its dangerous tendency. In its original conception it was probably what Dean Milman describes as "a sort of manual for scholastic disputation, of which it was the rule, that each combatant must fight, right or wrong. It was an armoury, from which disputants would find weapons to their hands on any disputable point; and all points by the rule of this warfare were disputable."[2] But this clearly shows the vast change made from dogmatic exposition to the unbounded freedom of dialectic debate. The spirit of the work is perhaps best seen by comparing it with the *Questions* of the later Schoolmen, of which it may be taken at first sight as the prototype in form. But the vast difference is, that a writer like Aquinas states his questions (almost like Euclid's enunciations) with a direct view to the solution which he then labours to establish; whereas Abelard sets the views of the host of Fathers and Doctors on all manner of doctrines in the most naked opposition; and it seems a fair judgment that he did so, as his chief object, "not for the purpose of exhibiting their agreement, or of harmonizing their differences, but in order that, by displaying these differences, he might claim for himself a like latitude to that which the teachers of older times had enjoyed without question."[3]

§ 11. We must leave to fuller histories[4] the details of the last decisive conflict with Bernard, which this work provoked; the strange scene, as described by his disciple Berengar,[5] of his condem-

the Council of Sens. It seems probable that the work itself was not in circulation, but that it was known through notes of Abelard's lectures, of which it formed a sort of syllabus.

[1] It was first published by Cousin (*Œuvres Inéd.* Paris, 1836), and more completely by Henke, Marburg, 1851, reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia.*

[2] *Latin Christ.* vol. iv. p. 369.

[3] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 39.

[4] See the graphic narrative of Milman, iv. p. 357 f.; and Robertson, *l.c.*

[5] In a letter to Anselm himself, printed in Abelard's works, p. 303; *Patrolog.* clxxxviii. 1859. He describes how at the close of the day, the bishops, overcome with the long session and with wine, were hardly

nation at Sens, in presence of Louis VII., notwithstanding his appeal to Rome (1140). Bernard added his own vehement personal appeal to the Pope, which his influence made almost a demand, in one letter, while in another he addressed through him to all Christendom a "full view of Abelard's theology as it appeared to most of his own generation."[1] Anything that might have been wanting to seal Abelard's fate was supplied by his connection with Arnold of Brescia, who, after his condemnation by the Second Lateran Council the year before, had fled across the Alps and rejoined his old master, and (whether present with him at Sens or not) had taken up his defence warmly after his condemnation. In obedience to the requirements of Bernard, and without waiting to hear the appeal, Innocent wrote a letter to the Archbishops of Reims and Sens, and to Bernard, directing them to see that "Peter Abelard and Arnold of Brescia, the fabricators of perverse dogma and impugners of the Catholic faith, should be shut up separately in religious houses, and their books be burnt, wherever they might be found."[2]

§ 12. The news of this sentence met Abelard when he had reached Lyon on his way to prosecute his appeal at Rome. In his distress, aggravated by severe illness, he was offered an asylum at Clugny by the Venerable Abbot Peter, who wrote to the Pope on Abelard's behalf, praying, "that you would order him to spend out the remaining years of his life, which perhaps are not many"—there remained for him, in fact, but two—"in your house of Clugny, and not allow him, *through the urgency of any persons*, to be driven out or removed, like a sparrow from the house, or a turtle-dove from the nest, which he rejoices to have found." The Abbot Peter, aided by his brother of Cîteaux, even effected a sort of reconciliation between Abelard and Bernard; but it could only be outward and hollow, where the difference lay so deep. In an *Apology for his Faith*, Abelard still took the superior tone of blaming his adversary for meddling with matters which he had not been trained to understand, and imputed Bernard's charges against himself to malice as well as ignorance. Bernard deemed it his duty to scatter abroad warnings against contagion of Abelard's

wakeful enough to pronounce their *Damnamus*, which died away in faint mutterings of *namus*. "From a second letter it appears that Berengar got into trouble on account of it, so that he was obliged to make a retractation, and did not venture to publish (as he had intended) a further defence of Abelard. See, as to him, *Hist. Lit.* xii. 254–260." (Robertson, *l.c.* p. 42.)

[1] Milman, vol. iv. p. 361.

[2] Innocent II. *Epist.* 447–8, July 16th, 1140; Mansi, xxi.; S. Bernard. *Opp.* App. p. 76. For Arnold of Brescia, see Chap. IV. §§ 7, 11.

doctrines, as akin to those of the worst heresiarchs: "When he writes of the Trinity, he has a savour of Arius; when of grace, of Pelagius; when of the person of Christ, of Nestorius." These were the very heresies of which Abelard had repelled even the least suspicion in his Apology; and in another Confession, drawn up for the satisfaction of Heloisa, he disowned much of what had been imputed to him—"the words in part, and the meaning altogether"—and protested his desire to adhere in all points to the Catholic faith. Even the devout behaviour of his closing years only drew from Bernard the taunt (in a letter to Ivo of Chartres):—"Though a Baptist without in his austerities, he is a Herod within." Very different is the judgment of the Venerable Peter in communicating to Heloisa the tidings of his death:[1]—"I never saw his equal for humility of manners and habits. St. Germanus was not more modest; nor St. Martin more poor. He allowed no moment to escape unoccupied by prayer, reading, writing, or dictation. The heavenly visitor surprised him in the midst of these holy works."

Abelard died at the age of 63 (April 21st, 1142) in the dependent monastery of St. Marcel, near Châlons-sur-Saône, to which he had been removed in the hope of restoring his health. His absolution by the Abbot of Clugny was hung on the tomb in which he was laid at the Paraclete, by the request of Heloisa, who was buried by his side twenty-one years later. His importance in the history of theology and the Church has been exaggerated by the sympathetic surprise "with which men have recognised in him, not indeed a rationalist, but one with a very unmistakable vein of rationalism,—a champion of 'free enquiry' in the ages of faith."[2] But the very ground and source of the praise betray the fatal fault which is always committed where great intellectual power is used for universal if not destructive criticism, instead of patient labour to build up the harmonious fabric of truth, and is marred by vanity, arrogance, and passion.[3]

§ 13. Another scholastic theologian of this time, far less distinguished than Abelard, but akin to him in the use of dialectic subtilty and bold dealing with traditional dogmas, for which he also incurred the censure of Bernard, was GILBERT DE LA PORRÉE (Porretanus),

[1] *Epist.* iv. 21. Peter wrote an epitaph for Abelard, in which he was celebrated at once for his intellectual gifts, and for that better philosophy to which his last years had been devoted.

[2] Trench, *Medieval Church*, p. 212.

[3] For a full estimate of Abelard's position, both as a theologian and a philosopher, and in particular of the bearing of his modified Nominalism (*Conceptualism*) on the doctrine of the Trinity, see Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* vol. iv. pp. 365–368.

who, having been long a distinguished teacher at Paris, was made Bishop of Poitiers in 1141. In the preceding year he was present at the Council of Sens, where it is said that Abelard warned him, from the proverbial figure of Horace,[1] that he would be the next victim of orthodox zeal. We learn from Gilbert's pupil and admirer, Otho of Freising, that "his subtilty and acuteness led him to depart in many things from the customary way of speaking, although his respect for authority was greater than Abelard's, and his character was free from the vanity and the levity which had contributed so largely to Abelard's misfortunes."[2] In 1147, Pope Eugenius III. was met on his way to France by two of Gilbert's archdeacons with a complaint against their bishop's teaching; but the chief question, concerning the essence of the Triune Godhead, proved to be so subtle, especially when treated with Gilbert's dialectic skill, that it was dismissed as unintelligible by a council which the Pope held at Paris. At a greater council held next year, at Reims, the like result was threatened by Gilbert's able defence, with a multitude of citations from the Fathers, when the Pope broke in with the direct question:—"Brother, you say and read a great many things which perhaps we do not understand; but tell us plainly whether you own that supreme essence by which the three persons are God to be itself God." Wearied with the discussion, Gilbert hastily answered No! and his reply was put on record. But many of the cardinals were on his side, jealous of Bernard's influence with the Pope, and, after consulting them, on the next day he laboured to explain away his denial; and when Bernard, in arguing against him, made a statement to which some of the cardinals objected, Gilbert exclaimed, "Let that too be written down!" "Yes!" cried Bernard, "with an iron pen and a nail of adamant." Bernard, having secured the support of a number of French ecclesiastics against the cardinals, brought forward a series of propositions opposed to the teaching of Gilbert. Upon this the cardinals denounced the French clergy as wishing to impose a new creed, which not even all the patriarchs of Christendom could do without the authority of Rome. Bernard disclaimed the assumption, and the Pope calmed the dispute by a compromise. Gilbert was only required to profess his agreement with the faith of the Council and the Church of Rome; and the issue was regarded as a triumph by his friends. He died at an advanced age in 1151.

§ 14. We have thus seen the contest fully opened, between the ancient positive theology, combined with a religious fervour tending

[1] "Nam tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet." (Hor. *Epist.* I. xviii. 84.) [2] *De Gestis Frid.* i. 46, 50; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 66.

more or less to mysticism, and the spirit of dialectic criticism. But here it is essential to guard against the vague use of the word *Mysticism.*[1] There are advocates of what is called the scientific study of truth, to whom any idea of spiritual discernment, or even any spiritual feeling, is mysticism; while, at the other extreme, the spiritual consciousness is placed in opposition to and supremacy above the teaching of the understanding. Hence the importance, on this first use of a word which plays so large a part in religious history, of distinguishing between that degree of mysticism which is seen, for example, in St. Bernard's devout piety, and such extravagances as those of the later German mystics. The great distinction between the dialectic and mystic is well drawn by Archbishop Trench:[2]—"Let it be sufficient here to say, that the evidence of divine things, which the Schoolman found in the consonance between faith and reason reasonably exercised, each sustaining and confirming the other, the Mystic sought and claimed to find in a more immediate fellowship and intercommunion with God, in an illumination from above which was light and warmth in one." Like other principles which, at first co-ordinate, have been so pushed forward at each extreme as to be forced into opposition, some degree of harmony between these two was recognized by the Schoolmen themselves; as when Alexander Hales suggested that theology should be treated rather as wisdom (*sapientia*) than as knowledge (*scientia*).

At the time when the two tendencies, which had been harmonized in Anselm, were shown in violent opposition in the conflict between Abelard and Bernard, there arose the famous "*Victorine*" school of theology, who aimed at reconciling the scholastic method with a higher spiritual knowledge. Rejecting the dialectic subtilties which were the fashion of the time, they mingled their devotion with a tendency to mysticism, which became stronger with the process of time, and hence they are called by the somewhat vague appellation of *Scholastic Mystics.* The school originated about the beginning of the 12th century, with the famous William of Champeaux (see § 3), when, having resigned his archdeaconry in Paris, he became a canon regular of the Abbey of St. Victor, outside

[1] The Greek word *mystic* has primary reference to what was secretly taught to the initiated; thence it is applied to the spiritual knowledge which is supposed to come from a subjective insight, whether from the working of the devout mind, or the teaching of the Divine Spirit. The vast range of different ideas that can be attached to the term is illustrated in the whole history of religion. An interesting work on the subject is Alfred Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics.*

[2] *Medieval Church History*, p. 356. Respecting the fuller developments by the German Mystics of the 14th and 15th centuries, see Chap. XXXIII.

the city walls, and there resumed his teaching. But the first of the distinguished theologians specially known by this name was the monk and teacher HUGH OF ST. VICTOR,[1] who died in 1141, and who would have been intellectually a fitter match for Abelard than Bernard was. Of his chief works the first was a religious text-book (*Didascalia*), in which he recognizes the value of the dialectic method as a preparation for that higher knowledge of the Christian faith, which he sets forth in his treatise *De Sacramentis Fidei Christianæ*. The spirit of his teaching can be seen from the two main propositions on which this work is founded; that what a man is in himself is the measure of his insight of the truth, and that we can only know God by loving Him. The mystical tendency is more pronounced in the prior RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR, a Scot, who died about 1170. Besides expositions of Scripture and a work on the doctrine of the Trinity, his works[2] are concerned chiefly with inward and contemplative religion; and his great motto was:—"You have just as much power as you have grace." The opposition to the dialectic method (which was now giving a more definite character to scholastic theology) is most conspicuous in the work of the next prior, WALTER OF ST. VICTOR,[3] against the four masters of the age, whose system he likens to the labyrinth which led to the Minotaur, that monster being his figure for "their own fantastic Deity." Among four whom he brands as "sophists," he joins with Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée no less a person than Peter the Lombard, who was soon accepted as the great master of scholastic theology, and his less eminent disciple, Peter of Poitiers. We are told that his work failed to make an impression from its extravagance of censure.

§ 15. An opposition almost equally strong to the dialectic scholasticism, but from a more practical point of view, is seen in the writings of JOHN OF SALISBURY,[4] the friend of Pope Adrian IV. and

[1] Hugo a S. Victore. Different authorities make him a Saxon and a native of Ypres. On Adam of St. Victor and his Hymns, see p. 305.

[2] *De Statu interioris hominis; De Præparatione Animi ad Contemplationem, s. Benjamin Minor; de Gratia Contemplationis, s. Benjamin Major* The works of Hugh and Richard are in the *Patrologia*, clxxv., cxcvi.

[3] Gualterus a S. Victore, *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Galliæ;* or, more fully, *Contra manifestas et damnatas etiam in conciliis hæreses, quas sophistæ Abælardus, Lombardus, Petrus Pictavensis, et Gilbertus Porretanus libris sententiarum suarum acuunt, limant, roborant.* (Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 293.) We only possess the extracts in Bulæi *Hist. Univers. Paris* (vol. ii.), and reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, cxcix. The spirit of the work may be seen in some passages from the *Prologue* given by Gieseler.

[4] John is also known by the epithet of *Parvus*. He was made Bishop of Chartres about 1176, and died about 1182. We have had occasion to refer to his faithful testimony to Adrian IV. concerning the corruptions

the faithful adherent of Thomas Becket, whose exile he shared This distinguished Englishman is one of the lights of that learning which was now beginning to make Oxford[1] famous, and he obtained equal renown upon the Continent. He was one of the pupils of Abelard at St. Geneviève (between 1134 and 1140). His true scholarship and earnest desire for a thorough religious reformation disgusted him both with the methods and results of the dialectic treatment of theology then in fashion.[2] The "advanced thinkers" of the 12th century had already learnt the trick of crying down all respect for old learning and established beliefs as out of date, stupidly "prescientific" (as the catchword goes now). "Poets and historians"—says John—"were held in ill repute, and whoever applied himself to the works of the ancients was a marked man and ridiculed by all, not only as slower than an Arcadian ass, but more obtuse than lead or stone. All were wrapt up in their master's new discoveries and their own. . . . Lo! all was made new! Grammar took a new shape, logic was transformed, rhetoric was despised" (observe that these three formed the *trivium*), "and for the whole *quadrivium*, annulling the old courses, they brought out new ones from their own secret shrines of philosophy. . . . They quickly became the most profound philosophers; for the unlettered student generally took no longer a course in the schools than suffices for young birds to grow their feathers." By a natural compensation "the Academicians[3] grow old in boyish exercises; they discuss every syllable, nay every letter of what has been said or written, doubting upon all, ever asking

of the Church (see p. 261). It was at John's instance that this English Pope granted to Henry II. the sovereignty of Ireland (1155). His knowledge of the classical Latin authors was unrivalled among his contemporaries, and he learned some Greek from a Greek whom he met in Apulia, when on a mission from Archbishop Theobald; but so little that he was unable to understand the word *ousia* in Ambrose. (See Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Sarisburiensis*, Leipzig, 1862; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 294; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 278.) John's works, besides 303 letters, are *Policraticus, s. de Nugis Curialium et vestigiis Philosophorum, Libri viii.; Metalogicus, Libri iv.; Entheticus, De Dogmate Philosophorum.*

[1] John of Salisbury is one of the writers who mention the lectures of Vacarius at Oxford. (*Policrat.* viii. 22.)

[2] The most interesting passage (*Metalog.* i. 3: a great part of which is extracted by Gieseler, *l.c.*) is his description of the school of a professor called Cornificius, a real ancient name at Rome, but perhaps chosen to describe a disputant who is ever *fixing* his opponents on the *horns* of a dilemma (Hauréau, i. 344: Robertson, iii. 281).

[3] *Academici:* an example of the use of the word worth noting. The great schools of learning were called *Academiæ*, as places of study, before they became *Universitates* as corporations.

and never attaining to knowledge, and are at last given up to empty talk; and, knowing neither of what they speak or what they affirm, they found new errors and are either too ignorant or contemptuous to follow the opinions of the ancients."

§ 16. Among the like complaints, echoed by John's contemporaries, none is more interesting than that of the growing neglect of the Scriptures for scholastic studies. Nor was this only from a preference for secular studies, such as philosophy and civil law; but the very expositors of Scripture thrust its pure text more and more aside; and that in two different ways. The more devout, unfitted for patient study by ignorance of the original languages, aimed at discovering or even introducing edifying meanings and mystic interpretations; a fancy which was indulged by their choice of the obscurest books, especially the Canticles, Ezekiel, and the Apocalypse.[1] The more critical teachers of the Schools—even those who followed authority rather than the rationalizing licence of men like Abelard—in their desire for systematizing all knowledge, arranged the doctrines of Christianity in a series of propositions, collected from the opinions of the Fathers and other authorities, and hence called *Sentences* (*Sententiæ*), which in a very great degree supplanted the study of Scripture and the appeal to its authority. Thus "the theologians of the time were divided into three classes—those who, like Bernard, followed the ancient expositors; the more speculative and adventurous thinkers, of whom Abelard is the chief representative; and a middle class who, after the example of Lanfranc and Anselm, endeavoured to combine original thought with a deference to antiquity. These three classes were respectively known as *Positives*, *Scholastics*, and *Sententiaries*."[2]

§ 17. Among these last (though eclipsed by his more famous successor) the first place is due to the Englishman, ROBERT PULLEYN,[3]

[1] "In Migne's *Patrologia* there are at least fourteen commentaries on the Canticles by writers of the 12th century." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 279.) The great Bernard, and Rupert, abbot of Deutz (ob. 1135), are conspicuous for their mystical and manifold interpretation, and even John of Salisbury speaks of the fourfold sense of Scripture, which was afterwards embodied in the following metrical canon—

"*Littera* gesta docet; quid credas *Allegoria*;
Moralis, quid agas; quo tendas, *Anagogia*."

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 279. "The name of *Sentences* had been before given to the collections of ancient authorities which had been popular since the 7th century. (Rémusat, *Abélard*, ii. 169.)"

[3] Or Pullen (Pullenus; in French, de la Poule). His eight books of *Sentences* were edited by the Benedictine Mathoud, Paris, 1655. Another great English divine was Robert of Mélun (so called from his lecturing there), afterwards Bishop of Hereford, of whose *Summæ Theologiæ* copious extracts are given by Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.* ii. 585–628.

an eminent teacher and preacher both at Paris and Oxford, who was made a Cardinal and Chancellor at Rome (1141), and died about 1150. Bernard praises him for his sound doctrine. At Oxford, we are told, "he lectured for five years on the Holy Scriptures, which *at that time had become obsolete* (*obsoluerant*) in England, having been neglected for scholastic studies (*præ scholasticis*), and every Sunday preached the Word of God to the people, so that very many profited by his teaching."[1]

§ 18. But the man whose supremacy in this form of teaching was recognized by his title of "Master of Sentences" was PETER LOMBARD,[2] a native of Novara, who was made Bishop of Paris (1159), after he had long been held in the highest repute as a lecturer in the University, and died in 1164. His *Four Books of Sentences*, published about 1150, were designed (he tells us in the *Preface*) "to fortify our faith against the errors of carnal and unspiritual men[3]—or rather to show it fortified, and to lay open the hidden meanings of theological enquiries, as well as of the sacraments of the Church." As to his method, he declares, "we have built up the volume with much labour and sweat of the brow from testimonies to the truth based on eternal foundations; and in it you will find the examples and doctrine of the elders."

These professions mark the broad distinction between the spirit of Lombard's *Sentences* and Abelard's *Sic et Non*, the form of which may perhaps have suggested its composition.[4] The testimonies, which the one marshals in their apparent opposition, the other seeks

[1] Wright, *Biog. Brit.* ii. 182. Here is an example of the sort of influence which is often ascribed exclusively to the Mendicants.

[2] Petrus Lombardus, properly "Peter the Lombard;" but we have now reached the time when such designations were becoming surnames. Besides earlier editions, his works are printed in the *Patrologia*, vol. clxxxix. There are four books of *Sentences* by a "Master Bandinus" (*ibid.* cxcii.), so like Peter's, that some have supposed them to be the original which he amplified; but they seem rather to be an epitome of Peter's work, composed perhaps by the Bolognese jurist Bandinus (ob. 1218) to supply law students with the necessary knowledge of Theology. (Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 291.) The idea of Peter's work was perhaps taken from that of John of Damascus *de Fide Orthodoxa* (see Pt. I. p. 534), which had lately been translated into Latin. (Hampden, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 44, ed. 2; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 279.)

[3] "Carnalium atque *animalium* hominum," which seems taken from St. Paul's ψυχικός ἄνθρωπος (in opposition to *spiritual*, πνευματικός), 2 Cor. ii. 14, comp. xv. 44, 46; James iii. 15; Jude 19.

[4] Milman (iv. 365) says: "The *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard is but the *Sic et Non* of Abelard in a more cautious and reverential form. The relation of the two works is discussed by Rémusat (ii. 180). Lombard's language, quoted above, seems to us to suggest an intention antagonistic to Abelard, as one of the "carnalium atque animalium hominum."

to harmonize as the varied utterance of the Church's authoritative voice. In place of Abelard's dialectic audacity, we have in Lombard's "widow's mite" (such is his modest estimate of his labours) an almost timid deference in discussing the opinions of the Latin Fathers which he collects; and he is equally remote from the later scholastic method of reaching firm dogmatic conclusions, which culminates in Aquinas.[1]

§ 19. With all his caution and deference to authority it was in the very nature of such a systematic array of opinions, that the compiler of sentences should put forth some open to attack. Here, as before, the crucial test was the mystery of the Trinity. Peter Lombard was accused by his pupil, John of Cornwall,[2] of teaching the "Nihilanism" of our Lord's human nature—namely "that Christ, in so far as He is man, is nothing";[3] and it was on this ground especially that Walter of St. Victor, as we have seen, vehemently assailed him as one of the four sophistical teachers of the age. But the work made its way to the position of the first manual which was accepted as the basis of the scholastic theology; it held that place in the schools for three centuries; it formed the text-book for lectures and numerous commentaries; and no less than 164 writers illustrated its propositions. Thus it came to usurp the place of the fountain of truth. That this was the result in the Universities, we have the emphatic testimony of the greatest of the schoolmen, for so we of the present day must regard Roger Bacon:[4]—"The bachelor who reads the Text (of Scripture) succumbs to the reader of Sentences, who is honoured and preferred everywhere and in all things. . . . He who reads the Summaries[5] holds disputations everywhere, and is accounted a Master; the other, who reads the text, is not allowed to dispute; . . . which is absurd. Manifestly therefore, in that faculty (of Theology) the Text is subjected to the magisterial Summary alone."

§ 20. Simultaneously with this systematizing of Theology by

[1] Comp. Trench, *Medieval Church History*, p. 274. The authorities quoted by Peter Lombard come down to Bede; and he further discusses questions raised as late as the time of Abelard, but without naming the authors of the opinions referred to.

[2] "This writer's remains are in the *Patrologia* (vols. clxxvii. and cxcix.). See the *Hist. Lit.* xiii." Robertson, vol. iii. p. 280.

[3] "Quod Christus non sit aliquid, secundum quod est homo" (Johann. Cornub. *Eulogium ad Alex. Pap. III.*, A.D. 1175). Alexander III. condemned the doctrine at the Lateran Council of 1179. But when Joachim of Fiore charged Peter's work with heterodoxy, the Fourth Lateran Council pronounced in the Master's favour (1215).

[4] *Opus Majus*, pars ii. c. 4, p. 28. Comp. Chap. XXXI., § 8.

[5] The *Summæ Theologiæ* of the great Schoolmen.

the first scholastic divines, a new bulwark was framed for the Roman Church and Papacy by the reduction of the Canon Law to a system in the famous work of GRATIAN. Undigested collections of the Canon Law had been made by Regino, abbot of Prüm, Burkard, bishop of Worms, Ivo of Chartres, and others;[1] but a new motive, both of example and antagonism, was supplied by the work of the great civil lawyers, who founded the University of Bologna, which, specially favoured by Frederick Barbarossa,[2] supported the Ghibelline side in the contest between the Hohenstaufen and the Papacy. It was a monk of the same city, named Gratian, who at the middle of the 12th century undertook the work in the same harmonizing spirit that guided Lombard in Theology, as is implied in the title (which was perhaps given to his digest later), *A Concordance of discordant Rules.*[3] "In this, the matter was classified under proper heads; the various sentences of Councils, Popes, and Fathers, were cited, and harmony was as far as possible established between them; while Gratian, unlike the earlier compilers, added to the usefulness of the book by introducing his own views and *dicta.* The genuineness of the False Decretals[4] was assumed, and their principles were carried throughout the work, which thus served to establish those principles instead of the older canonical system."[5] It became the text-book for the Professorships of Canon Law, which were founded both at Bologna and at Paris,[6] and were used by the Popes as the means of giving currency to new decretals. The great number of these necessitated a new digest, which was compiled by the Dominican Raymund de Pennaforti under Gregory IX. (1234),[7] and enlarged by a sixth book under Boniface VIII. (1298).

[1] These are in the *Patrologia*, vols. cxxxii., cxl., clxvi.

[2] The first rescript, granting privileges to the students of law at Bologna, was issued by Frederick Barbarossa from Roncaglia in 1158, about the time when Gratian's work was completed, though its exact date is doubtful. Tiraboschi dates the book in 1140; Fabricius in 1151; others place its completion under Alexander III. (from 1159).

[3] *Concordantia discordantium Regularum*, more commonly known as the *Decretum Gratiani*, printed, with its later accretions, in the *Corpus Juris Canonici.* The most important works upon it are Boehmer, *Diss. de varia Decreti Gratiani fortuna*, reprinted in the French edition of the *Corp. J. C.*; Riegger, *de Gratiani Coll. Can.*, &c., 1775–6; Richter, *de Emendatoribus Gratiani*, 1835; Savigny, *Gesch. d. Röm. Rechts.*

[4] See Part I. pp. 560–563.

[5] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 274–5.

[6] These Professors were called *Decretalistæ* or *Decretistæ.*

[7] The *Decretalium Gregori P. IX. Libri V.*

Interior of Notre Dame Paris.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SECOND AGE OF SCHOLASTICISM.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE SCHOOLMEN.—CENT. XII.-XIII.

§ 1. True nature of *Universities*—Their spontaneous origin—Academic Republics — Degrees as titles to teach—Recognition by Popes and sovereigns. § 2. Growth and privileges of the "General School" of PARIS—"Town and Gown"—The four "Nations" First called University by Innocent III. -Date of the name at OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE —Civil Law taught by Vacarius at Oxford (1149). § 3. Cathedral and Monastic Schools generally superseded—Papal efforts to revive them. § 4. Study of Aristotle—David of Dinant and Amalric of Bena—Papal prohibition of Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics*—Greek text and

Latin translations—Roger Bacon on Aristotle. § 5. Use of Aristotle by the Friars—Franciscan school at Oxford—Teaching of ROBERT GROSSETESTE—Practical object of their studies—Roger Bacon on the use of Philosophy for the Church. § 6. English teachers of theology on the Continent, especially at Paris — Thomas Wallis — The Franciscan ALEXANDER HALES, the "Irrefragable Doctor:" his *Summa Theologiæ*. § 7. The Dominican ALBERT THE GREAT, the "Universal Doctor"—His vast acquirements, industry, and versatility—Natural and practical science. § 8. Events of his life: Padua, Cologne, Paris—Suspension of the University of Paris—Dominican chair of Theology at the Jacobin Convent—Fame of Albert's Lectures—Suspicion of Magic. § 9. His return to Cologne—Visitation of the monasteries—Bishopric of Ratisbon—Retirement and Death. § 10. Albert's teaching in Philosophy, Theology, and Science.

§ 1. DURING that first period of the Scholastic Theology, which we have traced from the time of Anselm to that of Peter Lombard, the great Universities had been fully constituted. Our subject is especially concerned with those of PARIS and OXFORD, and in a lesser degree with CAMBRIDGE; the first having been the chief seat of theological learning throughout the 12th century; while in the 13th Britain not only shared its fame, but contributed several of the great Schoolmen who taught at Paris itself.[1]

We have had occasion to refer to the spontaneous love of learning as the true origin of the great societies of teachers and scholars, which were incorporated as *Universities*.[2] The modern idea of

[1] Of those commonly ranked as the six greatest schoolmen, Alexander Hales, Albert the Great, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, the first and last two were natives of Britain, and to them must be added the great Roger Bacon, besides names of the second rank, as John of Salisbury, Bradwardine and others; and nearly all these were connected with Oxford. Well might Anthony Wood ask—"What University, I pray, can produce an invincible Hales, an admirable Bacon, an excellent well-grounded Middleton, a subtle Scotus, an approved Burley, a resolute Baconthorpe, a singular Ockham, a solid and industrious Holcot, and a profound Bradwardin?—all which persons flourished within the compass of one century:" and if we have regard to Erigena in the 9th century as well as Hales in the 13th, he but slightly exaggerates in saying, that the "most subtle arguing in school divinity did take its beginning in England and from Englishmen, . . . so that, though Italy boasted that Britain takes its Christianity from Rome, England may truly maintain that from her (immediately by France) Italy first received her school divinity." (*Athem. Oxon.* i. p. 159.)

[2] The proper meaning of a University is not a society of Colleges, much less a body whose function it is to examine and grant degrees rather than to teach. The former misconception is at once corrected by the simple fact, that the colleges were attached to the old universities long after the latter had been working vigorously, simply as residences for the students who flocked to the universities, and with endowments for

founding a university, which is first to frame its machinery and then to be set to work for the benefit of those who may come to it, is utterly at variance with the historic growth of the old universities of Europe, which were simply schools recognized by a corporate name, as the objects of privileges granted by popes, emperors, and kings. The foundation of the *University*, under that name, is but an *accident* in the history of the school; which explains the profitless disputes about the exact age of the most famous universities. The real process is accurately stated by Hallam:[1]—"Charters, incorporating the graduates and students collectively under the name of *Universities*, were granted by sovereigns, with privileges perhaps too extensive, but such as indicated the dignity of learning and the countenance it received. It ought, however, to be remembered that these foundations were *not the cause*, but the *effect*, of that increasing thirst for knowledge, which had anticipated the encouragement of the great. The schools of Charlemagne were designed to lay the basis of a learned education, for which there was at that time no sufficient desire. But in the 12th century the impetuosity with which men rushed to that source of what they deemed wisdom, the great University of Paris, did not depend upon academical privileges or eleemosynary stipends, which came afterwards, though these were undoubtedly very effectual in keeping it up. *The University created patrons, and was not created by them.*"

the aid and maintenance of poor scholars. In the English universities in particular, endowments and the revenues derived from the residents enabled the colleges to form strong internal systems of government and teaching, which to a great degree usurped the teaching functions of the universities; while, on the other hand, their examinations for degrees acquired greater importance. Hence arose that new conception of a university, as having the special function of examining and granting degrees, which it has been found convenient, for certain social and political reasons, to embody in our universities recently founded. Another error is the derivation of the name from the *universal* range of studies naturally pursued at a great seat of learning, but which is not *therefore* so called. The mistake is at once exposed, as a *reductio ad absurdum*, by those who have denied the name to the famous University of Bologna, because it was specially a school of law. The word *Universitas* is simply the old Latin legal name for a corporation, as including the whole of its members (*universi*); and, in the case in question, it was applied to the whole body of teachers and students (*Universitas doctorum et scholarium*), when they were incorporated by a formal act, as by a royal charter. We find the University of Paris, before its incorporation, called by the name of *Studium Generale*. *Collegium*, which is merely another Latin word for a corporate body, was applied to the houses of residence or *halls* (as some of them are still called), when they were incorporated, and also to universities, as in Scotland.

[1] *Lit. Hist.* vol. i. p. 15.

However difficult it may be to fix a precise date, at which the schools of Paris and Oxford became Universities, that character had been certainly assumed by both before the end of the 12th century. But even from the beginning of that century Paris deduces its regular succession of teachers and students from the lectures of William of Champeaux, Abelard, and their contemporaries.[1] To the old course of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, now enlarged by the master science of Theology, there were gradually added chairs of civil law, medicine, and afterwards of canon law; and the union of these formed the organized body of teachers and students, which was at first called *Studium Generale* and afterwards *Universitas*. The *thing* existed before the *name*; teachers and students formed an academical republic,[2] distinct from the political society around it, in which the full citizens, whose learning qualified them to teach, were invested with the right by the title of *Master* (*Magister*) in Arts, and *Doctor* in the other Faculties.[3] The free constitution of the Universities was established from the time when their corporate existence was recognized by their own sovereigns and by the Pope, from whom they received high privileges, and found protection against the arbitrary acts even of their own authorities. Thus, when the Chancellor of St. Geneviève exacted a high price for admitting Masters to teach, Alexander III. decided, in the Third Lateran Council (1179), that "every competent person ought to be admitted to teach;" and, in the next year, he decreed that "whatsoever fit and learned men should be willing to direct institutions for the study of letters, should be permitted to direct

[1] The official position of the Chancellor of St. Geneviève as Chancellor of the University seems a "survival" of the growth of the latter out of the ancient school. It was from this particular case that the title of Chancellor was given to the presiding officer of other Universities.

[2] The University of Cambridge is still called in its Calendar "a literary republic."

[3] These titles were at first perfectly equivalent, and signified an actual teacher. The body of teachers, with their Chancellor, gradually assumed the power of admitting or refusing those who might wish to teach. The next step was to regulate this power, so that the licences to teach were granted as the result of examination; and then the titles became the stamp of learning. Finally, the superior dignity obtained by the Doctors of the special Faculties above the Masters of Arts, and the institution of the preparatory grade of Bachelors (*baccalaurei*), who also taught under the direction of the Masters or Doctors,—formed an advancing scale of titles, which were therefore called *Degrees* (*Gradus*, "steps"). These were always conferred by the Chancellor, who was generally elected by the members of the University. Thus the whole process of earning and awarding the Degrees was complete, before rights and immunities were granted to their holders by the government of each State and by the universal authority of the Pope.

schools without any molestations or exactions."[1] No words could better express the *essential idea* of a university.

§ 2. By the end of the century the influx of scholars had become so great, that Philip Augustus enlarged the boundaries of the city. The students are even said (but doubtless this is an exaggeration) to have outnumbered the citizens; and the quarrels between the two bodies led to a grant of privileges by the same King to the *Studium Generale*, in which the office of Rector is acknowledged as already existing (1201).[2] The resort of students from all parts of Christendom to this medieval Athens is already attested by their division into the four "nations" of *French*, *English*, *Picards*, and *Normans*,[3] each occupying distinct quarters and forming a separate society. The first distinct application of the name of *University* to the "General School" of Paris in a public document appears to be in the ordinance which Innocent III. issued, by his Legate, for its regulation in 1215; but a letter of the Pope a few years earlier shows how the special application of the name grew up; it is addressed:—"*Doctoribus et universis scholaribus* Parisiensibus . . . *universitatem vestram* rogamus." In the oldest existing deed of the University itself (1221) the style is used:—"We the UNIVERSITAS (i.e. the body corporate) of the Masters and Scholars of Paris."

About the same time the name is first applied to the schools of CAMBRIDGE in a public document of 1223; but those of OXFORD are called a *University* in the first year of the century in a charter of King John (1201). In both cases, as at Paris, the *name* is but a crowning recognition of the flourishing bodies to which it is applied. In the unknown growth of Oxford, the first distinct epoch is usually considered to be marked by the teaching of civil law there by the Lombard professor VACARIUS under the patronage of Archbishop Theobald, in the reign of Stephen (1149).[4] This

[1] These two decretals are the earliest positive testimony to the existence of the University of Paris as an organized body, though not yet under that name. So 130 years later Clement III. says, in his Bull founding the University of Dublin: "I have founded a *general school* in every science and lawful faculty, to flourish in Dublin for ever, in which *Masters* may freely *teach*, and scholars become auditors of the said faculties."

[2] The Rector is styled *capitale*, i.e. the chief executive authority; the Chancellor being the supreme head.

[3] The *French* nation included also *Spain*, *Italy*, and the East; the *English*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, and the northern kingdoms. The latter name, which of itself indicates the numbers in which Englishmen resorted to the university, was changed into *German* in 1430. It is to be observed that the Germans, having no universities of their own till the 14th century, resorted chiefly to Paris and Bologna.

[4] Gervas. p. 1665; Robert de Monte, A.D. 1149. (*Patrol.* clx.)

indication that Oxford was now already a seat of learning is confirmed by the intellectual fame of such scholars and teachers as John of Salisbury, Robert Pulleyn, and Robert of Mélun; as well as by the direct testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, who, about 1185, speaks of Oxford as "the place most distinguished in England for the excellence of its clerks."

§ 3. As the universities rose, and especially as they became great seats of theological learning, they naturally superseded the chief cathedral schools, and the monastic schools were for the most part closed. As early as 1058, the school of the head Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino had been closed by its abbot, Desiderius; and the Venerable Peter closed the schools at Clugny and in all the Cluniac cloisters. The Popes endeavoured, in the interests of the Church, to support and regulate the cathedral schools, which were not only overshadowed by the universities, but ruined by their own abuses. The benefices of the *magister scholarum* were lost in many cathedrals, and in others the *licentia docendi* was made an object of traffic. To remedy this, Alexander III. decreed, in the Third Lateran Council (1179), that in every cathedral a competent benefice should be provided for a master, who was to give gratuitous instruction to the clergy of the church and to poor scholars, and that no price should be exacted for the licence of teaching. Innocent III. renewed this decree at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

§ 4. The epoch at which the universities were fully constituted, was also that at which they were stirred by a new and mighty intellectual movement. ARISTOTLE, as we have seen, had been hitherto little more than a name; the logician rather than the philosopher; known only through secondary channels and the old translations of his works by Victorinus and Boëthius. It is a significant fact, that he is not so much as mentioned by Peter Lombard. "On a sudden, at the beginning of the 13th century, there is a cry of terror from the Church, in the centre of the most profound theological learning of the Church, the University of Paris; and the cry is the irrefragable witness to the influence of what was vaguely denounced as the philosophy of Aristotle. It is not now presumptuous Dialectics, which would submit theological truth to logical system, but philosophical theories, directly opposed to the doctrines of the Church; the clamour is loud against certain fatal books but newly brought into the schools.[1] . . . But the secret of all this terror and perplexity of the Church was not that the pure

[1] The sentence of the Council of Paris, in 1209, specifies the *Natural Philosophy* and *Comments* on it.

and more rational philosophy of Aristotle was revealed in the schools; the evil and the danger more clearly denounced were in the Arabian comment, which, inseparable from the Arabo-Latin translation, had formed a system fruitful of abuse and error." [1]

The immediate cause of this new excitement was the use made (or said to be made) of Aristotle's works in support of the speculative Pantheism and other mystical heresies taught by DAVID OF DINANT and AMALRIC OF BENA.[2] It is certain that some of the doctrines which Amalric was said to have taught from Aristotle were taken from the writings of John Scotus Erigena.[3] In 1209 a synod at Paris was held against his disciples, several of whom were delivered to the secular arm (to be burnt) and others condemned to perpetual imprisonment; the deceased Amalric was excommunicated, and his body was ordered to be taken out of the cemetery and thrown into unconsecrated ground; and the synod decreed that the books of David of Dinant should be brought to

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. ix. pp. 112–114. Gieseler (vol. iii. pp. 301–302) quotes an important passage from Roger Bacon (*Op. Majus*, pars i. c. 9), who not only testifies that the opposition at Paris was "to the *Natural Philosophy* and *Metaphysics* of Aristotle *through the expositors Avicenna and Averrhoës*," but ascribes the excommunication of "*their* books" to "dense ignorance," and adds that "we moderns approve the aforesaid men," regarding all the additions they made to wisdom as worthy of favour, though they made many mistakes and needed much correction. The *Opus Majus* was written in 1266–7. Besides the translations from the Arabic, we are told that, among the works of Aristotle read at Paris at the beginning of the century were the *Metaphysics*, which had been lately brought from Constantinople, and translated *out of Greek* into Latin. Gulielm. Armor. s. a. 1209, *ap.* Gieseler, *l.c.* William the Armorican or Breton (*Brito*) wrote about 1220 a continuation of Rigord, *de Gestis Philippi Augusti.*

[2] Amalric (*Amalricus* or *Amauricus*) is also called Amaury of Chartres. A contemporary describes him as of a most subtile but evil mind, contradicting others in all the faculties in which he studied, but esteemed of so unblemished a character that he was the companion (perhaps the tutor) of the King's son Louis, afterwards Louis VIII. (*Chron. Anon. Laudun. Canon.*) He appears to have taught both at Chartres and Paris, and he died in 1205. Instead of David of Dinant being (as some say) the disciple of Amalric, we learn from the same writer that Amalric derived his errors from the *Quaternions* (*Quaternuli*) of David, who was therefore condemned with Amalric. David seems not to have taught at Paris; but to have maintained himself at the Papal Court. He was certainly dead in 1209. What is known of these two teachers is collected by Krönlein, *Amalric von Bena und David von Dinant*, in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1847, pp. 271–330. See Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 297 foll.

[3] In particular from the *Periphysion* (περὶ φύσεων) or *De Natura* (Gerson, *de Concord. Metaph. cum Log.* ap Gieseler, *l.c.* p. 299). The followers of Amalric were afterwards merged among the heretics known as "Brethren of the Free Spirit."

the Archbishop of Paris to be burnt, and that "neither the books of Aristotle on Natural Philosophy nor comments (on them) should be read at Paris in public or in private."[1] The prohibition was repeated in a more specific form (including both the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, while sanctioning the *Dialectics*) in a statute made for the university by the Papal Legate six years later (1215).[2] But a different tone is sounded in the Bull of Gregory IX., 1231,[3] still indeed forbidding the use of works of Aristotle at Paris, but only "till they should have been examined and purged from all suspicion of error."

By this time the Greek text of Aristotle was becoming known; translations were soon undertaken by some of the most eminent schoolmen, and under the auspices of several European sovereigns;[4] and henceforth his authority was established, as the great teacher of a philosophy and science which was regarded as a foundation for the superstructure of religious truth. The one of all the schoolmen, who had the truest scientific spirit and was most free from slavish deference to authority, thus sums up the final estimate of the great Stagirite:—"Aristotle cleared away the errors of former philosophers, and enlarged philosophy, aspiring to its completion, . . . although he could not perfect all its several parts. For later writers have corrected him in some things and have added much to his works, and much will still be added to the end of the world, because there is nothing perfect in human inventions;"[5]—a prediction strikingly significant as coming from the one great medieval forerunner of those truer principles of science,

[1] Martene, *Thesaurus*, iv. 166.

[2] *Statutum Roberti*, &c., in Bulæus, iii. 81.

[3] Bulæus, iii. 140; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 301.

[4] Among these were Alphonso X., king of Castile, Manfred, king of Sicily, and especially the Emperor Frederick II.: see his letter sending to the University of Bologna Latin translations, made by chosen men under his directions and partly by himself, of "various compilations from Aristotle and other philosophers anciently put forth both in Greek and Arabic" (in Petr. de Vineis, lib. iii. *Epist.* 67). Among these translations we may suppose to have been those of which Roger Bacon says that "the philosophy of Aristotle gained celebrity among the Latins in the time of Michael Scot, who in A.D. 1230 made known certain parts of his physical and mathematical works with learned expositions" (referring doubtless to the Arabic commentaries). Michael Scot lived as astrologer at the court of Frederick II.

[5] Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, ii. 8. See also the eulogy of Aristotle by Averrhoës (*Proœm.* in Aristot. *Physica*) quoted by Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 302, and the poem of a Cologne divine of the 14th century (mentioned by Cornelius Agrippa), who regards Aristotle as the forerunner of Christ in natural things, as needful to the Gospel as John the Baptist was in preparing men's hearts.

which his great namesake was to substitute for the perverted system which was built up on the name of Aristotle.[1]

§ 5. Among the students of Aristotle, none were more zealous in bringing his philosophy to the service of Theology than the Mendicant Friars, who from this time take the lead in the development of Scholasticism. With scarcely an exception, all the great doctors of this *Second Age of Scholasticism* were either Franciscans or Dominicans. They were connected with the Universities of Oxford and Paris, the former contributing many of the great lights who made the latter the great centre of theological learning.[2] We have already seen how soon the learning, which St. Francis rejected as needless for the spiritual man, was cultivated by his very first disciples as a needful means of fulfilling their mission. Even before their master's death, the little band of "Minor Brethren" who came over to England (1224), found a home at Oxford, where the Dominicans were already settled; and their historian gives a graphic account of the growth of the school which was soon to be as famous abroad as at home.[3] Their leader, Fr. Agnellus, caused a decent school to be built at Oxford; and, as its first teacher, he obtained the services of the great man, who shines above all his contemporaries for his union of learning and pure religious zeal with wise patriotism, ROBERT GROSSETESTE[4] (that is, Great-head), the friend and faithful (sometimes sharply faithful) counsellor of

[1] The exact place occupied by Aristotle in Scholasticism is admirably described by Professor Brewer in a passage too long to be quoted here. He regards Aristotle as a double help to the Schoolmen, not merely for that logical method of which he was the master, but, primarily, as the exponent of natural reason, and, secondly, as the representative of the whole range of Greek, that is, of all philosophy. He adds some excellent remarks on the results produced by the scholastic use of Aristotle, both for good and evil: the chief advantage being in the great precision of their method, the exaggeration of which led, in its turn, to their great fault, of attempting to state every question in a set of definite propositions, with solutions, which often leave the question more involved than it was before; the solution being not only unproved but suggestive of new doubts and questions involved in an indefinite series. (*Monum. Francisc.* pref. p. lii. f.)

[2] Mr. Brewer observes that "almost every *Franciscan* schoolman of note came from these islands, Bonaventura and Lully excepted. We are proportionally scanty in the names of *Dominicans*." (*Monum. Francisc.* pref. p. lvii.)

[3] Thomas de Eccleston, *de Adventu*, &c.; in *Monum. Francisc.*; and the other records (*Prima Fundatio*, &c.) in the Appendix.

[4] In Latin *Grossum Caput*. The name is spelt in a variety of ways *Gros-*, *Gross-*, or *Grosse-*, *teste* or *tête*, and even the hybrid *Gross-head* (!) His political relations with Simon de Montfort, Henry III., &c., belong of course to the History of England. Several very interesting anecdotes of him are told by Eccleston, and he plays an important part in the correspondence of Adam Marsh in the *Monumenta Franciscana*.

Simon de Montfort. The anecdotes told of him by Eccleston "confirm the popular estimation of his character, but they also present him in a new light, as the liberal friend and supporter of the Minorite friars, fully alive to the importance and even the necessity of their mission."[1] On his removal to the bishopric of Lincoln (1235, *ob.* 1253), he was succeeded by one of the friars; and from that time they had a constant succession of readers of divinity both at Oxford and Cambridge.[2] Under Grosseteste, we are told, the brethren "made incalculable progress both in sermons and in subtle moralities suitable to preaching;" for it is to be observed that their studies were pursued as a means to the great end of their practical work. Eccleston draws a vivid picture of the brethren uniting the greatest simplicity of life and purity of conscience with such zeal for study, that they daily went barefoot through the cold and mire to the divinity schools, however distant; and the result was that, the Divine grace co-operating with this diligence in study, they were in a short time promoted to the office of preachers.[3] This practical purpose of their studies was emphatically insisted on by Grosseteste, when, urging on the friars a diligent application to Theology, he assured them, "or else for a certainty the same lot will befal you, as has befallen all the other religious orders, who are walking to their shame in the darkness of ignorance." And this combination of ardent study with practical work was the cause alike of the commanding influence which they obtained in the universities, as the chief teachers of the scholastic divinity, and of their success as preachers at home and missionaries abroad. "By the light of philosophy"—says Roger Bacon, at the opening of his *Opus Majus*—"the Church of God is ordered, the commonwealth of the faithful is rightly disposed, the conversion of the infidel is accomplished. It is by the excellence of wisdom that they who are obstinate in malice can alone be repressed, and they are better repelled from the borders of the Church, and further, than by the effusion of Christian blood." It will surprise many to read these words of a Franciscan friar in an age of Crusades, not only against the infidel in the East but the heretic in France, and at the very time when the rival order had brought the Inquisition into full play.

[1] Brewer, *Mon. Francisc.* pref. p. lxxvi.

[2] See the lists in Eccleston, coll. x., pp. 37–41, and App. pp. 552–547.

[3] See the powerful development of this practical result of their studies in the character of their preaching by Mr. Brewer (*Mon. Francisc.* pref. pp. l.–lii.), whose view is abundantly illustrated by the letters of Adam Marsh (himself one of the Franciscan readers at Oxford, and the close friend of Grosseteste) in the same volume.

§ 6. The energy developed by the friars in England was quickly brought to stimulate the progress of scholastic theology on the Continent.[1] "Foreigners were sent to the English school as superior to all others. It enjoyed a reputation throughout the world for adhering the most conscientiously and strictly to the poverty and severity of the order; and for the first time since its existence as a university, Oxford rose to a position second not even to Paris itself."[2] The great Parisian school of theology, which occupies the second period of Scholasticism, had for its earliest teachers the Welshman Thomas Wallis[3] and the more famous Englishman, ALEXANDER HALES,[4] the "Irrefragable Doctor" or "Doctor of Doctors." His brief eulogy in a list of the great men of the order[5] describes him as doctor, chancellor, and archdeacon of Paris, and records that, giving up the pomp of secular life (*conversationis*), he took the habit of the Minor Brethren in the year 1228, in which he lived 17 years "*virgo et doctor irrefragabilis*," and died at Paris in 1245. He is reckoned by some historians as the true father of Scholasticism; and he certainly seems to have been the first who adopted the specially scholastic form of a complete summary of theology,[6] of great labour and bulk, in which the

[1] Eccleston (p. 38) tells us that the fame of the brethren caused Elias (the successor of St. Francis as Minister General) to send for the brethren Philip of Wales, or Wallis (*Wallensis*, *Waleys*), and Adam of York, to lecture at Lyon. Others taught at Cologne, and repeated applications were made from Ireland, Denmark, France, and Germany, for English friars. (See Letters of Adam Marsh in the *Mon. Francisc.* pp. 93, 354, 365, 378.)

[2] Brewer, *Mon. Francisc.* pref. p. lxxxi. Besides Alexander Hales and Thomas Wallis, Oxford gave Paris its most popular lecturer, Richard of Cornwall (or Richardus Anglicus). Mr. Brewer suggests that "perhaps the opposition the friars incurred in that university arose as much from national as professional jealousy;" but it was as strong against the continental Dominicans as the English Franciscans.

[3] Thomas Waleys (*Wallensis*) was one of the early Franciscan readers of theology at Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's (from 1248 to 1255).

[4] Alexander ab Hales, Halesius or Alesius, is said to have taken his surname from Hales (or Hailes) in Gloucestershire, where a Franciscan monastery was built by Richard of Cornwall and dedicated in 1251. If, therefore, as some say, he was surnamed from his residence in that cloister, it must have been in a temporary establishment, like several of the early foundations of the friars; but this seems to be only conjecture.

[5] *Prima Fundatio*, &c., in *Mon. Francisc.* p. 542. His death at Paris, in 1245, is also mentioned in a letter of Bishop Grosseteste, who had gone with Adam Marsh in that year to the First Council of Lyon. (*Ibid.* p. 627.)

[6] *Summa Universæ Theologiæ in IV. Lib. Sententiarum* (printed Venet. 1475, col. 1622). Its bulk is humorously described as more than a

doctrines were set forth as a series of propositions, with the arguments marshalled in syllogistic array. In Hales the influence of Aristotle becomes fully visible; but his philosophy is combined with a practical regard for the ecclesiastical system of his age.

§ 7. Contemporary with the Franciscan Hales, whom he long survived, was the Dominican ALBERT,[1] justly surnamed the GREAT (Albertus Magnus) on account of his vast acquirements, which earned for him the title of the "Universal Doctor," and from his enemies the nickname of "Aristotle's ape." Born about 1193 (though some say twelve years later) of the noble Swabian house of Böllstadt, he lived till 1280; but the eighty-seven years of his life seem a short space for the learning and labours that survive in the twenty-one folio volumes of his works,[2] besides what is lost of the 800 treatises he is reported to have written. "As, besides composing or dictating, he was incessantly lecturing as a professor, travelling on the business of his Order, or filling high offices in the Church, among which were those of the Master of the Sacred

horse-load of divinity by Roger Bacon, who says that it was not really the work of Alexander Hales, and that in his own time it was no longer transcribed. (*Op. Maj.* 326; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 624.) Hales is said to have written some exegetical works and (perhaps) a Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Another famous Schoolman, his contemporary, was WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE, archbishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249.

[1] It is convenient to remember the following relations between the chief Schoolmen :—

Franciscans.

†1245. ALEXANDER HALES, and his pupil	{†after 1292.} ROGER BACON.
†1274. BONAVENTURA.	†1315. RAYMUND LULLY.
†1308. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.	†1347. WILLIAM OF OCKHAM (pupil of Duns Scotus).

Dominicans.

1280. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, and his pupil	†1274. THOMAS AQUINAS.

It is also worth while to observe their chronological relation to St. Francis and St. Dominic. Albert the Great was only a few years younger than St. Francis, and so probably was Alexander Hales (the date of whose birth is unknown; Roger Bacon was born (1214) seven years before the death of Dominic (1221), Bonaventura in that same year (1221), and Thomas Aquinas about 1226, the year of the death of Francis.

[2] Edited by P. Jammy, Lugd. 1651. Of the twenty-one vols., five contain his *Commentary on Aristotle*, five his *Commentary on Peter Lombard*, two his own *Summa Theologiæ;* the rest, his works on Natural Science (*Summa Naturalium de Creaturis*), Scripture interpretation, and Practical Theology. Among works respecting him are Rudolphus Noviomag., *de Vita Alberti Magni*, Col. 1490 f.; Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.* i. 162 f.; Sighart, *Alb. Mag. sein Leben u. seine Wissenschaft*, Regensb. 1857; C. Haneberg, *zu Erkenntnisslehre von Ibn Sina (Avicenna) u. Alb. Mag.*, München, 1866.

Palace, Bishop of Ratisbon, and Papal Legate in Poland, his time would appear to have been sufficiently occupied, even without his customary recitation every day of the entire Psalter. His versatility was no less remarkable than his industry. Besides his more strictly professional authorship, he was an original writer on various branches of natural history, drew plans for cathedrals and churches, made experiments in chemistry, devised a garden in which the soft airs and bright flowers of summer could be enjoyed in the depths of winter, and even succeeded, after thirty years' labour, in constructing a speaking automaton, which, according to tradition, was taken by the youthful Thomas (Aquinas) for a mocking demon, and was forthwith smashed by him to pieces."[1]

§ 8. Reverting briefly to the events of Albert's long life: he studied at Paris and Padua; and at the latter city he was led by the influence of Jordan, the general of the Dominicans, to join the order (1223). After teaching in the Dominican school at Cologne, he was called in 1228 to the chair of the order in the Jacobin convent at Paris. It was at the critical moment when the new zeal of the Mendicants aspired to a ruling influence in education, and their ambition was favoured by the disorders of the University, which was at feud with the civil authorities about its exclusive jurisdiction over the scholars.[2] In 1228, two scholars were killed in a fight by the city guard; and, on the refusal of satisfaction both by the bishop and the Queen-regent,[3] the university sus-

[1] From an article on "Thomas Aquinas" in the *Quarterly Review*, July 1881, vol. cliii. pp. 114, 115. As with his predecessor Gebhard (Sylvester II.), and his contemporaries, Michael Scott and Roger Bacon, his natural science was sure to gain him the reputation of a wizard, and in modern ignorance of the "dark ages," that character is perhaps still attached to his name. Bayle has collected many fabulous stories about him (*Dict.* art. *Albert*). "It is said that he had no capacity for learning, until at his prayer the Blessed Virgin bestowed on him a special endowment, together with the gift that philosophy should not seduce him from the true faith; and that, five years before his death, according to his patroness's promise, he forgot all his learning and dialectical subtlety, in order that he might prepare himself for his end 'in childlike innocence and in sincerity and truth of faith' (Lud. a Valleoleti, quoted by Quétif, i. 169). Henry of Hervorden relates that, when worn out with age and labour, he fell into dotage, Sifrid, archbishop of Mentz, wishing to see him, knocked at the door of his cell, whereupon Albert answered from within 'Albert is not here.' 'Of a truth he is not here,' said the archbishop, and went away in tears." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 625.) For a full account of the theological, philosophic, and scientific teaching of Albert the Great, see Milman's *Hist. of Lat. Christ.*, vol. ix. pp. 122–130.

[2] For the details see Milman, vol. vi. pp. 343–4.

[3] Blanche, mother of Louis IX., who had succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve in 1226.

pended its lectures, and the professors removed with many of the students to Reims, Orleans, Angers, and even as far as Toulouse. The Dominicans seized the opportunity to found a chair of Theology, with the licence of the bishop and the chancellor. Three years later the university was re-established at Paris, against the opposition of the bishop and the crown, by the authority of Gregory IX. (1231); but the friars had made their position sure, and we shall see presently how the jealousy, suppressed for a time, between them and the faculty of theology, broke out twenty years later.

It was during this suspension of the university that Albert lectured at the Jacobin convent. "There, though his text-book was the rigid stone-cold *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard, his bold originality, the confidence with which he rushed on ground yet untrodden, at once threw back all his competitors into obscurity, and seemed to summon reason, it might be to the aid, it might be as a perilous rival to religion. This, by his admirers, was held as hardly less than divine inspiration, but provoked his adversaries and his enemies. 'God,' it was said, 'had never divulged so many of His secrets to one of His creatures.' Others murmured, 'He must be possessed by an evil spirit:' already the fame, the suspicion, of a magician had begun to gather round his name."[1]

§ 9. In 1231 Albert returned to his convent and school at Cologne, where he was visited with marked honour by the Emperor William. As provincial master of the order for Germany, he was commissioned by the Diet of Worms to visit all the monasteries. "He severely reproved the monks, almost universally sunk in ignorance and idleness; he rescued many precious manuscripts, which in their ignorance they had left buried in dust, or in their fanaticism cast aside as profane."[2] Alexander IV. summoned him to Rome, and appointed him Grand Master of the Palace; but he soon laid down the dignity and returned to Cologne. In 1260 he was made Bishop of Ratisbon; but he resigned the see after three years, in order to end his life as a simple friar and teacher at Cologne.

§ 10. The most conspicuous features of his teaching are thus described by Dean Milman:[3]—"Albert the Great at once awed by his immense erudition and appalled his age. . . . He quotes, as equally familiar, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Jewish philosophers. He

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. ix. p. 123. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* p. 124, following, as he fully acknowledges, Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, vol. viii. pp. 181 f., and Hauréau, *De la Philosophie Scholastique*, vol. ii. pp. 1 f. We quote only the most important parts of the passage, passing over some remarks on his fruitless attempts to reconcile Aristotle with Plato, and both with Christianity.

was the first Schoolman who lectured on Aristotle himself, on Aristotle from Græco-Latin or Arabo-Latin copies. The whole range of the Stagirite's physical and metaphysical philosophy was within the scope of Albert's teaching. . . . One of his Treatises is a refutation of Averrhöes; . . . the commentators and glossators of Aristotle, the whole circle of the Arabians, are quoted with the utmost familiarity. But with Albert theology was still the master science. The Bishop of Ratisbon was of unimpeached orthodoxy;" but "his Christianity, while it constantly subordinates, in strong and fervent language, knowledge to faith and love, became less a religion than a philosophy. Albert has little of, he might seem to soar above, the peculiar and dominant doctrines of Christianity; he dwells on the nature of God rather than on the Trinity, on the immortality of the soul rather than on redemption; on sin, on original sin, he is almost silent. . . . The close of all Albert the Great's intense labours, of his enormous assemblage of the opinions of the philosophers of all ages, and his efforts to harmonize them with high Christian Theology, is a kind of Eclecticism, an unreconciled Realism, Conceptualism, Nominalism, with many of the difficulties of each.[1] . . . Safe in his own deep religiousness and doctrinal orthodoxy, he saw not how with his philosophic speculations he undermined the foundations of theology.

"But this view of Albert the Great is still imperfect and unjust. His title to fame is not that he introduced, and interpreted to the world, the Metaphysics and Physics of Aristotle, and the works of the Arabian philosophers on these abstruse subjects, but because he opened the field of true philosophic observation to mankind. In Natural History, he unfolded the more precious treasures of the Aristotelian philosophy, he revealed all the secrets of ancient science, and added large contributions of his own to every branch of it: in Mathematics, he commented on and explained Euclid; in Chemistry, he was a subtle investigator; in Astronomy, a bold speculator. Had he not been premature,—had not philosophy been seized and again enslaved to theology, mysticism, and worldly politics—he might have been more immediately and successfully followed by the first, if not by the second, Bacon."[2]

[1] "On the great medieval question, Albert would be at once a Realist, a Conceptualist, and a Nominalist. There were three kinds of Universals, one abstract, self-existing, one in the object, one in the mind."

[2] On this it should be observed that Roger Bacon, who was only twenty years younger than Albert, showed no disposition to be deterred from scientific investigation by theological trammels. Whether he was in any degree indebted directly to Albert's labours or example, does not appear, at least so far as we know. (See Chap. XXXI.)

The Great Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino.

CHAPTER XXX.

SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY—*continued.*

THE FRIARS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

ST. BONAVENTURA, ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, DUNS SCOTUS. A.D. 1221–1308.

§ 1. Bonaventura and Aquinas compared. § 2. John of Fidanza, ST. BONAVENTURA, the "Seraphic Doctor"—Spirit of his teaching. § 3. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, the "Angelic Doctor"—At Monte Cassino and Naples. § 4. Joins the Dominicans—Persecutions of his family. § 5. Placed under Albert the Great—The "Dumb Ox of Sicily" surprizes the Master. § 6. Lectures at Cologne—Removal to Paris: lectures on the *Sentences*—Contest in the University—Foundation of the *Sorbonne*. § 7. Bull of Innocent IV. against the Friars, revoked by Alexander IV.—WILLIAM OF ST. AMOUR: his *Perils of the Last Times*. § 8. Thomas made Doctor and Professor at Paris—Removal to Italy—Immense intellectual activity—Exhaustion and visions; death and

canonization—His fervent piety. § 9. Supremacy of his philosophical Theology in the Roman Catholic Church—Encyclical of Leo XIII. § 10. Symbolical picture of St. Thomas—Three classes of his works—(i.) *Expository: Catena Aurea* of the Four Gospels; (ii.) *Philosophical: Commentaries on Aristotle*—Aquinas an *Aristotelian Realist*—Rationalism buttressing Faith; (iii.) His *Systematic Theology*—The fusion of Philosophy and Divinity—Essential fault of the system. § 11. The *Summa Theologica*—The method of *Questions*—Logic in place of truth—Real merits of the Scholastic system. § 12. His other theological works—*Commentary on the Sentences*—*Quæstiones Disputatæ* and *Quodlibets*. § 13. *Polemical Works: Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa contra Græcos*—First assertion of the Pope's infallibility—Forgeries imposed on Thomas—Defences of the Friars. § 14. Disputes about his authority. § 15. Rivalry of *Thomists* and *Scotists*—The British Franciscan JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, the "Subtle Doctor:" his Life and Works—War of the two Schools—THOMAS BRADWARDINE.

§ 1. THE great age of Scholasticism culminated in the famous names of BONAVENTURA and THOMAS AQUINAS. Nearly of the same age (the former was born in 1221, the latter about 1226), they were united in close friendship and defence of the common cause of their rival orders, as in sincere piety and devoted labour, and in death they were not divided. Summoned by Gregory IX. to the great Council of Lyon in 1274, Bonaventura only just lived to receive the dignity of cardinal, Aquinas died upon the journey. But, with all they had in common, they represent the opposite poles of the Scholastic Theology: Bonaventura, that fervent piety always hovering on the verge of Mysticism, which was attested by his title of the "Seraphic Doctor;" Aquinas, the keenest dialectic treatment of doctrine, combined with the most laborious constructive power, moulding it into the system which the Church of Rome has accepted from him to the present day. While the palm of knowledge is awarded to Aquinas, Bonaventura has the higher praise of supreme regard for Scripture, and a constant effort to harmonize all science with practical religion. His spirit is expressed by the phrase (which few perhaps know to be his), "*Sweetness and light.*"

§ 2. Having traced the outlines of BONAVENTURA'S life in the history of the Franciscan order,[1] it will suffice here to add Dean

[1] See above, Chap. XXV. p. 416. His works were published, under the direction of Sixtus V. at Rome, 1588, 8 vols. folio; Lugd. 1688, 8 vols. fol.; Venet. 1751, 13 vols. 4to.: the first volume of an elaborate new edition by P. Fidelis a Fanna, was published at Quarachi (ad Claras Aquas), near Florence, 1883. The most important of them, besides his Life of St. Francis, are *Commentarii in Libris iv. Sententiarum;* two handbooks of Divinity, namely, *Breviloquium* (edited by Hefele, Tübingen, 1845, and Antonio da Vicenza, 2nd ed., Freiburg, 1881), and *Centiloquium*, the latter being for beginners; *Reductio Artium ad Theologiam*, an attempt to show the organic

Milman's estimate of his spirit and teaching:[1]—"In Bonaventura the philosopher *recedes*; religious edification is his mission. A much smaller proportion of his voluminous works is pure scholasticism: he is teaching by the life of his holy founder, St. Francis, and by what may be called a new Gospel, a legendary life of the Saviour, which seems to claim, with all its wild traditions, equal right to the belief with that of the Evangelists. Bonaventura himself seems to deliver it as his own unquestioning faith. Bonaventura, if not ignorant of, feared or disdained to know much of Aristotle or the Arabians: he philosophizes only because in his age he could not avoid philosophy. The philosophy of Bonaventura rests on the theological doctrine of Original Sin: the Soul, exiled from God, must return to God. The most popular work of Bonaventura, with his mystic admirers, was the *Itinerary of the Soul to God.* The love of God, and the knowledge of God, proceed harmoniously together, through four degrees of light: the *external* light, by which we learn the mechanic arts; the *inferior* light, which shines through the senses, by these we comprehend individuals or things; the *internal* light, the Reason,[2] which by reflection raises the soul to intellectual things, to universals in conception; the *superior light of grace*, which reveals to us the sanctifying virtues, shows us universals in their reality, in God."

§ 3. Thomas Aquinas,[3] the *Doctor Angelicus* of the Schools, derived his surname from the noble house of which he was a scion,

relation of all science, including the teaching of the Church, and a monument of his prodigious knowledge; practical or mystical works, as *Itinerarium mentis in Deum, De Septem Gradibus Contemplationis*, &c.; and a *Biblia Pauperum*, an exposition and application of passages of Scripture, as a manual of popular instruction for the "poor in spirit."

[1] *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* vol. ix. p. 138 f.

[2] Here we have essentially the same distinction as that between *Reason and Understanding* in modern transcendental philosophy. Bonaventura is a Realist, with some modification from Conceptualism.

[3] The chief authorities for his life are the *Acta SS.*, a. d. VII. Mart. i. 655; Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.* i. 271; *Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino*, da P. Frigerio Romano, Roma, 1668; *La Vie de St. Thomas d'Aquin, avec un Exposé de sa Doctrine et ses Ouvrages*, par le P. A. Touron (Dominican), Paris, 1734, 1737; Bern. de Rubeis, *Dissert. Crit. et Apologet. de Gestis ac Scriptis et Doctrina S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Venet.. 1750 f.; *Histoire de St Thomas d'Aquin*, par M. l'Abbé Bareille, Paris, 1846 (a summary of Touron's work); *The Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin*, by the very Rev. Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B., 2 vols., London, 1871-2: the last work has since been published in an abridged form: *Thomas Aquinas and the Vatican* in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. 152, pp. 105 f., July, 1881. Once for all, we make special acknowledgment of the use made of this most able article in the present Chapter, generally by direct quotation rather than affected concealment of the obligation, and only wishing we had space for more.

—the counts of Aquino, in Apulia. His birth took place about the year[1] in which St. Francis died (1226), whether at Aquino, or some other of his father's numerous castles, is uncertain. While his two brothers were trained in the usual military accomplishments, the young Count Thomas seems to have been destined by his parents to succeed his uncle in the dignity of Abbot of Monte Cassino; and he was placed in that monastery for education at the age of five. On this ground the community, of which that house was the head, claim a share in the fame of this greatest of the Dominicans; and it is at least clear that, "if to St. Dominic belong the branches and fruit of this splendid tree, the root and stem are no less due to St. Benedict."[2] His residence at Monte Cassino was cut short, at the age of ten, when the troops of Frederick II. sacked the monastery; and, after two years at home, Thomas was sent to the newly-founded University of Naples,[3] where he studied for four years. It is related that when, according to the custom of the universities, it came to his turn to reproduce the professorial lectures as an exercise, "he surpassed the original compositions, and repeated them with greater depth of thought and greater lucidity of method, than the learned professor himself was enabled to command."

§ 4. The Dominicans, who already within twenty years of their founder's death had got possession of the principal chairs at Naples, marked the gifted young nobleman as a fit proselyte; and, without even the knowledge of his widowed mother or his brothers, he was received into the order, in presence of an immense crowd, at the age of sixteen. He was hurried away from the pursuit of his indignant mother, first to Rome, and thence toward Paris; but his flight was intercepted by his brothers, who were ravaging Lombardy. Brought back a prisoner to one of the family castles, he was subjected to threats and solicitations, amidst which his own nearest kindred had the infamy to ply him with the temptation of St. Anthony; and his triumphant resistance won him the honour of being the special patron saint of chastity and its votaries banded in the fraternity of "the Angelic Warfare."

Even when he was released by the Emperor's authority through the influence of the Pope, his mother went to Rome to appeal in person against the vows into which she accused the Dominicans of dishonestly entrapping her son. Celestine IV., "doubtful in which direction it would be most politic to move, postponed his decision till he heard what the youth had to say for himself. He

[1] Different authorities give 1225, 1226, or 1227.
[2] *Quarterly Review*, p. 111.
[3] The university was founded in 1220 by Frederick II.

was accordingly fetched from Naples, and pleaded his vocation with such combined modesty and firmness, that the whole court was filled with admiration, and with tears of joy congratulated Theodora on having so admirable a son. To make things pleasant to both parties, the Pope went so far as to offer him the Abbacy of Monte Cassino, with permission to continue a Dominican and wear the habit of the Order; but even to this the lad was inexorable, and, turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of his family, he implored the Pope to leave him alone, and suffer him henceforth to follow his vocation as a simple friar. Thus after two years of struggle, the conflict ended, and at the age of eighteen his lot was irrevocably thrown in with the mendicant brothers of St. Dominic"[1] (about 1243).

§ 5. The value which the order set upon their prize was proved by his being placed under the care of their General and famous teacher, Albert the Great, who himself took charge of Thomas on the journey to Paris and Cologne. Albert's vast and versatile learning appears to have at first blinded him to his pupil's powers. "For Thomas is said to have been a singularly reserved youth: large, grave, taciturn, and so frequently absorbed in reverie as often scarcely to know what he was eating, he became a butt to his fellow-students, and received the nicknames of the 'Dumb Ox of Sicily' and 'Pythagoras's Wallet.'[2] How the illusion was dispelled may be read in the old Latin memoir of him, ascribed to a contemporary friar, William de Thoco, or Tocco, but probably written in the following century, and printed in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum.* Albert having lectured on some abstruse question, Thomas for his own improvement wrote an elaborate essay upon it; and, the paper having been accidentally dropped, was picked up and carried to the Master, whose surprise at its excellence was so great, that he resolved to draw out the silent scholar by ordering him publicly to defend a thesis on the following day. Having fortified himself by prayer, the lad handled the thesis with such ability and decision, that the master cried out, 'Brother Thomas, one would think that you were pronouncing sentence rather than sustaining your side.' 'Master, I know not how to speak otherwise,' was the humble answer. Whereupon the Master himself tried to pose him with a variety of objections, the subtlety of which was such that he flattered himself he had completely shut up the youthful respondent (*omnino se eum crederet concludisse*); but his triumph over them all was so manifest, that Albert broke up the session with the

[1] *Quarterly Review*, pp. 113, 114.

[2] The idea of a heavy *physique* is not at all borne out by the refined and almost feminine features of a portrait in St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, inscribed, *Vera effigies*, &c., but the painter is unknown.

prophecy, 'We call this student a dumb ox, but the time will come when such shall be his bellowing in doctrine, that it will sound throughout the whole world.'"[1]

§ 6. After three years' study under Albert, partly at Cologne and partly at Paris, Thomas was selected to accompany the master on his return to the former city, where he was appointed *Magister Studentium*, or second professor of the new Dominican school. He was now in his twenty-third year, and the quarter of a century, which remained till his early death, was occupied with constant lecturing, preaching, and writing. The one great event which breaks the monotonous record of his labours, is the famous struggle of the University of Paris against the ascendancy of the mendicant teachers. After teaching for three or four years, and making his first essays as a metaphysical writer at Cologne, where he received priests' orders, he was sent by his superiors to Paris, to be admitted to the degree of Bachelor, which at that time was no mere stamp of moderate learning, but a real licence to teach, under the supervision of one of the Dominican professors. "It was his duty to expound the usual divinity text-book of the time, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; his lectures on which, when collected and revised, formed the earliest of his great theological treatises; and, his renown rapidly spreading, he was before long made a Licentiate, a provisional grade, entitling him to occupy a professorial chair and proceed to the highest degree which the University could confer."[2]

His elevation to the Doctorate and occupation of the chair were deferred by the great struggle, which was to decide whether the theological teaching of the university was to be governed by the mendicant scholastics, or to preserve the spirit boasted of as hitherto prevailing "at Paris, where *the study of Holy Scripture flourishes.*"[3] We have seen how the conflicts between the university and the civil power, provoked by the turbulence of the students, opened the way for the school of theology set up by the mendicants, which existed side by side with the older theological faculty in a state of suppressed jealousy, increasing, with the growing influence and popularity of the friars. About 1250, the theological faculty was strengthened by the foundation of the school called *Sorbonne*, a society of ecclesiastics devoted to study and gratuitous teaching, which derived its famous name from its founder Robert, a native of Sorbonne in Champagne, a canon of Paris and chaplain to Louis IX. "Although it is a mistake to speak of this as the theological faculty

[1] *Quarterly Review*, p. 115. [2] *Ibid.* p. 116.
[3] William of St. Amour, *de Peric.* 8: "Parisiis, ubi viget sacræ Scripturæ studium."

of the University, the two were in so far the same that the members of one were very commonly members of the other."[1]

§ 7. In 1251, the University complained that of the twelve chairs of theology at Paris (a number which strikingly attests the pre-eminence of the science), the Dominicans held two, and the Franciscans one; four other monastic communities had one each, and the canons regular of Paris, three, leaving only two for the secular clergy.[2] Having decreed that no religious order should hold more than one chair, they proceeded to dismiss one of the Dominican professors. The order made their appeal to the Pope. Innocent IV., who, now master of Italy since the death of Frederick II., probably felt that he had no further need of the friars, issued his famous Bull, subjecting the mendicant orders to episcopal jurisdiction (Nov. 1254). His death in the next month was claimed by them as a judgment in answer to their prayers; while the public feeling found utterance in the proverb, "From the Litanies of the Preaching Friars, good Lord deliver us."

His successor, Alexander IV., "was not the protector only, he was the humble slave of the Mendicants."[3] Ten days after his election he revoked his predecessor's Bull, and declared that the Chancellor of Paris might appoint professors either from the religious orders or from the secular clergy. This new Bull, the first of forty which Alexander issued in favour of the mendicants, was promulgated against the remonstrances of a deputation, one of whose members became famous as the great champion of the university. WILLIAM OF ST. AMOUR (Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, surnamed from his birthplace in Franche Comté), a Doctor of the Sorbonne, encountered the friars with their own great power of ora-

[1] (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 622; Herzog, *Encyclop.*, art. *Sorbonne.*) The judgments of the Sorbonne were constantly appealed to as of European authority from the 14th century to the 17th, but its influence was on the decline when the society was broken up by the revolution of 1789.

[2] The chief authorities for the whole story of the conflict are Wadding, Bulæus, and Crévier, to which are to be added the contemporary metrical satires of Rutebeuf, *La Descorde de l' Université et des Jacobins*, *Les Ordres de Paris*, *La Bataille des Vices contre les Vertus*, *Dit de Guillaume de St. Amour, comment il fut exilé*, and *La complainte de maistre Guil. de St. Amour.* (*Œuvres complètes* de Rutebeuf, par Achille Jubinal; and the excellent article by M. Paulin Paris in the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. xx. p. 710.) "Rutebeuf" (says Milman, vi. 353, n.), "reads to me like our own Skelton; he has the same flowing rapid doggerel, the same satiric *verve*, with not much of poetry, but both are always alive. On the whole of this feud, and its connection with Averrhoism, read the very remarkable pages of M. Ernest Renan, *Averroes et l'Averroïsme*, p. 259, f., Paris, 1861."

[3] The words of Crévier, quoted by Milman, vol. vi. p. 346. The new Pope was elected on Dec. 12th, 1254.

tory. He veiled his attacks, indeed, under the form of denouncing the Beghards, who were unauthorized by the Pope, but he declared that if others found the cap to fit, it was their own affair. Among the charges which he brought against the mendicants, was their approval, or even authorship, of the *Everlasting Gospel*,[1] which was published in 1254. Meanwhile the university refused obedience to the Papal decrees, and determined to dissolve itself rather than admit the Dominican professors; but this extreme measure was not fully carried out. The mendicants arraigned St. Amour before the Bishop of Paris, for publishing a libel defamatory of the Pope; and when he offered to clear himself by a canonical oath, 4000 scholars came forward as his compurgators.

In 1256 the Pope appealed to King Louis IX. (St. Louis), himself a Fransciscan tertiary, demanding the banishment of St. Amour and three other chief opponents of the friars. While the decision was pending, William published a summary of his sermons against the mendicant orders, in his famous book "*On the Perils of the last Times.*"[2] From the text of St. Paul's warning to Timothy, he applies the characters drawn by the Apostle to the professed zealots, but real enemies, of the Church. In their pretended state of perfection, seeking temporal honour for themselves to the offence of many, they were "lovers of their own selves" rather than of God.[3] They "crept into houses,"[4] where the care of souls did not belong to them, prying into family secrets as unauthorized confessors. Turning to the Lord's own warning, that "many *false prophets* shall arise and shall deceive many," he all but explicitly identifies them with the friars who took upon themselves to preach; and boldly controverts the whole principle of mendicancy, "because those who choose to live by beggary become flatterers and slanderers and liars and thieves, and fall away from justice." To the question, how the perfect man is to live when he has left all,

[1] See Chap. XXV. p. 423.

[2] *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*, referring to 2 Tim. iii. 1: "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come." The work is in the form of two sermons, under fourteen heads. It is printed in the Appendix to Edward Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, p. 18 f., and the Works of William, edited by De Flavigny, Constantiæ (Paris), 1632. For an abstract of the work, and for the heads of his charges against the friars, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 243–4, and Brewer, Preface to *Monum. Francisc.* pp. xxxvi.-vii. Thomas Aquinas replied in his *Opusculum* (xix.) *contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem;* Bonaventura in his *Liber Apologeticus in eos qui Ordini FF. Min. adversantur*, also in his *De Paupertate Christi contra Mag. Gulielmum*, and other tracts in vol. vii. of his works. Tillemont has an elaborate essay on William of St. Amour in his *Vie de Louis IX.*, pp. 133 f.

[3] 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* 6.

he answers, "By working with his own hands, or by entering a monastery." The plea, that such mendicancy had been licensed by the Church, he treats as of no avail, because "they do it against the Apostle and other Scriptures;" and he boldly asserts the principle that the Church is fallible and ought to confess and rectify its errors:—"Wherefore even if it had been confirmed by the Church in error, it ought to be revoked on discovering the truth: *for we do not deny that the sentence of the Roman See can be changed for the better.*"

Such doctrines seem to have been too bold even for the secular clergy in whose defence they were advanced, or the influence of the court and the friars prevailed, for the book was condemned by an assembly of bishops at Paris. King Louis sent it to the Pope, who handed it over for examination to four cardinals, one of whom, Hugo de St. Cler, was a Dominican, and so a judge in his own cause. At the same time the University sent a deputation, consisting of William himself, and the same three whom the Pope had before denounced with him. The Dominicans also sent a deputation, of which Thomas Aquinas, now in his thirtieth year, was a member; and to his splendid advocacy of their cause the victory is, in a great measure, ascribed. Alexander was at Anagni, and on William's arrival there he found that his book had already been condemned, not as heretical, but as "unjust, wicked, and execrable," and tending to stir up hatred and scandal against the mendicants; and it had been burnt in the Pope's presence before the cathedral. After defending himself with courage and address, he was forbidden to return to France, and withdrew to his native town of St. Amour, where he remained till after the Pope's death.[1]

Notwithstanding his own defeat, William and his colleagues struck a return blow at the Franciscans by obtaining from the

[1] *Franche Comté* was not yet a part of the French kingdom. In 1263 William was permitted by a Bull of Urban IV. to return to Paris, where he produced an improved edition of his book, and defended it against the censures of Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, the last of whom really confirms many of William's charges in his tract *de Reformandis Fratribus*, and his letter to a provincial minister, already cited. The new edition of the work, entitled *Collectiones Catholicæ et Canonicæ contra Pericula imminentia Ecclesiæ universali per hypocritas, pseudo-prædicatores, &c.*, was sent by William to Clement IV. (1266), whose letter, after reading a part of it, cautions the writer against displaying his old animosity (*Epist.* 394). William died in 1270. "We are told by a contemporary Franciscan writer that he drew away many members from the mendicant orders (Salimb. 233); and the popular poetry of the time gives evidence of the strong impression which his attacks on them had made on the general mind. See *Roman de la Rose*, 12,225 f.; and Chaucer's translation." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 599.)

Pope the condemnation of the "Everlasting Gospel," which was ordered to be burnt privately, and, if possible, without bringing scandal on the brethren; and also the other writings which were said to have emanated from the corrupt source of Joachim. So says Matthew Paris (*s. a.* 1256), adding that "by the vigilance and carefulness of Cardinal Hugh and the Bishop of Messina, who belonged to the order of Preachers, this was done cautiously and secretly, so the disturbance was quieted for a time." The chronicler represents the popular feeling in this conflict as adverse to the friars.

§ 8. The University was now forced to submit, and to induct to their chairs and the doctor's degree the representatives of the two orders, Aquinas and Bonaventura (1257). The text which Thomas, struggling with deep humility and prayer, was bidden by a vision of St. Dominic[1] himself to choose for his act (Psalm civ. 13)—expounding it as an allegory of Christ watering his Church with grace through the sacraments—is applied by his biographer Touron as a prophecy of how Thomas himself should water the whole Church with the showers of his wisdom, "since it is manifest to every one throughout the whole world, that among the Catholic faithful nothing is taught, whether of philosophy or theology, in any of the schools, but what is drawn out of his writings:"—words which exactly describe the place lately assigned to St. Thomas by the encyclical of Leo XIII.

After two years spent at Paris in the work of his chair and remodelling the Benedictine schools, he was summoned by the Pope to Italy, where he spent eight or nine years of immense intellectual activity. "At Rome, Civita Vecchia, Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, and perhaps other cities, he delivered courses of theological lectures with brilliant success, and constantly preached in the churches. Of the Holy See he was the unfailing counsellor on many a difficult question; from his cell an incessant stream of writings was poured forth. In the earlier part of this period, Clement IV. issued a brief conferring on him the archbishopric of Naples; but the prospect of the elevation caused him such profound melancholy and anguish of soul, that he found no peace till, at his earnest request, the brief was withdrawn. His next move was back to Paris, where he was received with signal honour by the King, then on the eve of his second crusade; and for about two years he reoccupied his old chair of theology. Only one more sphere of work was allowed him. Among the universities which competed for the benefit of his

[1] It is almost superfluous to add that the saint's whole life, from before his birth to his death, is adorned with supernatural signs. For a graphic description of the act of his Doctorate, see the *Quarterly Review*, p. 117.

teaching, the preference was assigned to Naples; and thus, for the brief remainder of his life, he presided, as the greatest living master of Theology, in the place where, as a stripling he had first sat on the scholars' bench."[1] Here he was soon overtaken by that premature end, described by his biographer in the spirit of the time, in terms which really mean that, like his master Albert, but at a much earlier age, "his overwrought brain began to give way. He was leading a very ascetic life, eating only once a day, and allowing himself so little repose, that he is described as 'always either praying, teaching, writing or dictating;' and he was eagerly pushing on with the third and last part of his greatest work, the *Summa Theologica*, which was approaching completion, when he began to see such frequent visions as to give the impression of one who almost dwelt in the unseen world. The crisis seems to have come in the shape of a strange rapture or trance, which visibly shook and changed his whole frame as he was celebrating mass. From that time the pen fell from his idle hands; he neither wrote nor dictated; and, although urged for the glory of God and the illumination of the world to carry on his great treatise to a conclusion, to every entreaty he replied, that 'all he had written seemed now to him but so much rubbish, compared with what had been revealed to him in his trance.' While he was in this state, he was ordered by Pope Gregory X. to attend the Council convoked at Lyons for the purpose of negociating with the Eastern Church, and to bring with him his famous treatise against the Greeks. With his usual obedience he set out, but fever coming on he took refuge in the Cistercian monastery of Fossa Nuova, near Terracina, where after a month's gradual wasting he peacefully passed away on March 7, 1274, the day afterwards assigned to him in the Roman Calendar, being probably just about forty-eight years old."[2]

Thus, of the two great masters of Scholastic Theology and the rival orders, the one died on his way to the Council at which the other only just lived to receive the dignity of a cardinal; nor need what is repulsive in the systems which fettered their minds

[1] *Quarterly Review*, p. 118.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 119, 120. There is no contemporary authority or real evidence for the suspicion, characteristic of the age and alluded to by Dante (*Purgat.* xx. 69), that Thomas was poisoned by the contrivance of Charles of Anjou, whether for fear of his reporting to the Pope the King's cruelties, or from the apprehension that his elevation to the cardinalate would enhance the power of the family of Aquino. St. Thomas was canonized by John XXII. in 1323; and in 1567 the Dominican Pope Pius V. assigned to him the next place after the four great doctors of the West, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. The sixth place was assigned to Bonaventura by Sixtus V. in 1587.

and souls make us shrink from using the words first pronounced over one at least more faulty: "they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." The "sweetness and light" of Bonaventura has a parallel in the character which the recent essayist has drawn of Aquinas;[1] that, notwithstanding the essential error of the monastic idea of perfection, "he was really one of those elect and saintly souls, of whom it may be said that their virtues were their own, but their defects those of their time. . . . We cannot doubt that Thomas of Aquino was, by divine grace, a man of rare saintliness both of temperament and conduct."

§ 9. The system of philosophical theology set forth in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas is of supreme importance in Ecclesiastical History, not only as intellectually perhaps the most perfect work of the Scholastic age, but because it has been adopted as the authoritative standard of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church. Such preëminence is reported to have been assigned to Thomas by the saying of his great master, Albert, that he had "put an end to all labour even unto the world's end." From the first, the Dominicans accepted the teaching of the "Angel of the Schools" as their standard of orthodoxy, which every member of the order was bound to accept and to defend. We shall see presently how vehemently this theological primacy was contested on behalf of the great Franciscan master, Duns Scotus; but the decision of the Roman Church was given for the *Thomists* against the *Scotists*. Repeated Papal Bulls, Decrees of Councils, and Statutes of Universities and Religious Orders, prescribed the writings of Aquinas as the most perfect guide alike of faith and reason; and at the Council of Trent, nearly three centuries after his death, a copy of his *Summa Theologica* was laid on the secretary's desk, beside the Holy Scriptures and the Pontifical decrees, as containing the orthodox solution of all theological questions. From the epoch when the Church of Rome put its doctrine into formal array against the reformed faith, another three centuries found her rallying her spiritual forces to repair her temporal humiliation. Another General Council had tried to strengthen St. Peter's rock by the new foundation of Papal Infallibility, when a new Pope was called on to devise, if possible, a standard of rational faith, which should confirm believers and present an impregnable front to all intel-

[1] *Quarterly Review*, pp. 118-119. The reader is referred to the whole passage, which is too long for quotation here. For the rest, the reviewer has treated the character and works of Thomas Aquinas so fully and with such consummate ability, that little remains except to condense what he has written, referring to the essay itself for fuller information.

lectual opposition:—a remedy, like the prophet's healing tree, for "the bitterness of our times," the cause of which he found in "the evil teaching about things human and divine, which has come forth from the schools of the philosophers." In his *Encyclical Letter on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy in Catholic Universities, according to the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor*, Leo XIII. wrote:[1]—"Far above all other scholastic doctors towers Thomas Aquinas, their master and prince . . . . So far as man is concerned, Reason can now hardly rise higher than she rose, borne up in the flight of Thomas, and Faith can hardly gain more helps and greater helps from Reason, than those which Thomas gave her. . . . . We therefore exhort all of you, Venerable Brothers, with the greatest earnestness, to restore the golden wisdom of St. Thomas, and to spread it as far as you can, for the safety and glory of the Catholic faith, for the good of society, and for the increase of all the sciences. Let teachers carefully chosen by you do their best to instil the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas into the minds of their hearers, and let them clearly point out its solidity and excellence above all other teaching. Let this doctrine be the light of all places of learning which you have already opened or may hereafter open. Let it be used for the refutation of errors that are gaining ground." It becomes, therefore, of supreme importance to understand the system thus authoritatively identified with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church in these last times.

§ 10. In the Dominican church of St. Catherine at Pisa is to be seen a picture painted in honour of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the age succeeding his own, by Francesco Fraini, a pupil of Orcagna. It is thus described by Father Vaughan:—"The SAINT is in the centre; above him is represented the ALMIGHTY in a sea of light, surrounded by choirs of angels; below, in the clouds, are MOSES, the EVANGELISTS, and ST. PAUL. From the Eternal Father lines of light shine down upon these men of God; and from them, in a threefold ray, concentrate upon the forehead of the Angelical. On either side of St. Thomas, somewhat lower down, are PLATO and ARISTOTLE, the one holding the *Timæus* open before him, the other the *Ethics*; and from each of these a beam ascends and fastens itself on the brow of the Angelical, harmonizing with the divine illumination which proceeds from the Everlasting Father. The Saint himself is seated; the Sacred Scriptures lie open before

[1] The *Encyclical of Leo XIII.* is published in an English translation by Father Rawes, D.D., with a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, London, 1879.

him: whilst he, calm, gentle, and majestic, points to the first word of the *Summa contra Gentiles*, 'My mouth shall meditate truth, and my lips shall hate the impious one.' The *impious one* is *Averroes*, who lies prostrate at his feet with the *Commentary* at his side, struck by one of the flashes which shoot from the pages of the inspired writings unrolled upon the knees of the Angel of the Schools."

The symbolism of this picture is accepted by the essayist[1] as a fit introduction to the writings of St. Thomas. "From two sources, Revelation and Reason, the one having the Sacred Writings, the other the Greek philosophers, for its organ, the Saint derives this illumination; and from this combination of the supernatural with the natural proceed the immortal works, in which he establishes Theology upon an impregnable basis of Philosophy, and overthrows all the errors of heretics and unbelievers. In accordance with this representation, the writings of St. Thomas may be broadly divided into three classes, which may be conveniently designated the *Expository*, the *Philosophical*, and the *Scholastic*: the *first* commenting on Scripture, setting forth its doctrines according to the received traditions of the Church; the *second* establishing a metaphysical system and logical method, by the voice of Reason and the light of Nature; the *third* fusing the doctrines of the Church with the philosophy of Reason, so as to present the sum total of Truth in an organized scientific form, purged from every kind of error, and standing 'four-square and immovable'—to borrow Cardinal Manning's phrase in his Preface to the *Encyclical*—against all the Church's enemies."

(i.) The first class of his writings was based on a profound knowledge of the Sacred Text; especially if we are to believe the story that, during the year or two of his early incarceration by his brothers *he learnt the entire Bible by heart.*[2] His biographers call in the power of miracle to explain the tenacity of memory with which he used the materials collected with vast diligence in his journeys on foot from monastery to monastery in that age when the aid of printing was unknown. No less than eighty writers, from the earliest age of Christianity down to his own time, were laid under

[1] *Quarterly Review*, pp. 121–2. Besides editions of separate treatises, the collected Works of St. Thomas have been published in folio at Rome, 1570, 17 vols.; Antwerp, 1617, 18 vols.; Paris, 1660, 23 vols.; in quarto, Venice, 1745, 28 vols.; Parma, 1852, *seqq.*; and, edited by Migne, *Patrolog.*, vol. 217, *seq.*; P. P. Fretté and Maré, Paris, 1871–80, 33 vols. The first volume of a new and spendid edition in folio, was issued in 1882 from the press of the *Propaganda* at Rome, under the auspices of Leo XIII., with 346 pages of Introduction, &c.

[2] This refers, of course, to the Vulgate; for it is important to remember, with regard to the whole range of Thomas's works, that he was not among the Schoolmen who acquired a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.

contribution to link together a continuous Exposition of the four Gospels, which he entitled the 'Golden Chain' (*Catena Aurea*). Among the Fathers of the Church, he makes most use of Origen, Hilary, Chrysostom, and Augustine; and after them, Remigius, Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and Anselm. The extracted passages are given according to the sense rather than the exact words, and are woven together so as to form a continuous exposition of the text, with a combination of deep learning and clear arrangement, which has led Cardinal Newman to pronounce the work as scarcely to be surpassed for "masterly and architectonic skill." And the *Catena* is but one of St. Thomas's voluminous Commentaries on a large part of the Bible.

(ii.) Of his philosophical works, by far the most important are his *Commentaries on Aristotle*, in which he pursues the example first set by his master, Albert, of laying the scientific foundation of systematic theology in the method and doctrines of the Stagyrite. "Here his aim was to build up, on the basis of reason, a complete science or theory of Being, which he might afterwards employ to illustrate and confirm the dogmas taught authoritatively by the Church." In the great controversy of the Schools. Aquinas cannot be ranked strictly with either the Realists or the Nominalists: his position has been described as an *Aristotelian Realist*. "Like the orthodox in general, he ranged himself with the moderate section of the Realists, who, while holding that Universals—namely genera and species—are more than mere mental abstractions, and have a real existence, yet limited them to an existence in the *individual*, and refused to attribute to them any antecedent or independent existence." The philosophy of Aquinas is the culmination of the process which we have traced since the beginning of the century as to the acceptance of the works of Aristotle, by which "the Schoolmen, having vindicated them from Mahommedan and Jewish misuse, and remodelled their teaching so as to bring it into accordance with the dogmas of the Church, went on to make them the main basis and support of Christian theology. Thus Rationalism, against which, since the days of Abelard, a fierce struggle had been waged, was now attacked and routed by its own weapons, and faith was wedded to reason in an alliance which it was hoped would prove indissoluble. In this work of buttressing authority by philosophy, and vindicating orthodoxy by the light of nature, as the way was led by Albert, so his greater pupil carried it on to perfection; and the consequence has been, that the stately edifice of Systematic Theology, reared in the Church of the West by the labours of the Schools, reposes on the foundation laid by the great luminary of Pagan Greece."

(iii.) The philosophy of Aquinas, as of the other schoolmen, was but the vestibule to the inner sanctuary of systematic theology; and how the one led to the other is well described by Bishop Hampden:[1]—"The object of the Scholastic Philosophy was to detect and draw forth from the Scripture, by the aid of the subtle analysis of the philosophy of Aristotle, the mystical truths of God on which the Scripture Revelation was supposed to be founded." This attempt to fuse the doctrines of Revelation with the philosophy of Reason, aimed, in fact, at being more rational in form than the Divine Revelation itself, and more binding by its being the authoritative utterance of the voice of the Church. "Under his treatment, Divinity was transmuted into Philosophy, and Philosophy was absorbed into Theology. Henceforth Theology was to present itself to mankind, not merely as the queen of sciences, the crown and completion of the great fabric of knowledge, but as the total sum of science, a philosophy of the universe, embracing everything that could be known about God, angels, men, matter and spirit, and exhibiting, in ordered logical connection, the nature, relations, and destiny of all existences. . . . . Whereas, in Scripture, the things of the Spirit are set forth under the veils of symbols borrowed from the natural world, and metaphors which are suggestive to the heart rather than descriptive to the intellect, now, in the schools, the veils were plucked aside, the figures discarded, and what were supposed to be ultimate and naked realities and essences were brought out into the arena of dialectics."[2] Lord Bacon hit this blot in the Scholastic Theology in one of his pregnant judgments:[3] "As for perfection or completeness in Divinity, it is not to be sought, which makes this course of artificial divinity the more suspect. For he that will reduce a knowledge into an art, will make it round and uniform; but in Divinity many things must be left abrupt and concluded with this—'O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!' So again the Apostle saith, 'We know in part;' and *to have the form of a total* where there is but matter for a part, cannot be without supplies by supposition and presumption."

§ 11. This judgment strikes at once at the whole principle involved

[1] *Bampton Lectures on the Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology*, 1832. The whole is well worth study.

[2] *Quarterly Review*, pp. 124–5. See also his development of the idea, that the Scholastic Theology of Aquinas was the apotheosis of Rationalism, though with the Church's bit in its mouth. We must be content to refer to the Essay itself for the elaborate analysis of the theological works and discussion of their principles, method, and style.

[3] *Advancement of Learning.*

in the very title of the great work, which was the crowning achievement of St. Thomas's life and of the whole teaching of the Schoolmen,—his *Summa Theologica*, which may be described as an encyclopædia of Scholastic Divinity, cast into three divisions, corresponding to *Entities*, *Morals*, and *Sacramentals*. "Under the first are treated the arguments for the existence of God, now distinguished as the cosmological, because based on the evidences of causation and order in the universe; the Divine nature and attributes; the Trinity; the creation of angels, the physical world, and mankind; the Divine Providence and government. Under the second, the end for which man was created; the nature and causes of his actions; his virtues and vices. Under the third, the Incarnation, its mode and consequences, as being the source of all sacraments, itself the sacrament hid from eternity in God; the seven sacraments of the Church, with their nature, condition, and effects; the final resurrection and consummation of all things. . . . The part which most closely touches the earth, and has a practical basis in human experience, is the second; the latter half of which, treating of virtues and vices, and technically known as the *Secunda Secundæ*, was for at least three hundred years the ethical code of Western Christendom, and had the merit, to borrow Sir James Mackintosh's phrase, of 'laying the grounds of duty in the nature of man, and the wellbeing of society.'"[1]

The method of the work is that common to all St. Thomas's theological writings, of which "it may be said generally, that while they differ in their immediate occasion and purpose, they have such a family resemblance in the nature and style of their contents, as to make it difficult, on taking a page at hazard, to guess to which it belongs. The plan usually adopted by him is, to present for discussion some *Question* or *Proposition*; to state as strongly as possible the arguments which have been or may be advanced in favour of a *wrong* answer or solution; to follow these with the *orthodox determination*, and the *authorities* or *reasons* for it, whether drawn from the Bible, the Fathers, or Aristotle, who always figures as the philosopher, *par excellence*; and lastly to reply in order to the opposing arguments. Thus each question is thoroughly sifted and threshed out, before it is dismissed for the next. One consequence of this method is that these volumes, besides containing the grounds for the beliefs sanctioned by the Church, are also storehouses of all kinds of erroneous, heretical, and infidel opinions,

[1] *Quarterly Review*, pp. 136–7. To show better than by any description the manner in which Theology is treated in this encyclopædic treatise, the author of the essay collects some examples of the questions scattered here and there over its thousands of pages.

and of the arguments by which they may be advocated, and are a very manual of heterodoxy as well as of orthodoxy." Not only is the tone throughout that of cold, calm, passionless logic; but we feel that the logical deductions from the propositions stated are offered us in place of the truth we are supposed to be seeking, and so the judgment is sound that "the Theology elaborated by the Schoolmen, just so far as it is scholastic and philosophical, is not in any real sense *Theology* at all, but is simply an *exposition of the terms* under which the subject-matter of Theology is conceived by the human mind. . . . After we have been permitted to see every conceivable dialectic feat performed with such terms as *essence, spirit, personality, substance, accidents*, and so forth, we cannot be said to have gained any addition to our knowledge of the *things themselves* for which these terms stand; it is only by confusing the very realities themselves with the propositions about them, which are merely modes of our own understanding, that the semblance of an increase in our knowledge is produced. To discuss the properties of the Godhead, the mode of the Incarnation, the action of divine grace on the human will, the difference between the essence of an angel and the essence of a human soul, and other similar topics, through a thousand pages of subtle analysis and irrefragable deduction, may at first strike us as an astonishing display of intellectual force, and impress us with the idea that the mysteries of Being have been penetrated and laid open to our gaze; but, when we seriously examine what trustworthy additions have been made to our knowledge, it will probably be found that the discussions have been for the most part a mere playing with words, and the apparent progress in science little more than a barren round within the circle of our own definitions and conceptions.

"But we would not be unjust. In its own line and way, the embattled and mighty fortress of Scholastic Divinity, reared by Thomas Aquinas for the defence of the faith of Christendom, is a wonderful achievement. It shows what Logic can do with Theology, on the supposition that divine and spiritual truths can be profitably handled by its methods; it sums up, with an unparalleled lucidity of arrangement, the wholy body of knowledge and thought about the Universe, to which the orthodoxy of the Middle Ages had attained: it was the instrument of training the intellect of Europe for centuries; and it became the starting-point from which the human mind essayed fresh flights, when it came to discern more clearly the difference between the realities of existence and the modes and forms under which the understanding conceives them. Giants' work the whole structure may justly be called; and

although in our altered circumstances its pertinency has passed away, and the stir of life has vanished from its empty halls, it stands for ever as an imperishable landmark in the development of human culture."[1]

§ 12. It remains to make brief mention of the other theological works of Thomas Aquinas, of which the *Summa Theologica* was the last crowning achievement. All of them, including this last and greatest, fall into three classes, according to their particular purpose: the *Academical*, consisting mainly of professorial lectures and disputations; the *Polemical*, directed against particular errors; and the *Systematic* or *Synoptical*, exhibiting the whole body of truth in a scientific arrangement. Though in the last class the *Summa Theologica* stands alone, several others are less complete essays of the same kind. Such is the earliest and largest of his academical works, the voluminous *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, comprising the teaching of Thomas from his chair of divinity at Paris. Next to the refined ontological questions about the Deity and the Trinity, perhaps the most curious part of this work is the "*Distinctions concerning Angels*; an extremely favourite subject with the Schoolmen, whom we might imagine to have possessed as accurate an acquaintance with the structure, properties, and habits of angelic beings as our most skilful anatomists and physiologists can pretend to have acquired, by long observation and experiment, with the human body. Among a host of questions proposed for solution, and triumphantly worked out to definite conclusions, we find these:—Whether angels are compounded of matter and form. Whether they possess personality. Whether there is a definite number of angels. Whether every angel forms a distinct species. Whether all angels belong to the same genus. Whether an angel differs in species from a human soul."

Equally curious and difficult are his collection of academical discussions on difficult questions, entitled *Quæstiones Disputatæ*, and the smaller supplementary collection of Miscellaneous Questions (*Quæstiones Quodlibetales* i.e. *What you please*), which appears to have originated in the problems submitted to St. Thomas for solution by persons who desired to profit by his faculty for subtle argumentation, and deals with matters which for the most part may be pronounced as unedifying as they are certainly curious.

§ 13. Of the *Polemical* division of St. Thomas's theological writings, the most important is that entitled *Summa contra Gentiles*, or "Concerning the truth of the Catholic Faith against the errors of

[1] *Quarterly Review*, pp. 127–129.

Heathens and Infidels." We have spoken before of the prevalence of pantheistic and other heretical doctrines with which Western Christendom had been overspread by the Arabian and Jewish philosophy introduced from the East and the Moorish schools of Spain, and which the friars deemed it a special part of their mission to counteract. The Spanish Dominican Raymund had urged the general of the order to enlist the abilities of their ablest divine in defence of the orthodox creed; and at his request Thomas undertook the work.[1] "It was begun in 1261, and occupied about three years. It is remarkable for its scientific order and logical compactness. Of the four books into which it is divided, the first treats of the nature of God; the second, of His relation to the creature; the third, of His providence and grace; and the last, of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Sacraments. It thus sweeps across the whole field of Theology; and as it deals its strokes at the earlier heresies, as well as those of the Saracenic and Jewish schools which were its immediate occasion, it soon became a convenient armoury of weapons to equip orthodox controversialists for their batties with the enemies of the Church." But it furnishes another example of those faults of the scholastic method, which make it of as little permanent use in apologetic as in systematic divinity.

The *Summa contra Græcos* deals with that old controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches, in the vainly-hoped-for settlement of which Thomas was summoned to Lyon as a chief champion, when he died on the way. But it had been written several years before, under circumstances which are of special interest as accounting for the appearance for the first time, in this work of so cautious a theologian, of the claim of the personal infallibility of the Roman Pope. In the discussions connected with the Vatican Council of 1870, where the authority of St. Thomas was invoked as decisive, the true story was told by the able opponent who wrote under the name of *Janus*:—"A Latin theologian, probably a Dominican, who had resided among the Greeks, composed a *catena of spurious passages* of Greek Councils and Fathers, St. Chrysostom, the two Cyrils, and a pretended Maximus, containing a dogmatic basis for these novel Papal claims. In 1261 it was laid before Urban IV. . . . . Urban, evidently deceived himself, sent the document to Thomas Aquinas, who inserted the whole of what concerned the Primacy into his work against the Greeks, without

[1] See the analysis in the *Quarterly Review*, pp. 132–3. The story that he wrote this treatise in shorthand on waste scraps of paper is illustrated by the frequent complaints of the want of writing materials in the letters of Adam de Marisco, in the *Monum. Francisc.*

the least suspicion of its not being genuine. . . . . It left no doubt on his mind, that the great Councils and most influential bishops and theologians of the 4th and 5th centuries had recognized in the Pope an infallible monarch, who ruled the Church with absolute power. . . . It was, then, on the basis of fabrications invented by a monk of his own Order, and on the forgeries found in Gratian, that St. Thomas built up his Papal system." To which the essayist adds:—"There is reason for believing that St. Thomas afterwards became aware of the cheat which had been put upon him; for, as Father Gratry remarks in his pungent letters, where also the story is told, the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility not only finds no place in the saint's final and complete Summary of the Church's faith, but the language used there about the Pope and the episcopal order is incompatible with it."

Of the numerous minor polemical tracts of Aquinas, it is only necessary to mention the two which he wrote as the champion of the friars in their conflict with the University of Paris and William of St. Amour:—namely, "Against those who attack Religion and the worship of God," and "Against the pestilential doctrine of those who dissuade men from entering into Religion." "These books were esteemed so masterly a defence of the principles of the Religious or Monastic life, that they not only carried the Friars triumphantly through the storm, but have ever since been regarded by the Regulars of the Church of Rome as a sort of Charter of Monasticism."[1]

§ 14. It is not surprising to find that his contemporaries were far from ready to make a unanimous award of that supremacy to which he ultimately attained. The persistent opposition of the Doctors of the University of Paris was shared by the Franciscans, both at Paris and Oxford, while his cause was undertaken by his own order. Immediately after his death, a powerful antagonist, Henricus Gandavensis, called forth a defence by Robert, an Oxford Dominican.[2] In 1276, Tempien, bishop of Paris, and a chief member of the theological faculty, condemned some propositions from the writings of Aquinas, and the University of Oxford concurred in the censure.[3] In 1285, a Franciscan, William de Lamare, wrote at Oxford a *Reprehensorium Fr. Thomæ*,[4] to which several Dominicans replied. On the other hand, in 1286, a General Chapter of the Dominicans at Paris prescribed to the order the advancement and defence of the doctrine of Aquinas, and decreed suspension against all dissentients. After the canonization of St. Thomas by

[1] *Quarterly Review*, p. 134.
[2] *Protectorium Thomæ Aquinatis*, Bulæus, iii. 469; Gieseler, iii. 304.
[3] Bulæus, iii. 448, 482. [4] D'Argentré, i. 218.

John XXII., Stephanus de Borreto, bishop of Paris, abrogated the adverse decisions of his predecessors (1325); and a few years later (1342) a Dominican chapter at Carcassonne recited the approval of the Angelic Doctor's teaching by the Apostolic see, the chief doctors of the Church, and the University of Paris, as a reason for imposing it on all lecturers and students as the rule of orthodoxy, *according to which they were to determine all questions and doubts.*[1] As late as 1387, however, the University of Paris, in a letter to the Pope, still found much to censure in the writings of St. Thomas.[2]

§ 15. For some time, in fact, after his death, there were two *rival schools of Scholastic Theology*, named after their two great masters, *Thomists* and *Scotists*, the one Dominican and the other Franciscan, representing the opinions prevalent respectively at Paris and at Oxford. Of the British Franciscan, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS,[3] the *Subtle Doctor*, who thus vied with Thomas for the sceptre of the divinity schools, so little unfortunately is known, that his name has been punned on to symbolize the obscurity (σκότος, *darkness*). If we are to accept the chief positive testimony as to his age, that he was only 34 at his death in 1308, his birth would fall in the very year in which Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura died. And, however improbable it may seem that one who died so early should have written the wonderful works which fill 13 folio volumes (not including his Sermons and voluminous Commentaries), yet there is clearly no mention of his fame till the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. The circumstance, too, that many of his arguments take the form of a direct answer to those of Thomas, tends to confirm their relation in point of time. Had they been contemporaries, their conflict would have filled the schools and re-echoed through after ages.

As a student at Oxford (where he may very possibly have been a pupil of Roger Bacon), he is said to have shown a genius for mathematics; and he taught with immense popularity as a Doctor of Theology there, and afterwards at Paris and Cologne, where he died. Of his philosophical works, the chief are his voluminous

[1] Holsten, ed. Brockie, iv. 114.

[2] Launoy, *de varia Aristotelis in Acad. Paris. fortuna*, c. 10.

[3] The chief authorities are his Life prefixed to his Works, by Wadding, 12 vols. folio, Lugd. 1649; F. Albergoni, *Resolutio Doctrinæ Scoticæ*, Lugd. 1643; Baumgarten-Crusius, *de Theol. Scoti*, Jenæ, 1826. Even the place which gave him his surname is doubtful: whether Duns in the Merse (Berwickshire), as is said by Spotswood (ann. 1328), or Dunston near Alnwick. Some even (very improbably) understand the epithet *Scotus* in its old sense of *Irish*. It is a curious sign of the contempt of the next age for the Schoolmen, that the wittiest among them (as Hooker calls him) bequeathed the word *dunce* to our language.

Commentaries on Aristotle; in theology, his great work was in the form of Questions on the four books of Peter Lombard's Sentences,[1] besides a supplement of *Quæstiones Quodlibetales*, like the similar collection of Aquinas. The Franciscans raised this "Doctor of the Order," as he is called by his pupil Ockham, to the same supreme place of authority, as the standard of orthodoxy, both philosophical and theological, that the Dominicans assigned to Thomas;[2] and the schools were thenceforth divided into the rival parties of *Thomists* and *Scotists:* the one Aristotelian, the other Platonist; the one Augustinian, the other Semi-Pelagian;[3] the one cautiously resisting, while the other embraced with Franciscan fervour, the new dogma of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception.

The great historian of philosophy, Ritter, characterizes Duns Scotus as "without doubt the acutest and most penetrating spirit of the Middle Ages;" and Dean Milman[4] pronounces "the toil and rapidity of this man's mental productiveness perhaps the most wonderful fact in the intellectual history of our race. The vast writings of Duns Scotus spread out as the dreary sandy wilderness of philosophy; . . . without an image, perhaps without a superfluous word, except the eternal logical formularies and amplifications. The mind of Duns might seem a wonderful reasoning machine: whatever was thrown into it came out in syllogisms; of the coarsest texture, yet in perfect flawless pattern. Logic was the idol of Duns; and this logic-worship is the key to his whole philosophy. Logic was asserted by him not to be an art, but a science: ratiocination was not an instrument, a means for discovering truth; it was an ultimate end, its conclusions were truth. Even his language was Logic-worship. . . . his Latinity is a barbarous jargon. His subtle distinctions constantly demanded new words: he made them without scruple. Scotus has neither the philosophic dignity nor the calm wisdom of Thomas; he is rude, polemic, and does not want theological hatred. Duns Scotus is an

[1] *Quæstiones in Libros IV. Sententiarum.* The work exists in two forms: the *Opus Parisiense* and the more complete *Opus Oxoniense s. Anglicanum*, edited by Hugo Cavellus, Antwerp, 1620, 2 vols. folio.

[2] Thus Wadding says (*Annales Minorum*, s. a. 1308, § 64): "In aliquot comitiis generalibus statutum est, ut lectores omnes et magistri, tam in cursu philosophico quam theologico, ejus sententiam sequerentur;" but he does not say when this rule was first adopted.

[3] Duns Scotus himself regarded Pelagianism as a heresy just as much as Thomas did, but he defined its nature differently. For extracts, exhibiting the views of Thomas and Scotus, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 308–9.

[4] *Lat. Christ.*, vol. ix. p. 141. It may suffice to refer the student to the Dean's analysis of Duns's very abstruse philosophy and theology, of which the central doctrine is the universality and eternity of matter, but saved from heresy by his peculiarly subtle distinctions.

Aristotelian beyond Aristotle; a Platonist beyond Plato: at the same time the most sternly orthodox of Theologians.[1]

"The war of Scotists and Thomists long divided the Schools, not the less fierce from the utter darkness in which it was enveloped. It is not easy to define in what consisted their implacable, unforgiven points of difference. If each combatant had been compelled rigidly to define every word or term which he employed, concord might not perhaps have been impossible; but words were their warfare, and the war of words their business, their occupation, their glory. The Conceptualism or Eclecticism of St. Thomas admitted so much Realism under other forms of speech; the Realism of Duns Scotus was so absolutely a Realism of words, reality was with him something so thin and unsubstantial;—the Augustinianism of St. Thomas was so guarded and tempered by his high ethical tone, by his assertion of the loftiest Christian morality; the Pelagianism charged against Scotus is so purely metaphysical, so balanced by his constant, for him vehement, vindication of Divine grace, only with notions of its mode of operation peculiar to his philosophy, and with almost untraceable distinctions as to its mode of influence;—that nothing less than the inveterate pugnacity of Scholastic teaching, and the rivalry of the two Orders, could have perpetuated the strife. That strife was no doubt heightened and embittered by their real differences, which touched the most sensitive part of the Medieval Creed, the worship of the Virgin. This was coldly and irreverently limited by the refusal of the Dominican to acknowledge her immaculate conception and birth; wrought to a height above all former height by the passionate maintenance of that tenet in every Franciscan cloister, by every Franciscan theologian."[2]

[1] Ritter says (p. 336): "The direction which he gave to his science is thoroughly ecclesiastical." "He adopts the phrase ascribed to St. Augustine, that he would not believe the Gospel but on the witness of the Church. The power of the keys he extends not only to temporal, but to eternal punishments, adding, however, that in this, as in other things, the priest acts only as the instrument of God, who could use the ministry even of an evil angel to complete a valid baptism" (!).

[2] One of the most distinguished opponents of the Scotist Pelagianism was THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the *Doctor Profundus*, who was reader of Theology at Oxford (1348 f.), and, having been made Archbishop of Canterbury, was carried off by the Black Death within the year (1349). In his work *De Causa Dei adv. Pelagium Libri III.* (ed. Savile, Lond. 1618) he complains that, like the 850 priests of Baal, all the world had gone after the error of Pelagius; but we are told that, in that age, absorbed in scholastic subtilties and ignorant of Augustine, even Bradwardine's strong predestinarianism failed to rouse any excited opposition (Raynaldus, ann. 1372). There is a monograph on this great and pious English Schoolman, or, as others consider him, opponent of Scholasticism, by G. V. Lechler, *De Thoma Bradwardino Commentatio*, Lips. 1863.

Merton College, Oxford.
The College of Roger Bacon, William of Ockham, and Bradwardine.[1]

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE GREATEST OF THE SCHOOLMEN.

ROGER BACON. FROM ABOUT 1214 TO AFTER 1292 A.D.

§ 1. Danger of seekers for truth—The "Wonderful Doctor": his family and early life—Studies at Oxford and Paris—Becomes a Franciscan—Labour and cost of his lifelong studies. § 2. Spirit of his teaching at Oxford—Hampered by the rules of his order—The "unnamed master" of John of Parma. § 3. Writes his three great works by desire of Clement IV. (1266-7)—Difficulties from want of means—Rapidity of their execution—Vast compass of the *Opus Majus*—Want of all help, even of skilled transcribers. § 4. His reward in persecution—No evidence for the charge of *magic*—Confused accounts of his imprisonment, release, and death. § 5. Many of his works lost—Their one great object, the *reformation* of knowledge—The *Opus Majus* the *Encyclopædia* and *Novum Organum* of the 13th century. § 6. The supplemental *Opus Minus* or *Secunda Scriptura*. § 7. The *Opus Tertium* at once a preamble and supplement—Projected encyclopædic work—The *Compendium Philosophiæ*. § 8. His supreme regard for Theology — *Compendium Studii Theologiæ*—Scriptural study contrasted with the Scholastic Divinity. § 9. Bacon's relation to the other Schoolmen — Impediments

[1] The tradition of the College also claims Duns Scotus and Wyclif among its scholars and teachers; but it is now proved that the John Wycliffe of Merton was a different person from the great Schoolman and Reformer. (See Chap. XXXIX.).

to wisdom; chiefly moral — The seven sins of Theology — Criticism of Alexander Hales, and of a living Schoolman. § 10. Want of knowledge of original languages — Youthful and self-sufficient teachers. § 11. Pretence of sanctity among the Friars—Universal corruption in Church and State—Preaching and divine knowledge without theology. § 12. Worldliness and Ignorance of the secular clergy—The friars corrupted by pride of learning—Knowledge not self-acquired—Verdict on the Scholastic Theology—Roger and Francis Bacon—Bacon's practical science and inventions.

§ 1. SCHOLASTICISM, we have said, was a real quest of truth, and a tacit insurrection against that authority which it obeyed in the bonds of orthodoxy.[1] Meanwhile it was at their own peril if any of the nobler minds, which such a time of awakening stimulates to pursue truth for its own sake, dared to think and write as if truth were indeed the supreme object of research. Such was the English Franciscan, ROGER BACON,[2] the *Wonderful Doctor*, whose life considerably overlapped at both ends those of Aquinas and Bonaventura. Born of a good family,[3] at Ilchester, about 1214, he distinguished himself at Oxford[4] for his devotion to mathematical and philosophical studies. At Paris he pursued these and other

[1] See Chap. XXVII. p. 456.

[2] The name is also spelt BACUN; Eccleston, *de Adventu*, &c., *Mon. Francisc.* p. 56. Almost all that is known with any certainty of his life is contained in the account of him in Wood's *Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, as reprinted with notes and corrections by Mr. Brewer, who observes that Wood's article "had the advantage of being derived from a careful perusal of Bacon's MSS., some of which have since disappeared, and others have been destroyed in the fire in the Cottonian Library." Mr. Brewer observes: "Whilst so large a portion of his works exists only in MSS. widely dispersed in different libraries, it would be useless to enter upon an extended sketch either of his life or his literary history."—Preface, p. lxxxiii. f., to his edition (in the Rolls Series) of "Fr. Rogeri Bacon *Opera quædam hactenus Inedita*, vol. i., containing: (i.) *Opus Tertium*; (ii.) *Opus Minus*; (iii.) *Compendium Philosophiæ*, London, 1859." See also an article by Prof. E. H. Plumtre, *Contemporary Review*, July, 1866.

[3] In the factions of Henry III.'s reign, Bacon's brothers and all his family were decided royalists, and suffered heavy losses of property in the King's cause—a circumstance which doubtless helped to predispose Clement IV. in his favour. His own share of the family wealth is attested by his expenditure of 2000*l.* (a very large sum in those days) on his studies. When he wanted aid for the expense of preparing his works for the Pope, his "rich brother" was unable to help him, having been exiled with his mother and other brothers, and reduced to poverty by fines in redeeming his conficated property. (*Opus Tertium*, p. 16.)

[4] An important passage of the *Compendium Studii Theologiæ* quoted below (p. 536, n. [3]) seems to place Bacon's studies at Oxford at the time when Aristotle was first read there by Edmund Rich, probably before he was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1234.

branches of learning with that marvellous success which earned his distinctive title among the Schoolmen; and here he proceeded to the degree of Doctor or Master in Divinity. He is said to have had for his fellow-student and intimate friend at Paris the famous Robert Grosseteste, and at his persuasion to have made his profession as a Franciscan friar; but this account may perhaps confuse him with a namesake of considerable repute in the rival order.[1] The familiar designation of *Friar* Bacon tends rather to conceal the fact, to which he more than once refers, that he had been a devoted student and scientific investigator long years before he took the vows, which not only proved a hindrance to his work, but brought him under the persecution of his jealous and bigoted superiors. In that account to Clement IV. of his great work, which forms the chief authority for his intellectual history, he tells the Pope that he had spent forty years[2] in the study of science and the languages. "I have laboured (he says)[3] from my youth up at the sciences and the tongues; I have sought the friendship of all men among the Latins who had any reputation for knowledge; I have caused youths to be instructed in the languages, in geometry, in arithmetic, in the formation of tables and instruments, and in many needful things besides. I have examined all that is requisite; I know how to proceed, what aids are required, and what are the impediments; but I cannot proceed for want of means. And yet, if any other man had expended as much as I have, certainly a large portion of the desired results might have been achieved. *For during the twenty years that I have especially laboured in the attainment of wisdom, abandoning the vulgar path,*[4] *I have spent upon these pursuits more than* 2000*l.*, not to mention the cost of secret books, of various experiments, languages, instruments, tables, and the like; add to all, the sacrifices I have made to procure the friendship of the wise, and to obtain assistants instructed in the tongues, in geometrical figures, tables, and instruments."

§ 2. The chief scene of Bacon's labours was at Oxford, where his

[1] Namely, the Dominican *Robert* Bacon, who is known as a friend of Grosseteste. (See Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, under the two names.) In the *Hist. Joh. Rossi* (p. 82, ed. Hearne) *Robertus Bacon* is named where Roger is evidently meant. Wood quotes a grammatical work of *Robert Bacon*, which had been attributed to *Roger* (*ap.* Brewer, p. xcix.).

[2] Evidently a round number. The date of the work, 1267, carries the time back to 1227, when Bacon would be 13 years old.

[3] *Op. Maj.* p. 58.

[4] *Neglecto sensu vulgari.* Have we not here a brief but pointed avowal of his severance from the scholastic methods, which we shall presently find him condemning? For the *sensus vulgaris* must be the prevalent spirit of the learning of his time, not that of the ignorant common people.

profession as a friar seems to have been made. Such powers and learning as his were, of course, employed by the order in the work of teaching, in which, Wood tells us from the evidence of his own writings, "he was actuated by such a generous spirit, that he not only freely disclosed to his pupils the most precious and abstruse results of his enquiries, but never more congratulated himself than when he fell in with any one who had genius or inclination to receive his instructions. His lectures were eagerly attended by the members of the University, especially on physical subjects; he acknowledges, however, that some students, especially the Spaniards, received them with ridicule; and that was especially the case when he lectured from the faulty Latin translations of Aristotle and the Arabic philosophers." All this labour and sacrifice on learning for its own sake and imparting it to others was free from the least admixture of the stimulus of the professional pursuit of letters or ambition for the reward of fame; for, when the opportunity came to him at the Pope's call, he had to make this excuse for a short delay:[1] "When your Holiness wrote to me on the last occasion, the writings you demanded were not yet composed, though you supposed they were. For whilst I was in a different state of life,[2] *I had written nothing in philosophy*, nor in my present condition had I ever been required to do so by my superiors; nay, on the contrary, a strict prohibition had been made, under penalty of forfeiture of the book, and many days' fasting on bread and water, if any writing made in our house[3] should be communicated to others."

Here we see the Franciscan rules of poverty and obedience used to suppress a liberty of thought which was the real object of dislike. When he wished to write books at the Pope's desire (which was a secret he was not permitted to plead as his reason), his superiors "insisted with *unspeakable violence* that he should obey their will like the rest."[4] Should this seem inconsistent with the labours of men like Albert, Bonaventura, and Aquinas, there was all the

[1] *Opus Tertium*, c. ii. p. 13.

[2] *In alio statu*—that is, before his profession as a friar.

[3] Bacon adds some statements which throw an interesting light on the production of books in that age, and the *genuineness* of the MSS. handed down to us: "Nor could I get a fair copy made (*littera bona*, the term used in the Pope's letter of request) except by employing transcribers unconnected with our order [the friars did not transcribe MSS., as the monks did]; and then they would have copied my works to serve themselves or others without any regard to my wishes; *as authors' works are often pirated by the knavery of the transcribers at Paris.*" Here is a proof of the corruption of MSS. at the source; copies being sent out with the necessary haste and carelessness of such piratical transcribers, and wanting the supervision of the author.

[4] *Opus Majus*, p. 2; Brewer, pref. p. xix.

difference between a general of the Franciscans and the chosen doctors of the Dominicans expounding philosophy in obedience to the Church, and as the champions of their order in the schools, and the friar working in his cell according to his own view of truth. Nor can we tell how far party spirit may have been at the root of Bacon's long persecution. He may have suffered for his political connections; and we find a hint that he may have been at least suspected of sympathy with the "spiritual" Franciscans and the deposed general, John of Parma.[1]

§ 3. Such a light, however, could not be hidden under the bushel by which the Franciscan rulers meted out truth and wisdom; and the person who most desired it to shine forth was the Pope himself. In 1263 or 1264 the Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina, Guy le Gros (or de Foulques), had been despatched by Urban IV. on a vain mission to mediate in the civil dissensions between Henry III. and the Barons, which had then reached their climax. This seems to have been the occasion which brought Bacon under the cardinal's notice; and even before his elevation to the Papacy in 1265, he had made a request through one Raymund of Laon, a clerk, through whom he appears to have heard of the friar's learning—that Bacon would send him a work embodying the results of his long studies and researches.[2] As Pope Clement IV. he repeated the request, or mandate, which bore the fruit of the three great works, entitled *Opus Majus*,[3] *Opus Minus*,[4] and *Opus Tertium*, by the *Doctor Mirabilis* himself, whose claim to the title would be alone established by the rapidity with which they were composed. The Pope's letter is dated from Viterbo, June 22, 1266, and the year which saw the end of the Barons' War, and the birth of the true parliamentary system, by the *Dictum of Kenilworth*, forms a no less memorable epoch in the history of English literature and science. The command found Bacon in the depth of discouragement, and, if we interpret his words aright, of disgrace with his superiors. For *ten years*, he says, he had been in exile from any hope of reputation for his studies,[5] unheard of by the world, and as if already buried and

[1] We are not aware whether any writer has noticed the passage referred to in the *Prima Fundatio*, &c., p. 533: "Fr. Johannes de Provincia (i. e. John of Parma) sanctæ memoriæ, &c. Hic etiam scripsit fratri Rogero Bakon tractatum, qui incipit, '*Innominato Magistro*'?" We should like to know the exact meaning of this title. Is it a mysterious symbol of sympathy? a recognition of merit hidden under the discouragement of the "unnamed master's" superiors?

[2] See Clement IV.'s letter of 1266 to Roger Bacon (p. 1, Brewer).

[3] Bacon calls it also *Scriptura Major*.

[4] Also the *Opus Secundum* or *Secunda Scriptura*.

[5] *Opus Tertium*, c. i. p. 7. See the amplification of his feelings by

blotted out in oblivion; and he compares his delight at the Pope's mandate to that expressed by Cicero when recalled from banishment.

Unfortunately the Pope had prescribed the work, like one whose word is law, without thinking of ways and means, difficulties and obstacles. "You forgot," Bacon gently reminds him,[1] "to write to my superiors in my excuse; and, as I could not make known to them the secret, they threw obstacles in my progress," possibly none the less so if they had unofficial knowledge of the wish of a Pope who was not a Franciscan.[2] "There was another obstacle," he adds, "which had nearly proved subversive of the whole business; and that was want of money," which was needed especially to provide skilful transcribers, who could construct tables, draw diagrams, and knew something of Greek and Hebrew.[3]

These difficulties are humbly pleaded by Bacon as apologies for an unavoidable delay,—but what delay? Receiving the Pope's letter some time after Midsummer 1266, and having, before writing a line, to collect a band of competent transcribers and to raise the money to pay them, he nevertheless completed his three encyclopædic works within less than eighteen months; for in the *Opus Tertium* he repeatedly mentions 1267 as the current year.[4] The first and chief, the *Opus Majus*, occupies 474 folio pages,[5] besides the seventh part; of the second, the *Opus Minus*, we have unfortunately only a fragment, so that we know nothing of its extent; and the *Opus Tertium*, though meant only for a summary and

Brewer, preface, p. xxvi. It is of the greatest importance to remember that Roger Bacon wrote what we may perhaps be allowed to call his philosophic trilogy at the time when Albert the Great, Bonaventura, and Aquinas, were all at the height of their fame, seven years before the death of the two latter, and thirteen years before the death of Albert. This adds greatly to the point of his remarks on the learning of his age, as well as of certain personal criticisms to be cited presently.

[1] *Opus Tertium*, p. 15.

[2] Bacon hints at greater intrigues than the pretext of conventual discipline. The whole subject of Bacon's treatment by his superiors is obscure, most writers having been content to follow the loose statements of Bale. But the common account, that their hindrances to his work were not confined to the threats which he mentions above, is supported by a passage (if genuine) quoted by Wood from the *Opus Minus* (but not to be found in the imperfect MS. now extant), in which he states that the superiors and brethren kept him on bread and water in solitary imprisonment to prevent the communication of his writings to any one except the Pope and themselves. (Wood, *ap.* Brewer, p. xciv.)

[3] Comp. Brewer, preface, pp. xxxvi., xxxvii.

[4] See the discussion of the Calendar at pp. 227–8; and again at p. 290.

[5] In the edition of Dr. Samuel Jebb (1733), which does not contain the Seventh Part. For a notice of the editor, see Brewer, pref. (p. x.) The *Opus Majus* was reprinted at Venice, 1750, with a Vindication of Bacon by the Franciscan editor (see Brewer, app. ii. p. 552).

supplement to the other two, is a work of considerable size.[1] But it is not mere magnitude that makes this feat "unparalleled in the annals of literature," as Mr. Brewer truly calls it.[2] "The *Opus Majus* embraced the entire scope of the physical sciences as then understood. In the treatise on Optics, the author entered minutely into a description of the anatomy of the eye, besides discussing those problems which would now be considered as more strictly within the province of optical science. In his remarks on Mathematics, he occupies at considerable length the field of descriptive Geography. In the chapters on the reformation of the Calendar, he had to form minute calculations on an intricate subject, little understood, and to pass in review not only the methods of computation as used in his own days, but the Hebrew, the Roman, and the early ecclesiastical notation. He had to construct tables, to illustrate his meaning by diagrams, to treat abstruse scientific questions, in an age unaccustomed to scientific demonstration. To gain the ear of the Pope, whom he was anxious to enlist in the cause of philosophy, he had to descend to a style and manner clear and popular enough to suit the ordinary capacity of one whose sympathies and good wishes constituted his only claim to be an arbiter of science. No help was at hand; no friends to advise; neither tables nor instruments to verify or abridge his calculations. The translations from scientific works of the Greek and Arabian were utterly worthless; MSS. of the originals not to be procured. The copies of Bacon's own works, as they exist in the present day, afford unmistakeable evidence of the obtuseness of his transcribers, ignorant of every language but the Latin, unaccustomed to scientific terms, indifferent to criticism. Friendless, unaided by his family, thwarted by his superiors, if not discountenanced by the very Pope who had enjoined the task, he had nothing but the force of his own genius and his unconquerable love of the truth, wherewith to surmount these overwhelming difficulties."

§ 4. That love of the truth, so far gratified by the opportunity of telling it to the world, was not merely its own sole reward, but it brought on him persecution instead of honour. The worldly-minded and cold-blooded Clement IV.—notwithstanding Bacon's praise of his learning and virtues—is unlikely to have taken any interest in the humble friar's works, beyond curiosity about the deep science, of which he had heard the fame; and any benefit from his protection was speedily lost by his death in 1268. No one who reads Bacon's ree utterances on controverted questions of theology, and his plain

[1] It occupies above 300 large 8vo. pages in the Rolls edition.
[2] Preface, p. xlvi

speaking about the state of religion and the Church, the abuses of the mendicant orders and the false learning of the schoolmen, can wonder at the anger of his superiors, which seems to have been especially visited upon him by the General Minister, Jerome of Ascoli, afterwards Pope Nicolas IV. But we get no light from his own writings or those of his contemporaries as to the details which have been accepted in the common story of the "Martyrs of Science;" and those who only know of Bacon as a man whose science was confounded with magic, may be surprised to learn that we have no evidence that this charge was brought against him. The chief, if not only, historical authority, is the Chronicle of Antoninus, archbishop of Florence in the 15th century,[1] who mentions the election of Jerome of Ascoli as general of the Franciscans in 1274;[2] and, under the first year of the papacy of Nicolas III. (1277), goes on to relate that "this Jerome, in counsel with many of the brethren, condemned the teaching (*doctrinam*) of the Englishman, Roger Bachon (*sic*), Master of Sacred Theology, as *containing some suspected novelties*,[3] on account of which the same Roger was condemned to prison; and he enjoined on all the brethren that none should hold it, but shun it as reprobated by the order. Moreover he also wrote to Pope Nicolas (III.), asking for that perilous teaching to be totally suppressed by his authority." If this account is to be accepted, Bacon was imprisoned neither by Nicolas III. nor Nicolas IV.; but by the latter *as General of the Order*, eleven years before he became Pope. We have only confused accounts of Bacon's release, and of an alleged second imprisonment; and a vain appeal to Nicolas IV., who kept him in closer custody than ever.[4] Wood, who tells the story thus, adds that "some say he was restored to his liberty by the intercession of certain noblemen; others that he died in prison, either from sickness or bad treatment. It is certain however, that he survived Nicolas IV. some months, probably a year and a half. However, he lived till he was seventy-eight, or

[1] Antonini *Chron.* pars iii. p. 779, ed. Venet. 1586. Followed by Bale, Cent. iv. §. 55. The common story is told by Wadding "and a host of later and inferior authors, most of whom abuse and follow Bale." (Brewer, p. xciii. *n.*).

[2] In succession to Bonaventura.

[3] Mr. Brewer observes that the phrase *continentem aliquas novitates suspectas* cannot by any ingenuity be distorted into a charge of necromancy.

[4] "There is no authority whatever for this statement. It is improbable on the face of it. If Bacon had already been condemned by his general, Hieronymus de Asculo, and Nicolas III., is it credible that he would have appealed to his old opponent when created Nicolas IV.?" (Brewer's note, p. xcv.)

thereabouts, and died on the feast of St. Barnabas, and was buried in the Grey Friars Church in Oxford." Much of this is very doubtful. Nicolas IV. died in April 1291, and Bacon composed his treatise *De Studio Theologiæ* as late as 1292, at least; but as to how much longer he lived we know nothing, nor does his last work bear any indication of the treatment he is said to have received.

§ 5. The many works which attest Roger Bacon's vast labour exist in MSS. scattered among so many libraries, that Leland pronounces it easier to collect the leaves of the Sibyl than the titles of his books. Wood suspects that "even the titles of many of the books which Bacon composed have been lost, and the copies which remain cannot be found without extreme difficulty. Their existence is not known through the envy or ignorance of their possessors." He adds, what has been confirmed by the experience of editors, that "the works of Bacon which are generally found are deficient in many places, or else redundant; and this may be said of those which are reckoned perfect." He describes their subjects as embracing "theology, medicine, perspective, geometry, [natural] philosophy, of which he divulged many secrets. He published a Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammar; he treated of chemistry, cosmography, music, astronomy, astrology, metaphysics, logic, and moral philosophy. And besides these treatises, in which he disclosed the various methods of study pursued in his days, he made many discoveries which, but for him, might not even now have seen the light." In fact the whole of this vast range of existing knowledge and original research is embodied in the encyclopædic triad which he wrote at the desire of Clement IV. From the nature of the case, we should expect the lonely eager student to seize the opportunity of pouring forth—at least in an outline as full as time permitted and the Pope might be expected to read—all his stores of accumulated learning, and his far greater wealth of original thought and discovery. For Bacon's true fame, and his special claim on the student of Church history, consists in his deep sense of what was false and corrupt in his time, even in its boasted learning and devotion, and in his labours to show a better way. "The *Opus Majus*," says Whewell,[1] "is a work equally wonderful with regard to its general scheme, and to the special treatises with which the outlines of the plan are filled up. The professed object of the work is to urge the necessity of a reform in the mode of philosophizing, to set forth the reasons why knowledge had not made greater progress, to draw back attention to the sources of knowledge which had been unwisely neglected, to discover other

[1] *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, bk. xii. c. 7.

sources which were yet almost untouched, and to animate men in the undertaking by a prospect of the vast advantages which it offered. In the development of this plan, all the leading portions of science are expounded in the most complete shape which they had at that time assumed; and improvements of a very wide and striking kind are proposed in some of the principal of these departments. Even if the work had had no leading purpose, it would have been highly valuable as a treasure of the most solid knowledge and soundest speculation of the time; even if it had contained no such details, it would have been a work most remarkable for its general views and scope. It may be considered as at the same time the *Encyclopædia* and the *Novum Organum* of the thirteenth century."[1]

§ 6. After despatching his great work to the Pope, Bacon naturally bethought himself of some things which he might have expressed more clearly; and mindful also of the danger that his precious MSS. might be lost on the road, he composed a second treatise, to serve as an abstract and specimen of his greater work. Of this *Opus Minus* or *Secunda Scriptura*, we possess unfortunately only a fragment;[2] but its purpose and character are clearly described by Bacon's frequent references to it in his *Opus Tertium*. He tells us that "owing to the weakness of his memory, burthened by a multitude of things, he had inserted in this work passages and discussions omitted in the first; that, in consequence of the removal of certain obstacles during the interval of the two books,

[1] Dr. Whewell gives the following summary of the contents of the *Opus Majus:* "Part I. On the four causes of human ignorance: authority, custom, popular opinion, and the pride of supposed knowledge. Part II. On the causes of perfect wisdom in Holy Scripture. Part III. On the usefulness of Grammar. Part IV. On the usefulness of Mathematics:—i. In human things (published separately as the *Specula Mathematica*):—ii. In divine things: (1) This study has occupied holy men; (2) Geography; (3) Chronology; (4) Cycles, the golden number, &c.; (5) Natural phenomena, as the rainbow; (6) Arithmetic; (7) Music:—iii. In ecclesiastical things: (1) The certification of faith; (2) The correction of the Calendar:—iv. In the state: (1) Climates; (2) Hydrography; (3) Geography; (4) Astrology. Part V. On Perspective (Optics), published separatively as *Perspectiva:* (1) The organs of vision; (2) Vision in straight lines; (3) Vision reflected and refracted; (4) *De Multiplicatione Specierum* (on the propagation of the impressions of light, heat, &c.). Part VI. On Experimental Science." To this summary must be added Part VII. *De Morali Philosophia*, which exists in MSS. unknown to Dr. Jebb. (See Brewer, preface, pp. xxviii., xlv.)

[2] Printed for the first time by Mr. Brewer (*op. cit.* 1859) from the only known MS. of the 14th century, in the Bodleian Library, Digby, No. 218, written by a most incompetent transcriber. (See the description in Brewer, preface, pp. xxx., xxxi.–xxxviii.)

he was enabled to add what he considered necessary; for the more he reflected on the admirable and sublime nature of the work before him, the clearer and fuller it broke upon his mind."[1] The most striking fruit of that greater freedom, which he enjoyed in writing this second work, is seen in the bold censure of the dominant scholasticism, to which we shall presently revert.

§ 7. Looking back, as an author always does, from the end of his work to a clearer view of the whole from the beginning, Bacon wrote his *Opus Tertium*,[2] to serve both as a preamble and a supplement to the *Opus Majus* and *Opus Minus*. "Inferior to its predecessors in the importance of its scientific details and the illustration it supplies of Bacon's philosophy, it is more interesting than either for the insight it affords of his labours, and of the numerous obstacles he had to contend with in the execution of his work. The first twenty chapters detail various anecdotes of Bacon's personal history, his opinions on the state of education, the impediments thrown in his way by the ignorance, the prejudices, the contempt, the carelessness, the indifference, of his contemporaries. From the twentieth chapter to the close of the volume he pursues the thread of the *Opus Majus* supplying what he had there omitted, correcting and explaining what had been less clearly or correctly expressed in that or in the *Opus Minus*; . . . but with so much vigour of thought and freshness of observations, that, like the *Opus Minus*, the *Opus Tertium* may be fairly considered an independent work."[3] An interesting light is thrown on the composition of the three works by the chapter (fifty-second), in which he apologizes for having inserted a discussion of three abstruse subjects, *vacuum*, *motion*, and *space*, mainly in regard to their spiritual significance. "As these questions," he says, "are very perplexing and difficult, I thought I would record what I had to say about them in some one of my works. In the *Opus Majus* and *Opus Minus* I had not studied them sufficiently to prevail on myself to commit my thoughts about them to writing; and I was glad to omit them, owing to the length of those works, and because *I was much hurried in their composition*."[4]

We find, in fact, that the vast labour and comprehensive scope of these three works were but a foretaste and specimen, for the satisfaction of Clement's curiosity, of a great encyclopædic work in which Bacon's views of philosophy were to find full expression,[5]

[1] Brewer, p. xxxiv.

[2] Frequently cited by Dr. Jebb and others, but first published by Mr. Brewer (*op. cit.*) from MSS. described in his preface, p. xxxviii. f.

[3] Brewer, preface, pp. xliv.–xlv. [4] *Opus Tertium*, p. 199.

[5] See *Opus Minus*, p. 315; *Opus Tertium*, c. vii. p. 23.

comprising the whole grammar of the Latins and *logic*, *natural philosophy*, and *metaphysics*, and *speculative alchemy*, and *the four speculative mathematics*, not to speak of the *practical* (mathematics)."[1] Such is the outline, sketched in 1267, of the work which Bacon composed in 1271, but still in the modest form, as he says in the first sentence, of "a summary and compendium, by way of introduction, until some better opportunity should arise for entering on each subject in particular, in its due course;" and, in accordance with this statement, the transcriber of the one MS. we possess has entitled the work a "Compendium of Philosophy."[2]

§ 8. It is a great error to suppose that Bacon's freedom of thought and devotion to natural science led him to disparage or neglect Theology, which he calls the chief of all studies (*studium principale*). More truly even than his great scholastic contemporaries did he honour it as the Science of Sciences, by laying its foundations deep in the free investigation of all knowledge, and by insisting that the superstructure should be raised from the teaching of God's word rather than from the refinements of man's wisdom. The idea that a sound philosophy is only to be discovered through a true theology is embodied in the very title of the latest work of his old age, *Compendium Studii Theologiæ et per consequens Philosophiæ*, written in 1292.[3] Bacon's views of the right and

[1] For the correspondence of this outline, sketched in the *Opus Tertium*, to the contents of the *Compendium Philosophiæ*, as described by Bacon in the work itself, see Brewer, pp. l.–liv. For the internal evidence which fixes the date of the work to the autumn of 1271, just after the election of Pope Gregory X., see pp. liv., lv.

[2] The work is published from the unique MS. in the British Museum (*Tiberius*, cv.) in Mr. Brewer's volume. Its great value consists in the full statement of Bacon's leading principles with regard to the causes of the corruption of learning and the means of its reformation.

[3] This work, which exists in MS. in the Royal Library, must not be confounded with the *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*. Bacon himself gives the date in a passage of great importance for the history of the study of Aristotle (*circa finem*, quoted by Brewer, p. lv.): "Slowly has any portion of the philosophy of ARISTOTLE come into use among the Latins. His *Natural Philosophy* and his *Metaphysics*, with the Commentaries of Averrhoës and others, were translated in my time (*nostris temporibus*), and interdicted at Paris before the year 1237, because of the eternity of the world and of time, and because of the book of *Divination by Dreams*, . . . and because of many passages erroneously translated. Even his *Logic* was slowly received and lectured on; for St. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Rich, archbp. 1234–44), was the first who in my time read the elements at Oxford. And I have seen Master Hugo, who first read the book of Posterior (Analytics). . . . So there were but very few, considering the multitude of the Latins, who were of any account in the philosophy of Aristotle; nay, very few indeed and scarcely any *up to this year of grace* 1292." (Comp. the passage quoted at p. 493.)

wrong study of Theology are set forth in the beginning of the work.[1] After stating that he had been much importuned and long expected to write something useful for Theology, but had been hindered in many ways, he urges his favourite subject of the causes and remedies of human ignorance in general, and proceeds to examine those which militated against Theology in particular. "Although the principal study of the theologian ought to be in the text of Scripture, yet for the last fifty years theologians have been principally occupied with questions, as all know, in *tractates* and *summæ*—horseloads composed by many—and not at all with the most holy text of God. And accordingly theologians give a readier reception to a treatise of scholastic questions than they will give to one about the text of Scripture. For this reason I desire to oblige them first in that which they love most, as it is the first step of wisdom to have regard to the persons to whom a man speaks. Though, beyond all comparison, *it demands a much greater profundity, and it is a more difficult task, to expound the Text than to handle Questions.* Again, according to Aristotle, the natural way of knowledge is from the more easy to the more abstruse, from things human to things divine. I call them *human*, because the greater part of these questions introduced into Theology, with all the modes of disputation and solution, are in the terms of philosophy, as is known to all theologians, who have been well exercised in philosophy before proceeding to theology. Again, other questions which are in use among theologians, though in terms of Theology, namely, of the Trinity, of the fall, of the incarnation, of sin, of virtue, of the sacraments, &c., are mainly ventilated[2] by authorities, arguments, and solutions drawn from philosophy. And therefore the entire occupation of theologians nowadays is philosophical, both in substance and method. Therefore I propose to set forth all the speculative philosophy now in use among theologians, adding many necessary considerations besides, with which they are not acquainted."

§ 9. In this most pregnant passage we have the answer to the question which often perplexes the student, whether Roger Bacon should be ranked as one of the Schoolmen, or as their opponent. He was among them, second to none in their own manner of philosophizing, but their superior in the many necessary considerations

[1] Chap. I. § 1; *ap.* Brewer, p. lvi.

[2] We use his own word, *ventilantur*, not assuredly in the sense of modern semi-slang; but we take it to refer to the Apostle's figure of the childish learner "tossed to and fro and carried about with *every wind* of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive" (*Ephes.* iv. 14).

with which they were not acquainted; yet in spirit he was not of them. Taking his stand on the high principle, that Scripture is the only supreme authority, he comes down—like Moses legislating for the hardness of the people's hearts—to meet them on their own "human" ground, and to turn philosophy to the best account in the service of Theology. But this wise and necessary condescension to the spirit of his age even adds force to the protest which is especially interesting to us. It is the spirit rather than the substance of all Bacon's work, that gives him his special place in the history of the Church and of intellectual progress. While his great contemporaries were labouring to construct systems in which the received philosophy should solve all religious questions in the sense approved by the Church, Bacon makes it his first object to detect and expose the prevalent causes of ignorance and false knowledge, in order to find the right method of discovering and establishing the truth. In the forefront of all his works we find the same constant insistance on the intellectual, moral, and political hindrances to knowledge and wisdom; the greatest of all being the moral, and, of the intellectual, the reluctance to confess ignorance.[1] Of seven faults (or sins) affecting Theology, the first is that this "mistress (*domina*) of the sciences, the knowledge of God which leads to life eternal, was dominated by philosophy." He illustrates this in language directly applicable to Thomas Aquinas, whom we find all but named in the citation of the title of his great work and the examples of subtle questions, of which Bacon says that it does not belong to theologians to investigate these difficulties as their chief object; they ought only to recite briefly the truths determined about them by philosophy.

The second fault was, that theologians neglected the kinds of knowledge most excellent and most serviceable to theology; as the grammatical knowledge of the foreign languages from which all theology comes (namely, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic), mathematics, and physical and moral science. This ignorance exposed them to the *third fault*, an implicit trust in the authority of the Schoolmen, whose *Summæ Theologiæ* were vitiated by their never having learnt these four necessary sciences. He illustrates

[1] Passages to this effect might be collected from every part of the three *Opera* and the two *Compendia*. The moral impediments to wisdom and the necessity of the *mens sana in corpore sano* (*et puro*) are admirably treated in the *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ* (cap. ii. pp. 404–413), while in the work on Theology he enumerates the seven faults (*peccata*)—(may not the *number* be meant to suggest *deadly sins*?)—which beset the study as pursued in the Scholastic Philosophy. Our reluctant submission to the limits of space is qualified by the conviction that, like all great authors, Bacon, among the chief, must be *read*, instead of being *read about*.

this general statement by a bold criticism of two great Doctors of Theology, both belonging to his own order, the one living and the other dead. The latter was the renowned ALEXANDER AB HALES, of whom he speaks with great personal respect; while of the living teacher, who was held in high but undeserved repute, he draws a vivid character in pungent terms, which he repeats in the *Opus Tertium*;[1] not as one whose faults were merely personal, but who was "quoted by *the whole herd of madmen at Paris*, as if he were an Aristotle, or an Avicenna, or an Averrhoës."

§ 10. That the character was meant for a fair and striking example of the philosophical theology then dominant in the Schools, especially at its great centre in Paris, is plain from what he adds about the injury to Latin theology from ignorance of the original languages of Scripture and philosophy.[2] After speaking of the necessity of such knowledge, and the utter incompetency of the existing translations, he goes on: "But the above-named incompetent author has no more real acquaintance with philosophy than the rest of the vulgar. *There are not five men in Latin Christendom who are acquainted with the Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic grammar.*" And while he shows how philosophers and their pupils were misled by the worthless Latin versions of Aristotle and his Arabian commentators, he does not shrink from an ample exposure of the errors in the Vulgate itself, and insists on a knowledge of Holy Scripture in the original languages, as the only sound foundation of theology.[3] He shows how ignorance of the true sense of the letter led to a complete misunderstanding of the spiritual teaching of the Bible; and it is to this point that he applies the whole wealth of scientific knowledge which has made his name famous above all the scholars of the Middle Ages.[4]

Among the impediments to theological learning, he lays special stress on the intrusion into the chairs of divinity, during the last forty years,[5] of youths and mere boys, without any learning or experience

[1] *Opus Minus*, pp. 327–8; *Opus Tertium*, p. 30 f.; for it may safely be assumed that the two passages related to the same person. The portrait demands careful study. He was a *Franciscan*, and therefore (besides other clear characteristics) neither Albert nor Aquinas. Mr. Brewer supposes Richard of Cornwall (see p. 496) to be the person referred to. (Preface, p. xxxiv.)

[2] *Opus Tertium*, c. x. p. 32 f.

[3] The *Opus Minus* contains an elaborate account of the various versions of Scripture in existence at that time.

[4] To pursue this, the most generally interesting aspect of Roger Bacon's work, belongs rather to the history of philosophy and science than of the Church. The student is referred to Whewell's *Inductive Sciences* and Brewer's Preface to the *Opera Inedita*.

[5] I.e. since 1230. *Comp. Studii Philos.* c. v. p. 425 f. Whoever the

of the world. The source of this evil was in the facility with which the two great mendicant orders received boys from ten to twenty years old, too young to have any real knowledge, many of them unable to read their Psalter or Donatus, who were nevertheless at once put to study theology. He proceeds to draw a striking picture of the study and teaching of Theology in the hands of the two orders. "From the very beginning of our order, namely from the time when learning (*studium*) first flourished in the orders, the first students were such as the later are; they devoted themselves to theology, which demands all human wisdom. And it necessarily followed that they in no way profited, chiefly because they did not procure instruction for themselves in philosophy, after they entered the orders. And above all because in the orders they presumed to investigate philosophy by themselves without a teacher; so that they were made masters in philosophy and theology before being disciples; and therefore unbounded error reigns among them, though it is not apparent for certain reasons, by the permission of God and the procuration of the Devil!"

§ 11. This plain speaking is followed by a still bolder exposure of the pretences which covered the corruptions incident to the very system of profession. "One cause of this appearance is that the orders have a great show (*speciem*) of sanctity, and the world therefore accepts it as probable that men in a holy state of life would not take upon themselves what they were unable to perform. But yet we see all states too deeply corrupted in these times."[1] Here he brings in, as one proof of the corruption of theology, some remarks on preaching, which have a deep interest for all ages of the Church. There are many things, he says, easy to be understood, which belong to man's salvation, such as the apprehension of virtues and vices, the bliss of heaven and the pains of purgatory and hell; of which not only "the religious," as theologians, but all clergymen and laymen and common people know much from the natural testimony of conscience and the experience of life. And

professor censured before may be, in *this* passage he distinctly mentions Albert and Thomas by name.

[1] A passing allusion must suffice to Bacon's frequent lamentations over the moral corruptions both of the Church and the world in his times. Diligently considering all the states in the world (*Compend. Studii Philos.*, p. 398 f.), he finds infinite corruption everywhere, showing itself first at the head, in the *Curia Romana;* thence extending to prelates, clergy, and men of learning; infecting princes, barons, and soldiers; while of the rest he says that the people, hating their princes, kept no faith with them, and, corrupted by their example, gave themselves up to luxury and gluttony. Of the merchants and workpeople nothing need be said, because fraud and craft and falsehood beyond measure reigns in all their words and deeds.

through the accustomed teaching of the Church, all Christians have a great knowledge of the things that belong to their salvation; so that it is no great thing for the students of those orders to speak to the people about virtues and vices, punishment and glory; *especially as in the Sacred Text many things are most plain to every man who knows letters*, and studies in the books of the saints. Preaching belongs, not to the professional theologian, but to the ecclesiastical office, by commission from the prelates, whose duty it is to expound to the people the articles of faith and morals, *of which the Church has knowledge without the study of theology, and had it from the beginning through the doctrine of the Apostles.* This distinction between professional theology and practical teaching was confirmed by daily experience. "Nay, we know for certain and see everywhere that a simple brother (or friar, *frater*), who has never heard a hundred lectures on theology, and has not cared for them if he heard them, yet preaches incomparably better than the greatest masters of theology. Hence it is manifest that preaching does not depend on the study of theology, but on the doctrine of the Church, which is known to any one, and on the knowledge of vices and virtues, punishment and glory, and the like truths pertaining to salvation, of which the knowledge is written on the heart, as the result of the rites of the Church. And for this reason *preaching precedes the study of theology*; although, to be sure, it would be undeniable that a good theologian *ought* to preach much better, but in fact, as I have said, we see the contrary everywhere. And this is a great proof that the learning of the theologians is corrupt, when they who have the more authority preach the worse."[1]

§ 12. As a further reason why the world was imposed on by the outward show of sanctity and learning in the orders, Bacon says the secular clergy had, for the last forty years, neglected the study of theology and philosophy. Absorbed in the lusts of luxury, riches, and honours, and corrupted by the causes of ignorance already named, the modern seculars had forsaken the paths of ancient wisdom, to which but a few still adhered.[2] Hence for the last forty years the seculars had produced not a single treatise in theology, and did not even think they could know anything, without going through a ten years' course of lectures from the young

[1] He enlarges further on the low condition of preaching in the *Opus Tertium* (pp. 303–310), and says that bishops and others, for want of proper instruction in the practice of preaching, borrowed their sermons from young friars (*pueri*), who introduced all sorts of childish affectation into their discourses.

[2] Few, whether of the seculars or regulars; for among the illustrious exceptions named by him are Robert (Grosseteste), bishop of Lincoln (*sanctæ memoriæ*), and the friar Adam de Marisco.

professors, whom he contemptuously calls the *boys*, of the two orders, as was seen at Paris and everywhere else. "No wonder," he exclaims, "if the orders lift up their horns and make a wonderful show in learning. And yet it is most certainly true, that they bring no useful knowledge to the study of theology, nor are they willing to learn from others; but *they study by themselves* in all subjects; and it is impossible for a man to acquire difficult sciences by himself. For in no one age was any science (*scientia*) ever discovered, but knowledge (*sapientia*) has grown from the beginning of the world, and is not yet complete in this life. Wherefore unbounded pride has possessed those orders, because they take upon themselves to teach before they learn; and the necessary consequence is, that their doctrine ends in corruption." Such is the verdict pronounced on the Scholastic Theology, by the contemporary who tried it by the test of that real science, which he stood alone in pursuing in a spirit which made him the true forerunner of the great namesake who fully constructed, three centuries later, the method which he had indicated.[1]

[1] A mere reference must suffice to Mr. Brewer's masterly comparison of Roger and Francis Bacon, and the relation of both to Aristotle's philosophy (preface, p. lxxxi. f.). Dean Milman says (vol. ix. p. 154) that Roger Bacon "dared to throw off entirely the bondage of the Aristotelian logic. When he judged Aristotle, it should seem, only by those parts of his works matured in the Dialectics of the schools, he would have been the Omar of Aristotle; *he would willingly have burnt all his books* as causes of error and a multiplication of ignorance." But Bacon says this only *of the grossly faulty and misleading Latin translations* both of Aristotle and his Arabian commentators; and the outburst occurs in the midst of a passage in which he is insisting on *the necessity of reading him in the original Greek* (*Compend. Stud. Phil.* pp. 469 f.). For his exalted estimate of Aristotle's *Laws, Ethics, and Politics*, see *ibid.*, pp. 422–5. It is quite true that Bacon sets little value on the Aristotelian logic, but, as Milman himself adds, "Aristotle *as a philosopher*, especially as commented by Avicenna, after Aristotle the prince of philosophers, is the object of his profound reverence."

Though our concern with Roger Bacon is in his relation to the Church and its learning, we cannot quite pass over those remarkable points of physical science which are popularly connected with his name. His extraordinary anticipations of later inventions ought to be read in his own words, in the *Epistola Fr. Rogerii Baconis de Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de Nullitate Magiæ* (Brewer, *Op. Ined.* app. i. p. 524), where the last three words at once dispose of one of the most persistent false traditions about him, and show how far he was in advance of his own and later ages. The very purpose of the letter is to answer the enquiries of a friend and disciple about magic by showing the vanity of its pretensions, and explaining it by the skill of art in using the powers of nature. Another common error is to ascribe to him as *practical inventions* the examples which he gives as *possibilities* of science and art (*possunt fieri*), some indeed, he tells us, actual, others wonderfully prophetic.

The Königstuhl at Rhense on the Rhine.
Electoral Meeting-place, restored 1844 (cf. p. 121).

CHAPTER XXXII.

LAST AGE OF SCHOLASTICISM.

WILLIAM OF OCKHAM AND THE LATER SCHOOLMEN.
FROM THE END OF CENT. XIII. TO THE END OF CENT. XV.

§ 1. The Dominican WILLIAM DURANDUS, "Doctor Resolutissimus," on the Sacraments and the authority of SS. § 2. The English Franciscan WILLIAM OF OCKHAM, pupil of Duns Scotus, teaches at Paris and Boulogne—Supports Philip the Fair against Boniface VIII.—Anti-papal champion of the rights of sovereigns—*Disputatio Clerici et Militis*. § 3. Provincial Minister for England—Quarrel of John XXII. with the "Spirituals"—Chapter at Perugia—Ockham is deposed, and becomes the councillor of Louis IV.—His *Work of Ninety Days*—*Dialogue between a Master and a Disciple*. § 4. Ockham revives *Nominalism*—His Theology—Transubstantiation: the Church preferred to Scripture.

§ 5. Later Schoolmen — BURLEY — BURIDAN — Growing influence of Nominalism — GABRIEL BIEL. § 6. Decline of Scholasticism — The work it had accomplished. § 7. Study of Holy Scripture—The Franciscan NICOLAUS DE LYRA, the "Doctor planus et utilis"—His influence on Wyclif and Luther—His *Postillæ* on the whole Bible — Manifold senses; but chief concern for the literal—Supreme importance of determining the original text. § 8. RAYMUND LULLY, the scholastic missionary — His *General Art* for the persuasion of unbelievers — Foundation of chairs for Hebrew and oriental languages.

§ 1. THOUGH Bacon was too deeply concerned with the discussion of the first principles of reformation in philosophical and theological teaching to take an active part in ecclesiastical politics, his freedom of thought must have given an impulse to the more decided antagonism to ruling systems, which was developed in the next generation, especially among the "spiritual" Franciscans. But even among the Dominicans also, the revolt at once against philosophical and ecclesiastical orthodoxy—against Realism and Rome—found some champions, of whom the chief was WILLIAM DURANDUS DE S. PORTIANO (of St. Pourçain in Auvergne), a professor at Paris and Avignon from 1313, and Bishop of Meaux from 1326 to his death in 1333. His boldness in solving all questions, or the free utterance of his opinions upon them, earned for him the title of *Doctor Resolutissimus.* In philosophy he was at least inclined to a sceptical form of nominalism, and he appealed from the authority of Aristotle to regard for truth alone; while in theology, after being a decided Thomist, he ventured to reject some of his master's cardinal doctrines.[1] His sacramental theory, especially, is what would now be called ultra-Protestant.[2] He held it to be the ancient opinion, and in accordance with the writings of holy men, that *the sacraments have no inherent power of giving grace;* but, by the Divine covenant or ordinance, the partaker of the sacrament receives grace, unless he interposes an obstacle; *he receives grace not from the sacrament, but from God.* Without venturing to deny transubstantiation, he pronounces the doctrine in one mode of statement to be possible, but, as commonly held, unintelligible;[3] and he insists on the duty of endeavouring, not to add all sorts of

[1] See the extracts in Gieseler (vol. iv. pp. 168–170) from Durand's Commentary or Lectures on the Sentences of Peter Lombard (*Opus super Sententiis Lombardi*, Paris, 1508; Venet. 1571). Compare *Durandi de S. Portiano temerariæ Opiniones, quæ in Scholis communiter improbantur*, in D'Argentré's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, vol. i. p. 330.

[2] "Utrum in sacramentis novæ legis sit aliqua virtus inhærens causativa gratiæ?" (Lib. iv. dist. i. qu. 4).

[3] He guards his orthodoxy by adding: "Nec unus istorum (modorum) est magis per Ecclesiam approbatus vel reprobatus, quam alius."

difficulties to faith, but rather to elucidate obscurities *by the authority of Scripture.* In discussing the question whether marriage is a sacrament,[1] he distinguishes between "the earlier and more common view," that a sacrament is *a sign of a sacred thing,* which, however, is not only *signified* but *contained* in it, and the other definition of a sacrament as *any corporal or sensible sign applied to man from without to the effect of spiritual sanctification.* This full sense of "a sacrament strictly and properly so called," he seems to accept as a point of orthodox duty, while he certainly leaves on us the impression that he himself would approve the former and more scriptural view.[2]

§ 2. But the great opposition to the prevalent orthodox Scholasticism sprang from the union of freedom of thought with political Ghibellinism among the "spiritual" Franciscans.[3] "The mortal enemy of the Franciscan Scholasticism was in the Franciscan camp. The religious mysticisms of Bonaventura were encountered by a more dangerous antagonist. The schism of Franciscanism was propagated into its philosophy; the *Fraticelli,* the Spiritualists, must have their champion in the schools, and that champion in ability the equal of those without and those within their Order, of Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus."[4] WILLIAM OF OCKHAM,[5] surnamed from his birthplace in Surrey,[6] is said to have sprung from the common people. How early he made his profession as a Minorite friar we are not told; but he was sent to study under

[1] The whole discussion (Lib. iv. dist. 26, qu. 3, *ap.* Gieseler, *l.c.*) is very interesting, especially as an example of the way of reconciling "broad" views with orthodoxy.

[2] His *Tractatus de Statu Animarum Sanctarum postquam resolutæ sunt a Corpore* was written against the view of John XXII., that departed souls do not see God till after the resurrection and the last judgment, an opinion which the Pope was obliged to retract as heretical (cf. p. 118).

[3] See Chap. XXV. § 7, p. 430 f.

[4] Milman, *Latin Christ.* vol. ix. p. 146. In another place (viii. p. 157), about the great names of Merton College, Oxford, after Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon, he speaks of William of Ockham as "the Locke of the Middle Ages, in his common-sense philosophy, and in the single-minded worship of truth. . . . The bold and rigid Nominalism of Ockham struck at the root of all the mystic allegoric theology; it endangered some of the Church's doctrines. His high Imperialist Apologies shattered the foundations of the Papal Supremacy, and reduced the hierarchy below the Throne."

[5] Often spelt Occam.

[6] The date of his birth is not given, but, from his part in the contest between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, he must have been of full age before the end of the 13th century, and would be born, probably, about or before the deaths of Aquinas and Bonaventura in 1274. This would make him between 70 and 80 at his death, which is commonly said to have taken place at Munich, in 1343 or 1347.

Duns Scotus at Paris, and became himself a teacher both there and at Bologna. He must have been still in his first manhood when we find him supporting the cause of Philip the Fair in his contest with Boniface VIII., the enemy of the order, and especially of the English Franciscans.[1] "How far William of Ockham was then possessed by the resentment of his order, how far he had inclined to the extreme Franciscanism, does not clearly appear. He took up boldly, unreservedly, to the utmost height, the rights of temporal sovereigns. In his *Disputation on the Ecclesiastical Power*,[2] he refused to acknowledge in the Pope any authority whatever as to secular affairs. Jesus Christ himself, as far as He was man, as far as He was a sojourner in this mortal world, had received from His heavenly Father no commission to censure kings; the partisans of the Papal temporal omnipotence were to be driven as heretics from the Church."[3]

§ 3. That patriotism was an element in the position thus taken up by Ockham, seems confirmed by his election as Provincial Minister for England in 1322.[4] In the same year he took a prominent part in the general chapter at Perugia, which brought the quarrel of the order with the Papacy to a climax.[5] The violent measures of JOHN XXII. naturally strengthened the Ghibellinism which had long been growing among the more rigid Franciscans, and threw their leaders into the arms of the Emperor Louis (IV.) of Bavaria.[6] In 1328, William of Ockham, Michael de Cesena, and Bonagratia, were arraigned and cast into prison at Avignon. They escaped to the court of the Emperor Louis, to whom William of Ockham is reported to have said, "Defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with the word." Condemned by the Pope, and cast off from his order by a chapter held at Perpignan, he became a

[1] See above, Chap. VI. § 12 f.

[2] This tract, *Disputatio Clerici et Militis*, is published in Goldastus, *De Monarchia*, vol. i. pp. 13 f.

[3] Milman, vol. ix. p. 147.

[4] We have already seen that Mr. Brewer suggests a large national element in the conflict of the Franciscans with Boniface VIII. and his successors. In the absence of information about the intervening twenty years of Ockham's life, we may assume that he had been teaching his philosophic Nominalism and maintaining the primitive rule of St. Francis, and that his election, therefore, besides testifying to the distinction he had won, indicates the opinion of the English Franciscans in both respects. But it seems also to prove that he could not have been a declared adherent of the *Fraticelli*. Whether he was in England or in Italy at the time of his election does not clearly appear.

[5] See Chap. VII. p. 113, and Chap. XXV. § 7.

[6] The great victory of Louis over his rival, Frederick of Austria, at Mühldorf, was won in the same year in which the chapter of Perugia was held, 1322.

chief counsellor of the Emperor, and redeemed his promise by works "of an enormous prolixity and of an intense subtlety, such as might, according to our notions, have palled on the dialectic passions of the most pugnacious university, or exhausted the patience of the most laborious monk in the most drowsy cloister."[1] His *Work of Ninety Days* (so called to record the short time in which it was written) was occupied in great part with an exposure of the heretical tenets of John XXII.;[2] while the whole question between the ecclesiastical and civil powers is debated fully in the *Dialogue between a Master and a Disciple*, and decided in favour of the claims of the Emperor and General Councils to be above the Pope.[3] William of Ockham even maintained that the Emperor had power to dissolve marriages and to grant dispensations.

§ 4. In philosophy, the "Doctor Singularis et Invincibilis," the "Venerabilis Inceptor" (such are the titles that distinguish Ockham among the Schoolmen) revived the Nominalism of Roscellinus from the disfavour under which it had lain for two centuries. But his was a Nominalism improved in form and strengthened by reasoning; no mere refinement of verbal distinctions, but a metaphysical system, resting essentially on the same foundations as the moderate "sensational philosophy" of modern times. The result of his system is summed up by Milman:[4] "Thus may William of Ockham seem, with fine and prophetic discrimination, to have assigned their proper, indispensable, yet limited power and office to the senses; to have vindicated to the understanding its higher, separate, independent function; to have anticipated the famous axiom of Leibnitz, that there is nothing in the intellect but from the senses, except the intellect itself; to have anticipated Hobbes, foreshadowed Locke—not as Locke is vulgarly judged, according to his later French disciples, but in himself—to have taken his stand on the same ground with Kant. What Abelard was to the ancestors of the Schoolmen, was Ockham to the Schoolmen themselves. The Schoolmen could not but even-

[1] Milman, vol. vii. p. 410. The *Dialogus* and the *Opus Nonaginta Dierum* occupy nearly 1000 pages of very close print in Goldast (*De Monarchia*, vol. ii.); besides several other anti-papal tracts.

[2] *Compendium Errorum Papæ Joannis XXII.*

[3] For a summary of the contents, see Robertson, vol. iv. p. 78. "A portion of the book, at least, in which Pope John's errors are discussed, and in which the form of dialogue is discarded, was written under Benedict XII."

[4] For a full account of Ockham's views see the whole passage, vol. ix. pp. 149–151. Ockham's chief philosophical and theological works are: *Summa totius Logicæ*, ed. Oxon. 1675; *Quæstiones et Decisiones super IV. Libros Sententiarum; Centilogium Theologicum, theologiam speculativam sub centum conclusionibus complectens;* ed. Lugd. 1495.

tuate in William of Ockham; the united stream could not but endeavour to work itself clear; the incessant activity of thought could hardly fail to call forth a thinker like Ockham."

Of the theological side of Ockham's opinions, Archbishop Trench says that, "taking advantage of the excesses into which the Realists, so long undisputed masters of the field, had run, he found in a Nominalism by him revived, and with its weak points strengthened, engines for the assailing of the Church's teaching, such as needed only to be advanced a little further, and not the human outworks merely of the heavenly Temple, but the Sanctuary itself, would have come within the range of his assaults."[1] This is true rather of the tendency of Ockham's teaching than of his own statements of doctrines, which are couched with elaborate caution in an orthodox form. His reserve in speaking of the Divine Being —so strikingly contrasted with the free discussion of the great Schoolmen—may be regarded either as an excess of reverence or an approach to philosophical "Agnosticism."

On the question of transubstantiation Ockham[2] observes that, of the different opinions, the one which held that the substance of the bread and wine remained there, and that the body of Christ was in the same place and under the same outward form, would be most reasonable, *had not the Church determined the contrary.* The preference of the orthodox view to that which has been declared to be more rational and scriptural is reconciled by the theory of a revelation still continued to the Church, in virtue of which it has decided for the doctrine of transubstantiation.

§ 5. The teaching of Ockham was the signal for a new conflict between Nominalism and Realism in the Schools, which lasted through the 14th and 15th centuries. Besides many able champions,[3] Realism was supported by the authority of the University of Paris, in its repeated condemnations of the tenets of Ockham and his disciples,[4] who seem to have pressed their master's

[1] *Medieval Church History*, p. 273. Comp. Milman, vol. ix. p. 148.

[2] *De Sacramento Altaris*, c. 5. This theory of *impanation*, so nearly identical with the Lutheran doctrine of *consubstantiation*, naturally combined with Ockham's antipapal views to predispose Luther in his favour. (See Luther, *De Captiv. Babylon.*, and Rettberg's *Occam und Luther*, in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1839, i. 69.)

[3] One of the most distinguished was WALTER BURLEY, of Oxford, the *Doctor Perspicuus* of the Schools, who had been a fellow-student with Ockham. For THOMAS BRADWARDINE, see p. 542.

[4] JOHN BURIDAN, rector of the University in 1327, a chief disciple of Ockham, and an eminent lecturer on Aristotle (*Works*, ed. Oxon. 1637–40), appears to have been aimed at in the decision of the Faculty of Arts (1339), prohibiting the "doctrinam Gulielmi dicti Occam," and

views to conclusions more and more sceptical. The Ockhamists formed a school, which became more and more influential, especially in Germany and England; and one who may be considered the last of the distinguished Schoolmen, GABRIEL BIEL, whose life ended almost with the 15th century, was a most devoted adherent of Ockham.[1]

§ 6. By this time, however, Scholasticism had lost its power over thoughtful minds, and had sunk into contempt with the people.[2] But it would take no new impressions; and all attempts to correct served only to lay barer its faults, and to augment its discredit, and to hasten its fall. Its epitaph has been written by Lord Bacon: "Notwithstanding, certain it is that, if these Schoolmen to their great thirst of truth and unwearied travel of wit had joined variety and universality of reading and contemplation, they had proved excellent lights to the great advancement of all learning and knowledge."[3] The reactionary judgment passed on the Schoolmen by the age that followed them needs to be modified by considerations which have been admirably put by Mr. Brewer:[4] "That popular contempt was, however, an after-

threatening teachers of it with a year's suspension from lecturing. This was followed next year by a more comprehensive edict, prohibiting Masters from contradicting the standard text-books on which they lectured, and maintaining Nominalist propositions. As late as 1473, the Realists obtained a royal decree for the locking-up of their opponents' books, but this was rescinded in 1481. (Bulæus, iv. 257, 265; v. 706, 739; Gieseler, iv. 172; Hardwick, p. 353.)

[1] Gabriel Biel, of Speyer, lectured at Tübingen on Aristotle's *Ethics*, joined the "Brethren of the Common Life," and died in 1495. His chief works are, *Collectorium ex Occamo in Libr. Sentent.* and *Expositio Canonis Missæ*. On his place as a precursor of the Reformation, see H. W. Biel, *De Gabrielo Biel celeberrimo Papista Antipapista*, Vitemb. 1719. "Biel was succeeded by Cortesius, 'the Cicero of the Dogmatists,' on whom see Schröckh, xxxiv. 217, *seq.*" (Hardwick, p. 354.)

[2] On its decline, and the vain attempts of Gerson and others to revive it by the infusion of Mysticism, see Trench, *Medieval Church History*, pp. 276–7; and on Wycliffe's close relation to the Schoolmen, himself indeed a Schoolman at Oxford, see Shirley's Preface to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorun*.

[3] The concluding words of an admirable passage too long for quotation here. Observe how exactly Bacon hits the same essential fault which his great namesake exposed three centuries before. (See above, p. 540.)

[4] *Monum. Franc.* pref. p. lvii.–lx. We reluctantly abstain from quoting this important passage on the work really done by the Scholastics, not only in Philosophy and Theology, but also (and especially in England) in the development of political ideas, concluding thus:—"The unreservedness with which the Schoolmen ranged through every region of metaphysics and divinity led, in turn, to equal freedom of discussion, equal unreservedness in political discussions. The true sources of our civil wars in the 15th century are to be found rather in the teachings of

thought; it sprang not out of a more philosophical spirit of enquiry or profounder method, but from mere weariness and distaste. *The work of the Schoolman was accomplished. He had formed the mind of Christendom for the great events to come.*" Thus it was, as so often happens with the most laboured efforts of man, that the lasting work done by the Schoolmen was very different from that for which they toiled and thought and taught. Implicit as was their obedience to the Church, their system of universal questioning sowed the seeds of fuller and freer enquiry, which then only began to germinate when the vain solutions, which were the fruit of their toil, were dead and rotten. "Sic vos, non vobis"—words too often quoted as the utterance of selfish discontent, but, as the poet's own examples show, embodying the great law of nature expounded by its Divine Author—"Other men have laboured, and ye have entered into their labours." They set an example to the world of boundless freedom in discussing the highest and deepest questions that concern man; and that free discussion resulted in the religious and political changes of the 15th and 16th centuries.

§ 7. The most characteristic difference between the Schoolmen and the reforming theologians was that the former, while acknowledging the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and the ultimate foundation of Theology, threw them more and more into the background. In the Schools they were superseded by the authoritative "Sentences" and "Sums of Theology;" to the common people they were forbidden as the armoury of heresy.[1] But still even

Wycliffe and his followers than in the rival claims of Yorkist or Lancastrian; and Wycliffe is the genuine descendant of the friars, turning their wisdom against themselves, and carrying out the principles he had learnt from them to their legitimate political conclusions." Hallam (*Lit. Hist.* iv. 201) points out the remarkable fact that Sir Robert Filmer, the high royalist author of *Patriarcha* (under Charles I. and II.) "refers the tenet of natural liberty and the popular origin of government to the Schoolmen." A writer of a very different school, Comte (*Philos. Posit.* l. vi. c. 10), fixes on the opening of the 14th century as the origin of the revolutionary process, which has from that date been participated in by every social class, each in its own way; and Capefigue (ii. 163) says of the same epoch, "On commençait une époque de curiosité et d'innovation." Mr. Brewer has some admirable remarks on the scholastic spirit in Dante, the contemporary of the later great Schoolmen (*ob.* 1321).

[1] Justice must however be done to the supreme regard of the best of the Schoolmen for the Bible. This, which we have seen in Roger Bacon, is conspicuous in another great English Franciscan, the "illustrious doctor," Adam Marsh, who writes (for example) to Simon de Montfort, urgently exhorting him and his wife to seek comfort and tranquillity in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures. (*Epist.* cxl. p. 268.)

within the Church there were some whose whole powers were devoted to the patient critical study of the sacred text. The method insisted on by Roger Bacon was carried out by the younger brother of his order, NICOLAUS, surnamed DE LYRA [1] from his birthplace in Normandy; the *lyre* to whose tune one of Luther's opponents, with a strange forgetfulness of the very lesson of the parable, sneered at him for dancing: "*Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset*"—for the Reformer thankfully acknowledged the help derived from Lyra's labours in his translation of the Bible.[2] This *Doctor planus et utilis*—as he has been called, in contrast to the proud titles of the Schoolmen—joined the Franciscan order (1291), and lectured on the interpretation of Scripture in their school at Paris,[3] bringing his Hebrew and Rabbinical learning to the elucidation of the sacred text. His labours were embodied in a great work, entitled *Postillæ Perpetuæ in Universa Biblia* (whence he is often called the *Postillator*).[4] In a prefatory essay,[5] *De Libris Bibliæ Canonicis et non Canonicis*, he speaks of the prevalent ignorance which regarded all the books of the Bible as of equal authority, and lays down the distinction, that "the *canonical* books were composed with the dictation of the Holy Ghost; but of the *non-canonical* or *apocryphal*, it is not known when or by whom they were written." In the Prologue [6] he maintains the principle that the *one letter* of SS. comprehends *manifold senses*;[7] but, for this very reason, all profitable study must begin from the clear understanding of the literal sense. Among the causes which obscure this sense, he mentions the errors introduced into the text both by transcribers and correctors, and the faults of the Vulgate Latin Version. His one standard is the *original text* of Scripture. After censuring the traditional method of mystical interpretation, with an evident

[1] The common statement, that he was a Jew by descent, appears to have no foundation save in his knowledge of Hebrew.

[2] Luther followed the example of Wyclif's Bible, in the *Prologue* to which (by Purvey) Nicolas of Lyra is named as one of the principal commentators consulted.

[3] His birth is commonly placed in 1270, and his death in 1340, but some say 1351.

[4] Printed in 5 vols. folio, Romæ, 1471; best edition, Lugd. 1590; and in the *Biblia Glossata*. The Jewish proselyte and Dominican, Paul, bishop of Burgos (*ob.* 1435), enriched his copy of the Postils with Notes and Additions of considerable value, but frequently blaming Nicolas for preferring his own interpretations and those of the Jewish writers to the authority of the Fathers and of St. Thomas Aquinas. The vindication of Lyra was taken up by Matthew Doring, Franciscan Provincial Minister for Saxony, in his *Replicæ defensivæ Postillæ*; and this was added to the other points of eager controversy between the rival orders.

[5] See the passages quoted by Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 195, 196, *n.* 14.

[6] Prolog. i., *De Commendatione Sacræ Scripturæ in generali.*

[7] He classifies these under four heads, in the couplet quoted on 482 *n.*

though cautious reference to the great Schoolmen, he avows his intention to occupy himself with the literal sense, rarely interposing some very few and brief mystical expositions; and to rely on the authority, not only of Catholic but of Hebrew Doctors, and chiefly of Rabbi Salomon.[1] Lyra is especially careful to reconcile his improvements in the sacred text and its interpretation with dutiful submission to the Church, though in such terms as to assert the supreme authority of Scripture. Modestly confessing that he may have erred from imperfect knowledge, both of Hebrew and Latin, he protests his intention to affirm nothing except in accordance with what has been manifestly determined *by Holy Scripture or the authority of the Church;* all else he asks to be accepted only as a scholastic exercise;[2] and finally, submitting all he had said, or may say, to the correction of Holy Mother Church and of every wise man (a noteworthy co-ordination of opinion with authority), he asks for a pious reader and a charitable corrector. We need not "read between the lines" either covert irony or much less insincerity, but the genuine conflict of awakening religious science—for the knowledge of Scripture is the true science of religion—with the bonds which it was ere long to burst.

§ 8. Connected also, though but indirectly, with the advancement of Scriptural learning, were the labours of an earlier Franciscan, who united the master's fervent missionary zeal with Roger Bacon's application of philosophy to the work; though, like Bacon himself, vulgarly known by the false repute of an alchemist.[3] RAYMUND LULLY (Lullus) is a remarkable example of the Schoolman labouring to convert unbelievers by the persuasions of learning, when he had seen the failure of force in the Crusades. Born in Majorca, about 1235,[4] he led a licentious life at the court of Arragon till he was suddenly converted by a striking incident, as to the nature of which his biographers differ; and a sermon preached on St. Francis's day led him to sell his property, save just enough to support his wife and children, and devote himself to the conversion of Jews and Saracens. His biographers must needs

[1] Rabbi Salomon Jarchi or Raschi, of Troyes (*ob.* after 1105) was one of the Jewish scholars who greatly advanced the study of the Old Testament. Others were R. Aben Esra, of Toledo (*ob.* 1167), R. David Kimchi, of Narbonne (*ob.* about 1230), R. Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), of Cordova (died at Cairo, 1205). (See Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 311.)

[2] A device for reconciling scientific teaching with orthodoxy, which has been used by others, as for example the Jesuit editors of Newton's *Principia.*

[3] Comp. p. 495. In his works there is not even any mention of his having experimented in chemistry.

[4] The chief authorities for him are the *Acta SS.* Jan. vol. v. p. 633 f., and Wadding.

supplement (but why not have superseded?) the Arabic lessons of his purchased slave by a miraculous gift of tongues. It is to special revelation also that they ascribe the universal knowledge which, in months of solitary preparation for his work, he embodied in a treatise called the *Art of Arts* or *General Art*,[1] with the object of confronting and converting all infidels with a complete and irresistible proof of Christianity. He persuaded King James of Arragon to found a monastery in Majorca, for training thirteen Franciscans to preach to the Mussulmans in Arabic (1287). Armed with his all-convincing treatise, he crossed twice to North Africa (1291 and 1306); but his challenges to arguments were so met that he had to fly for his life. Meanwhile he journeyed to the East as far as Armenia, disputing with Mohammedans, Nestorians, and Jacobites; and he travelled through France and Italy, teaching his Great Art, and trying to move Popes and sovereigns to found monastic schools for the study of oriental languages. At length he obtained from Clement V., at the Council of Vienne (1311, see p. 108), a decree establishing chairs of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, for the instruction of missionaries, in the four Universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca, as well as in any city where the Pope might be residing. In 1314 Raymund became a Franciscan tertiary; but next year, having sailed again for Africa, he perished in a tumult at Bougiah, where the people, who had been unmoved by his universal art of persuasion, stoned him when he threatened them with Divine vengeance (1315).

A school of followers, called *Lullianists*, styled him *Doctor Admirabilis*, and the Franciscans revered him as a saint; but the Dominicans found heresy in his writings, though in his *De Secretis Naturæ* he followed their great Albert in the mixture of metaphysical divinity with cabalistic theosophy and physics. He is said to have written 120 books, many of them in Arabic.

[1] *Ars Generalis*, also called *Ars Magna s. Universalis*, and popularly the "Lullian Art," of which Lord Bacon speaks as mere sciolism under an ostentatious show of knowledge (*De Augm. Scient.* vi. 2, fin.) His extant works are published as "R. Lulli *Opp. quæ ab ipso inventam artem universalem pertinent*," Argent. 1598; Mogunt. 1792; 10 vols. 4to. There is a special work on him by Adolf Helfferich, *R. Lull. u. die Anfänge der catalonischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1858 (or 1859).

Among other Schoolmen worthy of a passing mention are, the strict Franciscan Scotist, FRANZ MAYRON, "Doctor Illuminatus or Acutus," who died at Paris in 1323, and the Thomist Dominican General, HERVÆUS NATALIS (*ob.* 1323). But the truly evangelical *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles* ascribed to the latter (printed in Anselm's Works, Paris, 1544) belongs to a forgotten worthy of the 12th century, the Benedictine monk HERVEUS of Bourgdieu (*ob.* about 1130), who also wrote a *Commentary on Isaiah* (first printed by Petz, *Thesaur. Anecdot. Noviss.* Tom. III. pars IV.

Strassburg.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MYSTICAL THEOLOGY AND THE MYSTICS.

CENTURIES XIV. AND XV.

§ 1. The Scholastic and Mystical Elements: development of the latter—Definition. § 2. Impulses to Mysticism—Troubles of the 14th century. § 3. Popular movement in Germany and the Low Countries—Vernacular Literature and Preaching—The friars Conrad and Berthold—The Beghards and other enthusiasts. § 4. Two elements in the teaching of the Mystics—Their orthodoxy—Mostly Dominicans. § 5. HENRY ECKART—Heresies imputed to him. § 6. NICOLAS OF BASLE and the *Friends of God.* § 7. The Dominican JOHN TAULER, the "Enlightened Doctor"—At Paris and Strassburg—The Great Interdict—His preaching. § 8 His interview with Nicolas of Basle, and its results—New character of his preaching—His German tracts—The *Imitation of Christ's Life of Poverty*—His part during the Black Plague—His Death, and influence down to Luther. § 9. SUSO—His autobiography—*Book of Eternal Wisdom.* § 10. The speculative Mysticism of JOHN RUYSBROEK—His claim to inspiration—Charged with Pantheism. § 11. The *German Theology*—Its great influence on Luther. § 12. Union of Scholasticism and Mysticism—JOHN CHARLIER GERSON—His *Theologia Mystica* and other works—His reforming contemporaries. § 13. RAYMUND OF SABUNDE'S *Natural Theology*—Its mystical element. § 14. The Mysticism of Practical Benevolence—Societies misrepresented as

heretics: the *Lollards*. § 15. *Brethren of the Common Life*: their two objects—Their founder GERARD GROOT—His preaching at Deventer—His *self-supporting* brotherhood—Its rules—Secular studies rejected for Scripture and the Fathers. § 16. FLORENTIUS RADEWINI, its second founder, as a regular order—The canons of Windesheim and society of Deventer—Canons of St. Agnes at Zwoll—Practical work and main object of the Brethren. § 17. THOMAS À KEMPIS and the *De Imitatione Christi*.

§ 1. THE open rebellion of those who either threw off the yoke of the Church, or were driven out of her by persecution, will be traced in our next chapters: meanwhile the more emotional form of religion within her pale found utterance independently of the Schools.[1] We have seen how, in the earlier age of Scholasticism, the mystical element, which was combined with the dialectic in Anselm and prevailed over it in Bernard, predominated in the theology of the Victorines[2] and had a large share in the theology of Bonaventura. In fact, as Milman observes, "it is an error to suppose Mysticism as the perpetual antagonist of Scholasticism: the Mystics were often severe Logicians; some Scholastics had all the passion of Mystics. Nor were the Scholastics always Aristotelians and Nominalists, or the Mystics Realists and Platonists. The logic was often that of Aristotle, the philosophy of Plato." Still the two tendencies, which lie deeper in human nature than can be expressed by the teaching of any master—the logical and the intuitional—were ever asserting their essential antagonism, the conflict of knowledge and feeling, of that intellectual belief and emotional faith, which the language of Latin Christianity has confused under one word. We have seen how Alexander Hales attempted to reconcile them by maintaining that theology should be treated not as *scientia* but as *sapientia*; but Mysticism gradually assumed an independent development of its own, and an antagonism for the most part unconscious; till the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which Scholasticism is fast declining, present the full development of the Mystic theology. Its essential character is defined by Archbishop Trench in the brief statement, that "the evidence of Divine things, which the Schoolman found in the consonance between Faith and Reason reasonably exercised, each sustaining and confirming the other, the Mystic sought and claimed to find in a more immediate fellowship and intercommunion with God, in an illumination from above which was light and warmth in one."[3] Whether that fellowship is to be maintained through

[1] Comp. Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vol. ix. p. 160.
[2] See Chap. XXVIII. § 14.
[3] *Med. Ch. Hist.* pp. 356–7. The whole Lecture is admirable.

the ordinances and forms of religion, or independently of them; whether the revelation of God is to be found in His Word, or in His likeness in the heart of man created in His image: is the distinction, broad in principle but easily overpassed by enthusiasm, which divides the Mystic spirit of which St. Augustine is a leading type, from that which forms the sole religion of myriads without the Church, and which is always working more or less within it.

§ 2. While from the philosophical point of view the current of medieval mysticism may be traced to the philosophy of Plato, or rather to the Neo-Platonism which tended to a pantheistic view of the relation between man and God—its striking development from the beginning of the fourteenth century was rather popular than scholastic. At that epoch there were special causes to call forth a principle so deeply seated in human nature; causes in the Church and the world even more powerful than the reaction against the dominant Scholasticism. The deep and general corruption of the ecclesiastical system, with its head renewing claims to authority in the inverse proportion of his lost power; the frightful sufferings inflicted on Christendom by the great conflict between John XXII. and the Emperor Louis IV., culminating in the privation of the rites of the Church by the "Long Interdict,"[1] and followed by the terrors of the pestilence called the "Black Death" (1347–1353); all tended to make earnest men seek deeper sources of light and life than they found in the common teaching and ministrations of the Church. "The Councils, towards which men were already looking, might or might not reform and renew the outward face of the Church; but the true Mystic would fain reform and renew what was more within his power, and what he felt more nearly to concern him, namely, himself and his own heart. If every external basis and support for government and religion had given way, we have, they said, at least ourselves left us. Within the circle of our own thoughts we have enough to content us. There, if we seek it, we can find order and peace and holy quiet, and God the Author of these."[2]

§ 3. The causes which stimulated this movement of religious feeling, from the beginning of the 14th century, were especially at work in Germany and the Low Countries, where the calamities of the age were most felt, and where the rise of the great and wealthy commercial cities had created a new class with aspirations for religious as well as civil freedom. Those aspirations had long been fostered by the growing use of the vernacular tongue as the vehicle of

[1] This began in 1324; its exact termination is doubtful. (See p. 114.)
[2] Trench, *loc. cit.* pp. 358–9.

independent Teutonic thought, not only in popular poetry, but in preaching; and the adoption of this vernacular language by the Mystics, instead of the usual ecclesiastical Latin, is a strong sign of the popular character of the movement.[1] The first great impulse was given by the Mendicant Orders, whose most famous preachers in Germany were the Dominican Inquisitor, Conrad of Marburg (1232),[2] and the Franciscan, Berthold of Winterthur (1247–1272), whose "sermons, taken down by the zeal of his hearers, were popular in the best sense; he had the instinct of eloquence; he is even now by the best judges set above Tauler himself" (Milman). Preaching was also the great instrument of those enthusiasts who stood on doubtful ground between the Church and the dissidents, such as the Beghards and the "Brethren of the Free Spirit," who swarmed in Alsace at the beginning of the 14th century.

§ 4. The teaching of the Mystics comprehended the two elements, whether in union, or the one prevailing over the other, of reformation in an ascetic spirit, and contemplative or intuitive speculation: the striving after a higher practical life or a deeper spiritual revelation: but the former element found its motive and source of strength in the latter, which is summed up in the one expressive German word *Innigkeit* (inwardness). It was natural that such a phase of religion should be rather *individual* than *sectarian*; though like-minded disciples formed societies which the ecclesiastical rulers identified with obnoxious sects, and many modern writers have sought affinities between them. But the Mystics themselves were careful to keep their speculations within the bounds of orthodoxy, and even when we must judge that they transgressed those limits, they still professed a dutiful submission to the Church and obedience to the Roman see. It is, indeed, remarkable that, while the Franciscan zealots became fierce Ghibellines, and the Franciscan Schoolmen revived Nominalism, the chief teachers of Mysticism sprang from the Dominicans.[3]

[1] Besides their published works, numerous MSS. of their sermons in the vulgar tongue are laid up in the libraries of Germany. On the whole growth of this vernacular preaching see Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christ.* vol. ix. pp. 254–5.

[2] See Chap. XXXVIII. § 4.

[3] Besides the ordinary text-books, the chief modern sources of information concerning the Mystics are the following: Gottfried Arnold, *Hist. Theol. Mysticæ*, Frankf. 1702; Charles Schmidt, *Essai sur les Mystiques du 14e siècle*, Strasb. 1836, and the same author's *Joannes Tauler von Strassburg*, 1841, and *Die Gottesfreunde im 14ten Jahrh.*, Jena, 1854; Böhringer, *Die Kirchengeschichte in Biographien*, vol. ii., *Die deutschen Mystiker des 14. u. 15. Jahrh.*, Zürich, 1855; Alfred Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*: and the (incomplete) collections of their works: *Deutsche Mystiker des 14. Jahrh.*, edited by Pfeiffer, 2 vols., Leipz. 1845–57; *Mystische u. ascetische Bibliothek*, Köln, 1849–57.

§ 5. First, not only in order of time,[1] but as representing the boldest speculative side of Mysticism, stands Master HENRY ECKART,[2] a native of Saxony, elected Saxon Provincial of the Dominicans in 1304, and Vicar-General of the Order in Bohemia in 1307. Thence he went to the Rhine and lived chiefly at Cologne, but travelled up and down the country, attracting crowds of hearers to his sermons in the language of the common people. We have too little information to decide whether it was his personal character or his influence in the Order that shielded him from the consequences of the suspicion with which his teaching was regarded, as having much in common with the sectaries called Brethren of the Free Spirit.[3] On this ground, when he was a Prior at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and his teaching was called in question by order of the Dominican General (1324), and three years later by the Archbishop of Cologne, who collected twenty-eight propositions from his writings for censure, Eckart disavowed every sense of his words that might be contrary to the doctrine of the Church; but, on being required to make a more specific retraction, he appealed to Pope John XXII., whose Bull condemning the impugned aphorisms appeared in 1320, after Eckart's death. But his memory was still held in honour by the Dominicans in the Rhineland, and he is named with reverence by Tauler and Suso,[4] who were free from any leaven of the heresies imputed to their master.

In late years Eckart has been ranked with Erigena and Hegel as the three leaders in pantheistic speculation of the modern world; and certainly he was the leading spirit among the speculative Mystics of his own age. "Not unacquainted with Aristotle, but holding more closely to Plato, or perhaps rather to the Neo-Platonists; nourished by the mystical element so largely to be found in Augustine, but lacking Augustine's wholesome doctrine of sin and of the Fall; working up into his philosophy all which

[1] Observe that the leading Mystics, Eckart and Tauler, are contemporary (more or less) with the later names among the great schoolmen, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham.

[2] For his life, see Quétif et Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, i. p. 507 f.; Raynaldi *Annales*, ann. 1329, No. 7; Schmidt, *Meister Eckart*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1839, vol. iii.; Martensen, *Meister Eckart*, Hamb. 1842. His extant works consist of *Sermons*, a Tract of *Divine Consolation*, and other short Essays. Of the twenty-eight aphorisms selected for condemnation in the Bull of John XXII. (1329), most are to be found in his Sermons. (See the extracts in Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 179.)

[3] Gieseler supposes that the work called *Nine Spiritual Rocks*, from which five of the twenty-eight condemned aphorisms are taken was not really Eckart's, but a perversion of his doctrines disseminated under his name by the Brethren of the Free Spirit, respecting whom see p. 437.

[4] See the passages in Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 181.

he could assimilate from Erigena and from the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, but attaching himself still more closely to Amalric of Bena; and cultivating relations full of danger with the Brethren of the Free Spirit—Eckart is not for all this a mere eclectic, picking out portions from other men's schemes of philosophy, and piecing these ingeniously together. All of most characteristic which we find in the later Mystics, we find already in the bud, often in the full flower, in him."[1]

The little of his writings that has come down to us is yet sufficient to sustain the charges of Pantheism brought against him; not, however, the deification of nature—for, indeed, those ages concerned themselves very little about nature—but a Pantheism far more perilous and portentous, *a deification of man.*[2] Still there are passages in Eckart's writings which assert with all clearness the distinction between God and the creature; and hence he is claimed as a profound teacher by two schools of followers so divergent as orthodox Churchmen and speculative Pantheists.

§ 6. The year after the death of Eckart (1330) marks the first appearance of the special representative of Mysticism in its practical energy, NICOLAS OF BASLE,[3] who believed that by his ascetic exercises he had attained to a complete renunciation of the world and his own will, and to an inward intercourse with God as well as visions and revelations, and devoted his life to guide others into the same communion with God. If he did not originate, he was the chief

[1] Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, pp. 358 f. See his summary of Eckart's views.

[2] For further illustration of this, and especially of the relation of Christ on the one hand to God, see the extracts in Gieseler, who thus sums up Eckart's teaching (vol. iv. p. 177): "God is, according to him, the only essence: the eternal generation of the Son is the production of essential ideas. These are that divinity which exists in all creatures; everything finite is only a phantom. The godlike in the soul must separate itself from the finite according to the pattern of Christ, that by the contemplation of God man may become, like Christ, a son of God." Milman (ix. 256) says that "Master Eckhart is the parent of German metaphysical theology."

[3] All that is known of him and his followers is collected in Schmidt's *Joannes Tauler* and *Die Gottesfreunde*. The original sources of information are the *Historia des ehw. D. Tauleri*, written by Tauler and finished by Nicolas, prefixed to Tauler's Sermons, and the *Buch von den fünf Männen*, i.e. of Nicolas and the four original companions of his cœnobite life. Of his works there are extant, a *Letter to Christendom*, to call it to repentance, occasioned by a vision on Christmas night, 1356, and one to the Johannites of Strassburg in 1377; both in Schmidt's *Tauler*, pp. 220, 233. (Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 181.) Trench describes Nicolas as "the invisible Pope of an invisible Church," who, "evermore hunted by the Inquisition, passed up and down through Western Christendom, everywhere ministering to a hidden people who owned his spiritual sway." (*Med. Ch. Hist.* p. 369.)

leader of that remarkable association which adopted the title "*Friends of God*," from the words of Christ to His disciples.[1] The title appears both as a general recognition of brotherhood among the Mystics, and as the special name of a society, more or less organized, chiefly on the Upper Rhine, about Strassburg and Basle, but in correspondence also with brethren at Cologne, in the Low Countries, and in Switzerland. The idea of their connection with the Waldenses or other sectaries has been disproved.[2] While relying on visions or revelations, they did not question the doctrine of the Church. They were devoted to the Blessed Virgin, reverenced saints and relics, and held the common belief in purgatory. This society included monks and clergy, nobles, merchants, men and women of all classes, even down to tillers of the soil. They had priests to administer the Eucharist, but in other respects did not attach importance to ordination. Thus Nicolas of Basle, a layman, who had founded the party, was regarded as its chief and its most enlightened member; and one of its characteristics was the principle of submission to certain men, whose superior sanctity had raised them to the highest grade. While professing to be purely scriptural, they interpreted the Scriptures allegorically and mystically, and some parts of their system were concealed from the lower grades of believers by being disguised in a symbolical form. They denounced the subtilties and the dryness of Scholasticism, and regarded the mixture of philosophy with religion as pharisaical. Their preachers were distinguished by the warmth, the earnestness, and the practical nature of their discourses; instead of contenting themselves with warning against the grossest sins by the fear of hell, they rather dwelt on the blessedness of heaven, and exhorted to the perfection of the Christian life, and to union with God. The way, they taught, is entire resignation to the Divine will; if this were attained, men would pray neither for heaven nor for deliverance from hell, but for God Himself alone.

[1] John xv. 15; adopted by Tauler in the general sense (*ap.* Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 177). Other titles: *Brothers in Christ*, *Peace on Earth*, *Children of God*, and so forth, were used just as the primitive Christians used the names of *Brethren*, *Disciples*, *Those of the Way*, &c. They were bound together by community of feeling, rather than by any external union; any one could take up or lay down this brotherhood on his own authority.

[2] Especially by Gieseler (iv. 182), who specifies these clear distinctions, proving that Nicolas could not have been a Waldensian preacher: (1) He remained continually in possession of his own property; (2) He worshipped the Virgin Mary and the saints; (3) He believed in Purgatory; (4) Those ecstasies and visions, which the five men believed that they had, were as unknown to the Waldenses as their revelling in inward suffering and self-inflictions. The following account of their tenets is condensed from Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 320–322.

It was held that the highest reach of love was to prefer the salvation of another to our own.

The history of Nicolas himself is obscure. He was a man of wealth, which he did not renounce but devoted to religious purposes. He appears to have had at first four associates, and eventually the number of those admitted to the highest grade was thirteen. The chief seat of the association was a house built by Nicolas on a mountain within the Austrian-Swiss territory; and the inmates were not subject to any monastic rule. In 1377, when the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon appeared to open prospects of reform, Nicolas and one of his brethren repaired to Rome and sought an interview with the Pope, whom they urged to heal the evils of the Church. On Gregory's professing himself unequal to such a work, Nicolas threatened him with death within a year, and foretold the coming schism. At the moment when his predictions were being fulfilled, Nicolas and his followers prayed together, from the 17th to the 25th of March, 1378, that God would dispel the dark clouds which overhung the Church.[1] "They were directed to *wait*. The time of *waiting* lasted to March 25th, 1383. In the meantime they scrupled not to speak with the utmost freedom of the Pope and the clergy. They disclaimed both Popes. Many awful visions were seen by many believers; many terrible prophecies were sent abroad. At length Nicolas and some of his chief followers set out as preachers of repentance. In 1393, Martin of Mainz was burned in Cologne; others in Heidelberg; Nicolas, with two of his chief and constant disciples, at Vienne, in Dauphiny."[2]

§ 7. The twofold influences of Eckart's speculative theology and the practical zeal of Nicolas and the Friends of God were concentrated in JOHN TAULER, of Strassburg,[3] the most famous and permanently influential of the Mystics. It was not perhaps without

[1] Gregory died in 1378, on the 27th of March (see p. 135).

[2] Milman, vol. ix. pp. 258–9.

[3] For his life and writings, see Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Prædicat.* vol. i. p. 667 f.; Oberlin, *Diss de Tauleri dictione vernacula et mystica*, Argent. 1786; Ullmann, *Die Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 222; and especially C. Schmidt, *Johannes Tauler von Strassburg*, Hamburg, 1841, and his article *Tauler* in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*. The *Historia des ehwr. D. Tauleri* (see above, p. 559, n. [3]) is the narrative of his conversion and death. Of his sermons and tracts, the best edition is that of John Rynman, Basle, 1521; the latest, in modern German, Frankf.-on-Main, 1826 (with an Introduction on his Life and Writings). The most remarkable of his ascetic works, *Die Nachfolgung des armen Lebens Christi*, was first published by Dan. Suderman, 1621; last by Schlosser, Frankf.-on-Main, 1833. Some of his sermons have been translated into English by Miss Winkworth, with an Introduction on his Life and Times, Lond., 1857

a covert satire on the titles of the great schoolmen, that Tauler's disciples called him the "Enlightened Doctor" (*Doctor Illuminatus*). Born at Strassburg in 1290, he entered the Dominican order at the age of eighteen, and went to study at Paris, where he was disgusted at the unspiritual teaching of the scholastic doctors, who (he said), while ever turning over the leaves of huge books, cared not for the one Book of Life.[1] He turned in preference to the mystic scholasticism of the Victorines, and the spurious writings of the Areopagite, but above all the teaching of St. Augustine. It was probably at Paris that Tauler received the Doctorate and holy orders. It seems to have been on his return to Strassburg that he came under the influence of Eckart's teaching; but his disposition to practical work rather than speculation attracted him more strongly to the "Friends of God," whose numbers were rapidly swollen and their zeal stimulated by the state of public affairs. Strassburg was a chief seat of the conflict between John XXII. and Louis of Bavaria. The Bishop, John of Ochsenstein,[2] laid the papal interdict on the city; the Magistrates declared that the Clergy who would not perform their functions must be driven from the city; the Clergy, Monks, and Friars, were divided. While the Dominicans generally obeyed the interdict, Tauler not only continued his ministrations at Strassburg, but became famous as a preacher throughout the Rhineland, from Basel to Cologne, where Ruysbroek, the disciple of Eckart, was at the height of his fame and influence as a teacher of speculative mysticism.

§ 8. He had reached the height of popularity, and was in his fiftieth year (1340), when an incident, of which we have his own graphic narrative, decided his choice between the attractions of speculation and practical teaching.[3] He esteemed it, in fact, as his true conversion. A stranger, who was no other than Nicolas, had heard Tauler preach at Basle, and had travelled to Strassburg on purpose to win him to higher spiritual life. With profound respect for his office and renown, the layman rebuked the preacher's lofty but self-righteousness mysticism; counselled him to abstain from preaching and hearing confessions, to deny himself, and to meditate on the life and death of Christ, till he had attained humility and regeneration. Tauler obeyed the spiritual

[1] Tauler, Sermon in Schmidt, p. 3.

[2] This bishop had made a violent persecution of the Friends of God in 1317.

[3] See the graphic account given by Milman (ix. 259) from Schmidt, who has taken it from the original narrative of "a Teacher of Holy Scripture and a Layman," who was certainly Nicolas of Basle, though his name is not mentioned. It is translated in Miss Winkworth's *Life and Times of Tauler*.

experience which was the only authority recognized among the Friends of God, and, mocked at by his former friends, went through the exercises prescribed by Nicolas, who contributed to his support. His old self-assurance was so humbled, that on his first attempt to preach, at the end of the two years, he broke down and burst into tears. He was now again suspended from preaching, this time by his superiors, who supposed that he had lost his senses; but, when Nicolas thought his disciple sufficiently humbled, he directed him to ask leave to preach in Latin before the brethren of his Order, who so admired the sermon that they took off the prohibition. From this time Tauler's preaching, now in German only, was marked by a new unction of life and warmth; and we are told that, at his first public discourse, twelve persons were struck down as it were dead.[1] Besides these sermons in the language of the people, he addressed to them tracts also in German, among which his famous work on the *Imitation of Christ's Life of Poverty*,[2] taught a spiritual self-denial above the unattainable outward perfection of the mendicants. His teaching was diffused, and in some cases exaggerated, by the many who took him for their spiritual director, amongst whom special mention is made of a wealthy retired merchant, Rulman Merswin, who founded the Johanniterhaus at Strassburg, and wrote a book entitled the *Nine Rocks*,[3] a mystic representation of the soul's ascent to God.

In 1348–9 the misery so long suffered from the Interdict was intensified by the Black Death, which swept off in Strassburg 16,000, in Basle 14,000 victims. Tauler, with others like-minded, addressed a remonstrance to the clergy, that the poor, innocent people were left to die untended, unabsolved, under the Interdict; and another tract denounced the abuse of the spiritual sword, and asserted the rights of the Electors.[4] The maxim was boldly laid down, that "he who confesses the true faith of Christ, and sins only against the person of the Pope, is no heretic." For these

[1] Schmidt, *Tauler*, pp. 41–3.

[2] *Die Nachfolgung des armen Lebens Christi.*

[3] This is a very different work from the *Nine Spiritual Rocks* already mentioned (p. 558, n. [3]). It was written in 1352, and is printed with Suso's works. After complaining of degeneracy, luxury, and contempt of spiritual things, as prevailing among all classes of the clergy, from the Pope downwards, amongst monks and friars, Beghards and laity, he describes the Nine Rocks, each of which, as it rises higher, is steeper and harder to climb, peopled by persons who have overcome some sins, fewer and fewer at each stage, till on the last only three men appear, and these seem as if wasted by their toil, although inwardly shining like angels from the love that is in them.

[4] See the full account in Milman, vol. ix. pp. 261, 262.

bold opinions Tauler, with two of his friends, fell under the suspicion of the new bishop, Berthold, and was called to render an account of his faith before Charles IV. "the Priests' Emperor." No longer safe at Strassburg, he went to Cologne, and there preached against the Pantheistic tenets of the Beghards, and even of those dreamy fanatics who would yield up their passive souls to the working of Divine grace. He returned to Strassburg only to die, and was buried in the cloisters, amid the respectful sorrow of the whole city (June, 1361).[1]

§ 9. Of a more visionary spirit, without the manly strength of Tauler, was the Dominican, Henry von Berg, of Ulm and Constance, better known by his assumed name of SUSO,[2] who died at the age of seventy in 1365. Famous as a powerful preacher, his teaching was mingled with misty fancies and trifling superstitions. For the instruction of one of those nuns,[3] amongst whom the Mystics found their most devoted disciples, he dictated to her an autobiography, which seems to betray an imaginative element. When brought to death's door by a course of ascetism and bodily torture, persevered in from his eighteenth to his fortieth year, it was revealed to him by an angel that he had studied long enough in the lower school, and that he was now to be transferred to the higher discipline of suffering, no longer self-inflicted, but to be brought on him plentifully by men and devils. His prayer for direction to his life's work received the

[1] See Milman (*loc. cit.*) for a full estimate of his preaching and teaching, the *wholly personal* character of his religion, and his lasting influence down to the time of Luther. These are the terms in which Luther speaks of Tauler (the italics are his own):—"I know indeed that this teacher is unknown, and probably, therefore, despised in the schools of those *Theologians* [*Theologorum*—the Latin is significant]; but I have found in them [his discourses in German] more of profound and clearer *Theology* [mehr von gründlicher und lauterer *Theologie*] than any one has found in all the School-doctors together who have taught in all the *Universities* or can find in their *Sententiæ*." (Luther's *Bestreitung des papstl. Ablass*, vol. xvii. p. 52, of his *Werke*, ed. Leipz. 1732.)

[2] He adopted this Latin form of his mother's name, *Säuss*, the rather for its likeness to *süss* ("sweet"). On his life, see Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.* i. 653; Ullmann, *Die Reformatoren vor der Reform.* ii. 204; C. Schmidt, *Etudes*, &c., p. 172, also *Der Mystiker Heinr. Suso* in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1843, iv. 835, and in Herzog's *Encyclop.*, art. SUSO; and F. Bricka's *Henri Suso*, Strassb., 1854. His whole works (tracts and sermons) in German were published at Augsburg, 1482; Ulm, 1512; translated into Latin by L. Surius, Colon., 1555; in modern German, by Melch. Diepenbrock, Ratisbon, 1829. Extracts from his *Book of Eternal Wisdom*, in the original old German, are given in A. Jahn's *Lesefrüchten alt. deutscher Theologie*, Bern, 1838. (Gieseler, vol. iv. p. 185.)

[3] Her name was Elizabeth Stäuglin. The life, written down by her from Suso's narrative, was published by him after her death, of which he had warned her as revealed to him.

answer, that the less one does the more hath he really done—that men ought not to act for themselves, but to cast themselves wholly on the promises of God. The one great principle, of entire self-abandonment and resignation to the Divine will, is inculcated in Suso's "Book of Eternal Wisdom," which represents the Saviour as conversing with His servant, and recounting the bodily and spiritual sufferings of His passion. His favourite position is, that a redeemed man must be set free from the form of the creature, formed anew with Christ and transformed into the Godhead. Among other pantheistic indications, he relates how he sâw his deceased spiritual daughter "passing gloriously into the pure dignity;" and, besides his visions, he lays claim to miracles. But the visionary character of Suso's opinions is redeemed by the life and warmth of his desire for the salvation of the lost.

§ 10. The speculative mysticism was taught, after Eckart, by JOHN RUYSBROEK, the *Doctor Ecstaticus*, whose long life was contemporary with the teachers already described. He died in 1381, at the age of 88. Described as originally "a man reputed to be devout, but of little learning,"[1] he retired at the age of 60 to the monastery of regular Canons at Gröndal,[2] near Brussels, and became their prior. To the woods of this "green valley" he was wont to retire, to meditate and write, when he felt moved by the power of Divine grace; and once, we are told, the Canons, uneasy at his long absence, found him surrounded by a supernatural light, half unconscious, "inebriated by the glow of the divine sweetness." To such direct inspiration did he trace all that he knew and taught. When visited by Gerard Groot, he avowed to him, "Master Gerard, know ye verily that I have set down no words anywhere in my books, save as I was moved by the Holy Ghost," or, according to another version, "save in presence of the Holy Trinity." But the unconscious influence of Eckart betrays itself throughout; and,

[1] John of Trittenheim, *De Script. Eccles.* p. 332. See the life of Ruysbroek, by a canon soon after his time, prefixed to his works by Surius; Dr. J. G. B. Engelhardt's *Richard von St. Victor and Joh. Ruysbroek*, Erlangen, 1838; Ullmann's *Reformatoren vor der Reform.* ii. 36; C. Schmidt, *Etudes*, &c., p. 213; De Wette, *Christliche Sittenlehre*, II. ii. 237. "The works, which he wrote in the Low Dutch of Brabant, have only been published in the paraphrased Latin translation of Laur. Surius (Colon. 1552); but they are still extant in their original language in nineteen MSS. of the Royal Library at Brussels. The translation into High German, which was made as early as the 14th century, and of which there are MSS. at Munich and Strassburg, is not quite faithful. More faithful are the MSS., in the dialect of the Lower Rhine, from which A. von Arnswaldt published four works by John Ruysbroek, with a Preface by Ullmann, Hannov. 1848." (Gieseler, vol. iv. pp. 185–6.)

[2] See the *Liber de Origine Monast. Viridis Vallis*, cited by Gieseler, *l.c.*

though Ruysbroek would have had Pantheists burnt, his opinions were censured by the famous Gerson as pantheistic.[1]

§ 11. The like speculative spirit pervades the anonymous book, made famous through its publication by Luther under the title of "German Theology,"[2] the year before his own revolt from Rome. It is certainly later than Tauler, to whom it was erroneously ascribed; but of its real author we only know that he belonged to the society of the Friends of God. His theme is "divine truth, and the high and beautiful state of a perfect life." It is a work, as Milman[3] observes, "of which the real character and importance cannot be appreciated without a full knowledge of the time at which it originally appeared. It was not so much what it taught as 'German Theology,' but what it threw aside as no part of genuine Christian faith." Luther esteemed it one of the most precious bequests made by the later Middle Ages to after times.

§ 12. The opposite tendencies of Scholasticism and Mysticism, which had long before been united in Bonaventura, were now again reconciled in JOHN CHARLIER GERSON[4] (ob. 1429), the famous Chancellor of Paris, of whose reforming spirit and part in the Council of Constance we have already spoken. This "*Doctor Christianissimus*" was the worthy representative of the traditions of that old Parisian school, which had resisted the yoke of the scholastic mendicants, and, having now adopted the prevalent Nominalist philosophy, sought for a reformation of theology, in which the loss of the old realistic spiritualism should be compensated by a new power of warmth and life. This they found in Mysticism, but a mysticism very different from the speculations of Eckart and Ruysbroek (which Gerson vehemently censured as pantheistic), and rather the revival and extension of that of St. Bernard and the Victorines. Like those learned and devout men, Gerson and the new French school did not reject dialectic methods

[1] In this controversy, after the death of Ruysbroek, his views were defended by John, a canon of Gröndal, on the ground (among others) that Gerson relied too much on the Latin translation. John's tract and Gerson's rejoinder are in Ruysbroek's Works, i. 63 f.

[2] With the original title, "*Theologia deutsch*, die leret gar manchen lieblichen underscheit gotlicher wahrheit und seit gar hohe und gar schone ding von einem volkomen leben": first edited by Luther, 1516; reprinted from the only known MSS. by Pfeiffer, Stuttg. 1851; 2nd ed., with a modern German translation, 1855. Luther says, in his Preface, that the author was "a German gentleman, a priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic Order at Frankfurt." According to Joh. Wolf (*Lect. Memorab.* i. 863), his name was Eblendus or Eblandus. Two English translations of the book have appeared.

[3] Vol. ix. p. 266.

[4] So named from his birthplace near Reims. He was a teacher in the University of Paris from 1381, and Chancellor from 1395 (cf. Chap. X.).

in favour of contemplative speculation, but exalted the communion with God through faith, and the inward experience of its enlightening and sanctifying power, above the mere logical conception of divine truth. This light of truth, regulated by the teaching of the Church, is vivified by union with the warmth of Mysticism. Using this word in its proper sense—not for that which is obscure and unintelligible—but for the hidden light and power which works secretly in order to be revealed in its effects, he regards the "Mystic Theology," which he adopts for the title of his work,[1] as that internal teaching by which God is revealed in the experience of devout souls. But Gerson utterly condemns the licence of that individual speculation, which despised alike the rules of dialectic reasoning and the authority of the Church.[2] The higher but rarest type of theologians he finds in "those who have been adorned by both kinds of training, the one of the intellect, the other of the affections, such as Augustine, Hugo (of St. Victor), St. Thomas (Aquinas), Bonaventura, William of Paris, and of the rest a very few":—a choice of worthies which illustrates the comprehensive spirit of Gerson's theology.[3]

[1] *Considerationes de Theologia Mystica: quid et qualiter studere debeat novus Theologus.*

[2] While thus, on the one hand, opposed to unregulated enthusiasm, the new French theology is to be distinguished, on the other hand, from that of the English and Bohemian reformers, of Wycliffe and of Huss—Huss, in whose martyrdom Gerson took part. The reforming doctors of the Sorbonne agreed with the new leaders at Oxford and Prague in condemning the form of religion prevalent in the Church; but, as we have seen, the former aimed only at abating the abuses of worldliness, formalism, and superstition, and relied chiefly on the religious consciousness for the better guidance which the latter sought in Scripture and the primitive state of the Church. The essential difference was that between reverting or not reverting to these fountain-heads of Christian light and life in Biblical criticism and primitive Church history. This fundamental distinction was a fatal hindrance to their union, and forbids our ranking Gerson and his associates among the early reformers in the usual sense of the word.

[3] Besides Gerson's *Considerations on Mystic Theology*, a similar essay, *De Vita Spirituali Animæ*, and his tracts on practical and ascetic religion, he wrote several important works in favour of a reformation of the Church, and maintaining the authority of Councils in opposition to Papal usurpations. Among numerous essays on his life and writings (for which see Gieseler, iv. 189), the most important are: Gence, *J. Gerson restitué et expliqué par lui-même*, Paris, 1837; Jourdain, *Doctrina Jo. Gersonii de Theologia Mystica*, Paris, 1838; C. Schmidt, *Essai sur J. Gerson*, Strasb. 1839; Schwab, *J. Gerson*, Wurzb., 1858. His works were published by Du Pin, Antwerp, 1706, 5 vols. folio. A mere mention must suffice for his colleagues in the University of Paris and fellow-labourers in the cause of theological and ecclesiastical reform. PETRUS DE ALLIACO (d'Ailly), of Compiègne, who preceded Gerson as Chancellor,

§ 13. A still more complete reconciliation between the forms of theology recognized by Gerson—in a word, between the teaching of God in Scripture and the Church, and in Nature in the widest sense—was attempted by the realist philosopher, RAYMUND DE SABUNDE, a native of Barcelona, who taught natural science as well as theology and philosophy at Toulouse (about 1430). He may claim to be regarded as in some sense the founder of "Natural Theology" by his work with that title.[1] God, he says, has given man the book of Nature, in which every creature is a character inscribed by God, both the outward objects and the inward workings of the human mind. This divine book cannot be in contradiction with Holy Scripture and the true doctrine of the Church: common and ever near, it is open for all to read, laymen as well as priests, nor can it be falsified by heretics. From it, therefore, all knowledge must begin; but the highest knowledge is the love of God, the only gift of his own that man has to offer to the Deity; and through the heartfelt communion with Him, which needs a higher illumination than artificial science, the teaching of the Church is best understood. It will be at once seen how far the mystical element severs Raymund's "Natural Theology" from the modern scientific treatment of the subject.

§ 14. The movement of religious life, which produced the mystical theology and philosophy—the conflict of feeling with knowledge, of emotional faith with intellectual belief—found another expression in *a Mysticism of Practical Benevolence*, apart from all speculation. This ideal of Christian life had always existed in the Church, and characterized individuals; but now—amidst the decay of Scholasticism and the growth of Mysticism, the increased energy of free thought and the compassion for suffering in troubled times—it not only gained strength, but found a practical embodiment in special organizations. The tendency to such organization received a strong

and was afterwards Archbishop of Cambray (1396) and Cardinal (1411, ob. 1425), wrote *Recommendatio Scripturæ Sacræ*, *De Potestate Ecclesiastica*, and *De Difficultate Reformationis in Concilio Universali*, published in Hardt's *Concil. Const.* and in Du Pin's edition of Gerson's works. NICOLAUS DE CLAMENGIS (of Clamenges, in the diocese of Châlons), called the Cicero of his age, rector of the University of Paris (1393), private secretary to Benedict XIII. (1401), lived in retirement from 1408 to his death (before 1440; cf. p. 143). His works, *De Studio Theologico*, *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, &c., were edited by Jo. Mart. Lydius, Ludg. Bat. 1613, 4to., and Hardt., *Concil. Const.* (See Ad. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clemanges, sa Vie et ses Ecrits*, Strasb. and Paris, 1846.)

[1] *Liber Creaturum*, s. *Theologia Naturalis*, Argent. 1496. Frankf. 1635; Amst. 1659, Solisb. 1852; *De Natura et Obligatione Hominis*, s. *Viola Animæ*, Colon. 1700. For works on him, see Niedner, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 580; Hase, p. 345.

impulse both from the example of monasticism, and still more from its failure to accomplish its purpose, and from the discredit into which it had fallen, especially in its later form of mendicancy. As the monks had tried the experiment of cultivating their own piety in separation from the world; and as the friars, in their turn, seeing the evils and scandals that sprang from the monastic form of life and possession of property, threw themselves into and upon the world, only to see their higher ideal fall into a deeper disgrace; the new movement reversed both experiments in a life of practical benevolence and self-support, without severance from the world in the form of a separate order. Amidst the spiritual, moral, and practical benefits, found for themselves and conferred upon their fellow-men, it was but natural that, however loyal to the Church, lamenting her corruptions (as did all the mystics of this age) and yearning for their reformation, they should be regarded with suspicion by her rulers and with special jealousy by the monks and friars, and that, like the Beghards before them, they should, more or less, come to be regarded as heretics. This is exemplified in the fate of a society which, at first formed for labours of self-denying benevolence, like the Beguines and Beghards, saw their name likewise turned into a common and more lasting term of heretical reproach.

About the beginning of the 14th century[1] there were formed, first at Antwerp and soon afterwards throughout the Netherlands and Western Germany, societies for pious works of kindness, especially the tending of the sick and burial of the dead. Called at

[1] A.D. 1309 (Raym. 1318, 44). All their names are of doubtful origin: *Fratres Cellitæ*, either from their visiting the sick in their own rooms (*cellæ*), or from the chambers in which they met privately; *Alexiani*, from the name either of their patron saint or their founder; both seemingly mere guesses, like the derivation of their more famous name of *Lollards* from an unknown Walter Lollard, said to have been burnt at Cologne. There is little doubt that the true etymology of *Lollard* or *Lullard* is from the German *lullen*, "to sing softly" (comp. Engl. *lull* and *lullaby*), referring to their gentle chants; in fact, *Loll-harden* (singing-brethren) is a precise analogue of *Beg-harden* (praying-brethren). The derivation from *lolium* or *lollium*, "tares," *inverts* the application, which was soon made to them, of our Lord's parable (Matt. xiii. 25 f.); but when once made, it became a favourite byword, as in the title of the work, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, edited by Mr. Shirley (Rolls Series of Records, 1859). It was not that *Lollard* was derived from *lolium*, but this term was used opprobriously as a play on the former name, and, this once done, it was soon wrongly supposed to be the real etymology (as early as 1382, and in official documents, 1387 and onward). We find the parable of the tares used not only against Wyclif and his followers, but *by* him for Romish corruptions (*ingratum lollium* and *zizania*, *Fasc. Ziz.* pp. 257, 270).

first *Fratres Cellitæ* and *Alexiani*, they were afterwards known by the name of LOLLARDS; and, from the jealousy of priests, monks, and especially friars, which derived countenance from their avowed desire from reformation, as well as in part from their own gradual corruption, this name became, like that of Beghard, a synonym for heretics in general, and especially for the followers of Wyclif. But even after it had got this ill-repute, and men were burnt in England as Lollards, the original Lollards of the Netherlands and Germany were protected, as harmless and beneficent members of the Church, by several Popes during the 15th century.[1]

§ 15. Famous as their name has become in this wider sense, the *original Lollards* were of less importance, and of far less lasting influence, than another society, the Brethren of the Common Life (*Fratres Vitæ Communis*), whose very name implies their aim to fulfil the ideal, of which monasticism had failed: not that of a community severed from the world, but devoted in it to all that constitutes the common life of Christians. Its two great practical objects were, the cultivation of this life among its members, and the training of ministers of the word who should be free from the corruptions of the mendicants, on the one hand, and from the presumption of lay intruders on the other. It was founded by two clergymen in the northern Netherlands, after the middle of the 14th century. GREET (GERARD) GROOT[2] (or, as his name was Latinized, Gerardus Magnus), a deacon of Deventer, after studying theology at Paris, where he was disgusted with Scholasticism, and lecturing with distinction at Cologne, devoted his life to religious exercises and the work of a minister of the word. The disciple and biographer, who has brought the society its chief fame, tells us that the churches were thronged by crowds of people who left their business and their meals to hear the sermons preached by Gerard, often twice a day, and for three hours at a time. Having no fixed cure, he was compelled by the jealous hierarchy to cease preaching; and he turned to the work of organization, though at first with no idea of founding an order. He

[1] See Mosheim, *de Beghardis*, p. 272; Lechler, art. LOLLARDEN, in Herzog's *Encyklopädie*.

[2] This Dutch name, meaning *great*, has since been made famous by Hugo *Grotius* and George *Grote*. The lives of Groot and his successor in the work were written by the famous disciple of the latter, THOMAS À KEMPIS, *Gerardi Magni et Florentii Vitæ*, in his Works, ed. H. Sommalii, Antwerp. 1607. Other authorities are: Jo. Buschius, *Chronicon Canonicorum Regular. ord. S. Augustini capituli Windesemensis*, Antw. 1621 (written in 1464: Busch was a canon of Windesheim from 1419; *ob.* 1479); Delprat, *Verhandeling over de Broedirschap van G. Groote*, Utrecht, 1830, translated into German by Mohnike, Leipzig, 1840; and, besides several German works, the recent excellent account by the Rev. S. Kettlewell, *Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life*, Lond. 1882.

gathered about him at Deventer young clergymen of different nations, who had been moved by his piety and preaching, for religious exercises and study in all that would fit them for their work. It was his principle[1] that no one should be received into the congregation, unless, after the example of St. Paul, he was willing to work with his own hands; and he found them occupation, profitable in a double sense, in the transcription of books, besides other mechanical arts and even ordinary manual labour. From the profits of their work, and their private property freely devoted so far as need required,[2] they derived their common support, and *mendicancy* was utterly renounced. This "common life" was entirely free from monastic vows, in place of which Gerard laid down principles such as these, which may be regarded as the fundamental rule of the society: the brother purposed to regulate his life for the glory and honour and service of God, and the salvation of his soul, preferring to this no temporal good, whether of the body or honour or fortune or knowledge. Not only was profit, but even fame and the reputation of learning, to be renounced as the object of studying any art, or writing any book, undertaking any kind of work, or practising any science; and all public disputation was to be shunned and abhorred, as mere wrangling for triumph and display: witness the schools of theology and arts at Paris.[3] He might not waste time in such studies as geometry, arithmetic, rhetoric, dialectics, grammar, the lyric poets, and judicial astrology.[4] The root of all his study, and the mirror of his whole life, was to be first the

[1] Thos. à Kempis, *Vit. Florent.* 14; where we have some interesting details of the book-manufacture of that age.

[2] That this sort of communism (like that of the first Christians: Acts iv. 32–35, and v. 4) consisted in *voluntary* offerings, not the absolute renunciation of property, appears from the case stated for the opinion of the faculty of law at Cologne (in 1398) about the persons who were even thus early persecuted as *Gerardini* (as well as Beghards). The faculty decided that such a common life, without monastic vows, was lawful; but this opinion was rejected by the Belgian Inquisition, on the ground that, though their life was good and laudable, it was not lawful unless sanctioned by the apostolic see and put under the rule of some approved order. (Mosheim, *de Beghardis*, pp. 433, 443; Gieseler, iv. pp. 166–7.)

[3] "*Sicut sunt omnes disputationes theologorum et artistarum Parisiis*" is the emphatic utterance of Groot's experience as a student.

[4] Observe how nearly this enumeration corresponds to the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the schools, as well as to the course of study laid down by Roger Bacon. The censure, which seems to us so narrow-minded, was in that age the natural reaction of a spiritual mind against that scholasticism, of which little was left but the dry bones. Like all such reactionary utterances, it is an extreme statement of feelings which find vent in words rather than govern practice; and the education given in the excellent schools of the brethren was much more liberal.

Gospel of Christ, because Christ's life is there; and then the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, the enumeration of which, followed by the injunction to hear mass daily, denotes Groot's loyalty to the Church.

§ 16. This society of "Brethren" or "Clergy of the Common Life,"[1] called also "Brethren of Good Will," and, from their devotional exercises in the vernacular, "Brothers of Conference," originally clerical, soon received laymen of every condition; and sisterhoods were formed, each with a "Martha" and "Submartha" at its head; a name evidently denoting their practical character. The organization was completed after the death of Gerard Groot, in 1384, by his chief disciple and associate, FLORENTIUS RADEWINI, vicar of the principal church in Deventer.[2] Foreseeing doubtless the discredit and persecution which would fall on his unauthorized society (if indeed it had not already begun in his lifetime), Gerard, upon his deathbed, recommended his followers to form an order approved by the Church, "to the members of which all the devout of either sex could have a safe recourse in all their needs, and obtain counsel and aid, protection and defence."[3] The question was entertained, of union with the Carthusians or Cistercians, the only orders which were now comparatively uncorrupted, but their rules were too strict to allow the desired freedom to brethren beyond their walls. Florentius, therefore, founded the society of regular canons, under the Augustinian rule, at Windesheim, in Zwoll (1386);[4] and ten years later a pious widow at Deventer gave the society a house, which was made the chief home for the brethren (*Fraterhaus*). A still more famous establishment was their cloister of regular canons on Mt. St. Agnes at Zwoll, founded in 1471. They gave special attention to the instruction of the young, especially teaching them to read the Bible in their own language, and they distributed religious tracts in German. The brethren quickly spread over the Netherlands and Northern Germany, and fell under suspicion and persecution in common with the Beghards and Lollards; and we find both these names applied to them. Both their principles and their

[1] *Fratres* and *Clerici* [*devoti*] *de Communi Vita*; also *Fratres Bonæ Voluntatis*, *Fratres Collationarii* (from *collatio* in sense of a meeting for devotional exercises, like the modern French *conference*), and in German *Collatienbrüder*, *Fraterherrn*. Some of their congregations were called, from the patron saints, *Fratres Hieronymiani* or *Gregoriani*.

[2] Florentius died A.D. 1400.

[3] Busch, i. 5.

[4] From the shape of their special hood (*cuculla*) these canons were called *Kugelherren* and *Kappelherren*. We have seen how, under the prior John de Huesden (1391–1424), the next leader of the Brethren of the Common Life after Groot and Radewini, Windesheim became a centre of monastic reformation in Germany (Chap. XXI. § 14).

practice made the Mendicant Friars their especial enemies. A Dominican, Mathew Grabow, wrote a big book against the brethren, and accused them to the Bishop of Utrecht, where their chief nunnery was established. Repulsed by the bishop, Grabow appealed to the Pope, and the case came before the Council of Constance, where Gerson and D'Ailly gave their earnest support to the brethren. Pope Martin V. not only confirmed their institutions, but gave those trained in their clerical schools the right to priestly ordination. They were protected by his successor, Eugenius IV.; but the hostility of the mendicants drove many of them to take refuge among the Franciscan Tertiaries. The brotherhood was finally absorbed in the Reformation, and the last traces of their institutions disappear in the 17th century.

We may sum up their character and work in the words of Archbp. Trench. "These Brethren were honourably distinguished by the same freedom of spirit which characterized the Mystics more strictly so called; but they were more practical, and were wholly exempt from the dangerous excesses into which so many of those others ran. The 'Common Life,' from which they drew their name, had monastic features about it; but at the same time it was a manner of life freer than that of the established Orders, being one without vows. In many ways these Brethren did excellent service during the transition period between the later Middle Ages and the modern world; above all by the schools which they founded, and the education, at once scholarly and Christian, of the young, which they freely and zealously imparted."[1] Just as is this tribute to the practical work of the brotherhood, we must not forget that its primary object and chief ideal was the spiritual culture of the Christian's own soul, after the likeness of Christ, that so each in his own heart might find "joy and peace in believing." It is this pervading character that assigns them their place among the mystics; and it is this that is exemplified throughout the work in which the biographer of their founders has embodied a far more lasting monument of their spirit.[2]

[1] *Medieval Church History*, pp. 367–8. Besides the great example of Thomas à Kempis, he adds: "It was in a school of these brethren that Erasmus obtained, at least in part, his early education, possibly from them his intelligent love for the great writers of the ancient classical world."

[2] Hase (p. 344) describes the *De Imitatione* as "the rose in the cloister-garden of the brethren of the Common Life." About its authorship by Thomas à Kempis Trench says—"for his work, and not that of any Gerson or Gersen, we may confidently affirm it to be." The arguments, which fully justify this decision of a controversy lately renewed, will be found in Mr. Kettlewell's work. (See also Gieseler, vol. v. p. 73, and his authorities; C. Schmidt, art. THOMAS À KEMPIS, in Herzog's *Encyklopädie*.) The direct evidence in favour of Thomas is complete,

§ 17. Thomas Hemerken,[1] of Kempen, in the diocese of Cologne, known by the Latin form of his name and birthplace, THOMAS À KEMPIS, was born in 1380 and lived to 1471. He has himself related, how, being sent to Deventer at the age of 13 for education in the school of the brotherhood, he was received by Florentius, who directed his studies, gave him books, and placed him in a house where about twenty clerics lived, having a common purse and table. Here he learned to write, to read Holy Scripture, was taught pure morals, and listened to the reading of devout tracts. What he earned as a copyist was given up for the common expenses, and all his wants were supplied by the large piety and paternal care of his beloved master, Florentius. Having joined the order of Canons of Mt. St. Agnes, he was twice sub-prior and master of the novices, and was tried in the office of steward, in the expectation that so kind-hearted a man would be a good almoner; but he proved too amiable for the post. With a character which the continuer of his chronicle has described as inward (*interior*) and devout, his life was quite uneventful; and the paucity of details need not be regretted; for he is one of the men, such as the like-minded author of the *Christian Year*, whose works so perfectly reflect their character, as to contain nearly all we care to know about them.

The supreme place held by the *De Imitatione* as the culminating point, not only of Mysticism, but of Medieval religion, is

beginning with the positive statement, made during his lifetime by his personal friend and brother in the order, John Busch (*Chron. Wind.* in 1464). The book was first printed anonymously, soon after 1470; and the fame it soon acquired caused the French to claim it for John Gerson, then the most famous of the Mystics. A mere corruption of his name in those MSS. (in the forms *Gersen*, *Gessen*, and *Gesen*), combined with an error about the age of the work (founded on a supposed quotation in a treatise falsely ascribed to Bonaventura), prompted the Benedictines to claim it for John Gersen, an abbot of their order at Vercelli between 1220 and 1240.

[1] A low German diminutive form, in High German *Hämmerlein*, in Latin *Malleolus*. There is an autobiographical notice in his *Chronicon Canonicorum Regularium Montis S. Agnitis* (at the end of Busch's *Chronicon, &c.*, Antwerp. 1821); and a life of him by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (*ob.* 1535) is prefixed to the edition of his works by the Jesuit Henry Sommalius, Antwerp, 1607 (an earlier edition, Colon. 1560; the original edition is that printed Nuremberg, 1494). These works, besides the *De Imitatione*, with which they agree in style and spirit, show their character of mystical devotion by their very titles; *Soliloquium Animæ; Hortulus Rosarum; Vallis Liliorum; De Tribus Tabernaculis; Doctrina Juvenum; De vera Cordis Compunctione; De Solitudine et Silentio.* (See, besides Mr. Kettlewell's work, Bähring, *Thomas von Kempen nach s. äussern u. innern Leben*, Berlin, 1849; J. Mooren, *Thomas von Kempen*, Cref., 1855.)

best described by the historian of Latin Christianity.[1] "In one remarkable book was gathered and concentered all that was elevating, passionate, profoundly pious, in all the older Mystics. Gerson, Ruysbroek, Tauler, all who addressed the heart in later times, were summed up, and brought into one circle of light and heat in the single small volume, the *Imitation of Christ.* That this book supplies some imperious want in the Christianity of mankind, that it supplied it with a fulness and felicity which left nothing, at this period of Christianity, to be desired, its boundless popularity is the one unanswerable testimony. No book has been so often reprinted, no book has been so often translated, or into so many languages, as the Imitation of Christ.[2]

"The *Imitation of Christ* both advanced and arrested the development of Teutonic Christianity; it was prophetic of its approach, as showing what was demanded of the human soul, and as endeavouring in its own way to supply that imperative necessity; yet by its deficiency as a manual of universal religion, of eternal Christianity, it showed as clearly that the human mind, the human heart, could not rest in the Imitation. It acknowledged, it endeavoured to fill up, the void of *personal* religion. The Imitation is the soul of man working out its own salvation, with hardly any aid but the confessed necessity of Divine grace. . . . But the *Imitation of Christ*, the last effort of Latin Christianity, is still monastic Christianity. It is absolutely and entirely selfish in its aim, as in its acts. Its sole, single, exclusive object is the purification, the elevation of the individual soul. . . . The simple exemplary sentence, 'He went about doing good,' is wanting in the monastic gospel of this pious zealot. Of feeding the hungry, of clothing the naked, of visiting the prisoner, even of preaching, there is profound, total silence. The world is dead to the votary of the Imitation, and he is dead to the world, dead in a sense absolutely repudiated by the first vital principles of the Christian faith. Christianity, to be herself again, must not merely shake off indignantly the barbarism, the vices, but even the virtues, of the Medieval, of Monastic, of Latin Christianity."

Milman, vol. ix. pp. 160 f. The passage is too long for full citation.

[2] The number of editions and translations is between 2000 and 3000. The earliest English translation exists in (imperfect) MSS. in the University Libraries of Dublin, Cambridge, and Oxford. The work was first printed in English by Wynkyn de Worde; the first three parts translated by Atkynson (1502), and the fourth in a more florid style by Queen Margaret (1504). See Prof. Ingram's paper read before the Irish Academy on "The earliest English Translation of the *De Imitatione Christi*," 1882.

Interior of the Court of a Greek Monastery.

A monk is calling the Congregation to prayers by beating a board called a Simandro, which is used instead of bells. (From Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant.*)

BOOK VI.

SECTS AND HERESIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ORIGIN OF THE MEDIEVAL SECTS.

RETROSPECT.—CENTURIES VII.–XII.

§ 1. *Historical* use of *Heresy* and *Heretics*—Two senses commonly confused. § 2. Eastern source, and Gnostic and Manichean tenets, of the Albigensian sects. § 3. History and tenets of the *Paulicians* in Armenia and Thrace—Sects connected with them—Spread to Western Europe.

§ 4. Manichean sects in S. France and Germany in the 11th century—Bishop Wazo against persecution. § 5. Influence of the Crusades—The *Bogomili* and *Cathari*. § 6. Other sources of spontaneous revolt against the Church. § 7. Individual heretics: Tanchelm and Eon de Stella—Peter of Bruis and the *Petrobusians*—Henry of Lausanne and the *Henricians*—Note on *Visionaries*: St. Hildegard and St. Elizabeth of Schönau.

§ 1. IT may be well to remind the reader that the words at the head of this division are used in a purely historical and ecclesiastical sense; not at all as pronouncing on the truth or falsehood of the opinions, or the good or bad character of the persons, whose designation as *heretical* was fixed on them by the Church, which had assumed the opposite title of *Catholic*, that is to say, for the period now under review, and so far as Western Christianity is concerned, by the Church of Rome. At the same time, though it be not the historian's province to decide between the truth and falsehood of the opinions technically described by the term, it is his duty to distinguish between two classes of heresies, those, namely, which were branded with the opprobrious name by the enmity of the ruling powers whose corruptions they opposed, and those which justly incur the censure, in the apostolic sense of the word heresy, as striking at the very foundations of the Christian faith. Difficult as it may be to draw the line of demarcation with precise accuracy, or even with perfect fairness, it is for this very reason the more important to recognize the distinction in a broad and general sense. For, while Roman Catholics have made it a principle to rank all opponents of their system as enemies of the Christian faith, Protestants have been too much disposed to assume the evangelic character of every movement against Rome; while both are apt to pay too little regard to the perplexing phenomenon of the great intermixture of the two elements in the formation and development of the medieval sects, and of that principle of human nature which disposes minds justly discontented to seek a remedy in fanatical extremes of whose real character they are ignorant.[1]

§ 2. The distinction thus drawn lies at the very root of the proper understanding of the sects which are characteristic of the period between the 10th century and the Reformation; which were no

[1] With characteristic fairness, Hallam observes that "many of these heresies were mixt up with an excessive fanaticism; but they fixt themselves so deeply in the hearts of the inferior and more numerous classes, they bore, generally speaking, so immediate a relation to the state of manners, and they illustrate so much that more visible and eminent revolution which ultimately rose out of them in the 16th century, that I must reckon these among the most interesting phenomena in the progress of European society" (*Midd. Ages*, iii. 378.)

longer parties holding heterodox views on certain definite points, to be dealt with by the Church in its General Councils, but societies that grew and spread, and threatened the very foundations of the Church of Rome, till she combatted them with the Crusader's sword, the processes of the Inquisition, the terrors of torture and the stake. Is it to be at once assumed that all, or most, of those who thus rebelled and suffered, were martyrs for pure faith and reforming zeal? The partisan of Rome replies by branding them, generally, with the odious name of Manicheism; and impartial history decides that, however grossly exaggerated and generalized, this was without dispute *one* element in the opinions held by sects which provoked the great outburst of persecution under Innocent III. Those sects, various and scattered, which came to be known indiscriminately, from the mere local name of a petty town, as *Albigenses*, can be traced, both in historical succession, and by the character of some of their most essential tenets, to that anti-Christian philosophy which, present in every age of the Church, had taken deep root in the East under the different phases of Gnosticism and Manicheism.

§ 3. So clearly, indeed, is the origin of the western Albigenses traced to the Eastern sect known by the name of *Paulicians*, that the apologists of the evangelical purity of the former, without denying the connection, claim the like character for the latter, denying their Manichean tenets.[1] The truth seems to be that, like the ancient Gnostics, these sectaries united with their wild speculations a regard for what they deemed Christian simplicity, and a preference for certain portions of Scripture, as giving the grounds for their opinions. Thus, while they rejected the Old Testament, they used their liberty of selection among the books and teachers of the New Testament;[2] and, while denouncing St. Peter as the betrayer of his Lord and of the truth, they especially accepted the teaching of St. Paul, and called themselves by his name.[3]

[1] See the letters of the Rev. G. S. Faber in the *British Magazine*, vols. xiv.–xv.; and, on the other side, Maitland, *Facts and Documents, illustrative of the History, Doctrines, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Valdenses*, Lond. 1832. We revert here to the history of the Paulicians to repair an accidental omission in our former volume.

[2] They accepted the Gospels (but afterwards they seem to have rejected Matthew and Mark) and the Acts, and the Epistles of James, John, and Jude.

[3] Gibbon, Hallam, Neander, Döllinger, and others, agree in regarding this as the true origin of the name *Paulician* (which all agree to be a barbarous derivative from *Paul*), not from Paul of Samosata, with whom they had nothing in common, or other Pauls who have been alleged as their founder. The chief authorities for their history and doctrines are Petrus Siculus, who visited them, about 870, at their chief city of Tephrice,

The sect had its origin in Armenia, where various forms of Gnostic and Manichean heresies, driven from other parts of the Eastern Empire, were confused under the general name of Manicheans. About 653, a leader of one of these, named Constantine, received as his guest a deacon, returning from captivity among the Saracens, who requited his hospitality by the gift of a copy of the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles. By the perusal of these he was led to renounce many of his old opinions, and to burn the forbidden books of Manes (whom his later followers did not hesitate to anathematize), and in their place he "put forth a system which, by means of allegorical and other evasions, he professed to reconcile with the letter of the New Testament, while in reality it was mainly derived from the doctrines of his hereditary sect."[1]

When, during twenty-seven years, Constantine had gathered many converts at Cibossa, in Armenia, the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus sent an officer named Simeon to suppress the sect. The only one of the disciples found to obey the order to stone their chief was his own adopted son Justus; and the result of Simeon's conferences with the sectaries was his own conversion; but both Justus and Simeon were afterwards burnt with many of their followers on one large pile, by order of Justinian II. (about 690). The sect revived under an Armenian named Paul; but it would be tedious to trace the details of their internal history and persecutions by successive emperors, till the Empress Theodora, the restorer of image-worship, undertook their suppression, and 100,000 of them are said to have been put to the sword, beheaded, drowned, or impaled. The result was an open revolt, under Carbeas, an imperial officer, whose father was among the victims. With 5000 followers he sought a refuge among the Saracens, and, protected by the Caliph on the condition of conformity to Islam, he fixed his adherents, increased by numbers who flocked to him from all quarters, in fortified towns, of which Tephrica was the chief, and the head-quarters of an open war against the empire. After other successes, a mixed army of Paulicians and Saracens overran Asia

near Trebizond, as the envoy of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, in his work *Historia Manicheorum*, edited by Gieseler, Gotting. 1846–50, and that of Photius, περὶ τῆς Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως (Gallandi, xiii. 603 f.), with *Three Discourses against the Manicheans*, also by Petrus Siculus (reprinted in *Patrol. Græc.* vol. civ. from Mai's *Nov. Collect.*). Besides the principal Church historians, Gibbon has an excellent account of the Paulicians (chap. 34).

[1] See Robertson, vol. ii. p. 178 f., for their tenets and usages—the mixture of Manicheism with Scriptural doctrine and ascetic practices, their rejection of the Sacraments, opposition to the Catholic hierarchy, absence of any special order of teachers, &c.

Minor as far as Ephesus; but their leader, Crocheir, the son-in-law of Carbeas, refused the peace offered by Basil, unless the Emperor would give up the East to "the servants of the Lord." His arrogance was rebuked by a turn in the tide of success; his head was carried to the Emperor (871), and Tephrica was destroyed; but the sect, though no longer formidable, maintained its independence for another century in Armenia. For their spread to the West we must look to another of their branches.

Among the various attempts to subdue the Paulicians by conciliation or force, Constantine Copronymus had been brought into contact with them during an expedition into Armenia, about the middle of the 8th century. The fanatical iconoclast may have been disposed to favour the sect; and with their own consent he transported a body of Paulicians into Thrace, and settled them as a colonizing garrison adjoining the heathen Bulgarians.[1] In the 10th century (about 969) they were reinforced by a more powerful colony of fellow believers, whom John Zimisces transferred from Pontus to the Balkan, as a guard for the frontier of his empire. "Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy."[2] Thus they were established on the high route followed by commerce, and afterwards more fully opened up by the Crusades, between the East and West, along the course of the Danube, into Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany, as well as into Lombardy, Switzerland, and the south of France. To what extent they may have found any older Manichean elements surviving in those countries, is very doubtful: it would rather seem that, as late as the end of the 10th century, lurking remnants

[1] The conversion of the Bulgarians did not take place till a century later (see Pt. I. p. 545); and it was to guard the newly-formed church against the heretical infection that Peter of Sicily addressed his account of the Paulicians to the patriarch of Bulgaria.

[2] Gibbon. The semi-independent position of the Paulicians on the frontier made them naturally a refuge for various sects that were persecuted in the Eastern Empire, without necessarily sharing their Manichean views. Among these are mentioned the *Athinganí*, the *Children of the Sun*, and the *Praying People* (called in Greek *Euchitæ* and *Euphemitæ*, and in Syriac *Messalians*, a word of the same sense),-a sect as old as the 4th century, whose excellent name conceals the Manichean idea that every man has within him a demon, who must be kept down by incessant prayer. (For particulars respecting these sects, see Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 458 f.; *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., art. EUCHITES). All this throws light upon the curious mixture of Manicheism, puritanism, and ascetic practices, found among the Western sects whose origin is ascribed to the Paulicians.

of Paganism broke out into movements which were denounced and punished as heresies.[1]

§ 4. Early in the 11th century we have the first distinct account of the discovery and punishment of sects designated as Manichean, in Aquitaine (1017), at Orleans (1022), at Arras (1025), at Toulouse, at Monteforte near Turin (1044), and at Goslar, among the Harz mountains (1052).[2] In all these cases, the opinions reported bear a general resemblance to those which are described as held by the Paulicians: there is the like mixture of Manichean principles with simple scriptural doctrine, ascetic practices, and enmity to the whole ecclesiastical and sacramental system, as well as to the superstitions and corruptions of the Church. Their leaders were generally clergymen, who, protected by noble converts, spread their doctrines among the people, and were put to death by fire or the gallows as heretics and perverters of the faithful. One interesting proof of the energy roused among their disciples is the testimony of Roger, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, that even the most uneducated persons, when perverted to this sect, became more fluent in their discourse than the most learned clerks. The reply of the famous Wazo, bishop of Liège, whose advice for dealing with them was asked by Roger, stands out in that age as a memorable testimony against persecution for false belief. Though, he says, these opinions are abhorrent to the Christian religion, yet, in imitation of its Saviour, it is commanded to have some toleration for them meanwhile.[3] In reply to Roger's question, whether he should invoke the power of the earthly sword, Wazo replies, in terms directly opposed to the papal doctrine of the "two swords," "We ought to remember that we, who are called bishops, *do not receive the sword at our ordination*; and therefore we are enjoined, by the authority of God, not to kill, but to make alive: we must therefore be content to prevent the diffusion of the leaven by excluding the heretics from the Church."[4]

§ 5. The more direct evidence of an influence of the so-called Manichean sectaries of Thrace and Bulgaria on the West dates from the time of the Crusades which infused many an Oriental element into Europe.[5] Besides the general evidence of probability and resem-

[1] As in the cases of Leutard, at Châlons-sur-Marne (ab. 1000) and Vilgard, a grammarian of Ravenna, put to death for reviving classical paganism. For particulars, see Robertson, ii. 447–8.

[2] See Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 447–454; and especially the extracts from the original authorities in Gieseler, vol. ii. pp. 493–8. Wazo died 1048.

[3] His quotation of the parable of the tares. (Matt. xiii. 24 f.) is interesting as an early example of the application of *zizania* to heretics. Roger, in his letter, had quoted the parable of the leaven.

[4] *Gesta Episcop. Leodensium*, 59–64, in Pertz, vol. viii.

[5] See Mr. Brewer's account of the progress of Oriental influence, both

blance, the Paulicians of Thrace appear in direct connection with the First Crusade, when they showed their spirit of independence and enmity to the Greek Church by deserting Alexius Comnenus in his contest with the Latins (1081-5). The Emperor took the first opportunity of punishing their desertion; and he afterwards (1116) took up his residence for a time at Philippopolis in order ot reclaim them by argument, punishments, and rewards; and founded the rival city of Alexiolopolis as a stronghold for the penitent and orthodox. Special interest attaches to the sect called *Bogomili* (a Slavonian name signifying *Friends of God*),[1] who were a branch or development of the Euchitæ. They were detected by the Emperor first by the torture of a disciple and then by a treacherous conference with their leader Basil, whom he burned in the hippodrome at Constantinople. Their tenets so closely resemble those of the western *Cathari*, of whom we have presently to speak, as to form a strong point in the evidence for the eastern derivation of the Albigensian sects.

§ 6. To all this must be added the spontaneous revolt against the corruptions of the Church, and against the growing spiritual claims and temporal exactions of the clergy, and the Roman see above all; the quarrels between the secular and ecclesiastical powers, weakening the hold of both upon the people, making opposition to the Church a national or party cause, and inclining powerful laymen to protect her enemies; and the growing spirit of independence in the commercial towns. Nor must we overlook the humbler but energetic power of individual dissent, often commanding adhesion by its evident sincerity and self-sacrifice, and forming the nucleus round which a mass of unsettled opinion crystallized into vigorous bodies.

§ 7. With all allowance for the probable unfairness of hostile witnesses, and perhaps because they only record the more extravagant forms of opposition, the more moderate differences being kept within the pale of the Church, it would seem that individual revolt from her teaching at this time was for the most part wild and fanatical, as in the case of four teachers of a revolt against the hierarchy and Catholic doctrine in the first half of the 12th century. A mere mention may suffice for Tanchelm, at Antwerp, and Eudo or Eon de Stella, in Brittany.[2] Of greater and more lasting in-

from the East and Spain, on the towns and Universities, as well as the Templars. (*Mon. Francisc.* preface, p. xxxix.)

[1] Euthymius Zagadenus gives a full account of the Bogomiles in his *Panoplia of the Orthodox Faith*, written by command of Alexius Comnenus (see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 485, 495–6).

[2] For particulars respecting these fanatics and their followers, see Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 388–393. It was by reclaiming the followers of Tanchelm that Norbert gained much of his high reputation (see p. 345).

fluence was PETER OF BRUIS, the founder of the sect called after him *Petrobusians*, whose career and tenets are known from the work written against them by the Venerable Peter of Clugny.[1] Peter was a priest, who, having been deprived of his cure for some unknown reason, appeared as an independent teacher in four Alpine dioceses of Dauphiné. Driven thence, he repaired to Gascony, a ground, we are told, already prepared by the prevalence of heretical opinions; and whereas his former success was attributed to the ignorance of the mountaineers, he is now described as "no longer whispering in hamlets, but openly preaching to multitudes in towns." One chief scene of his success was the commercial city of *Toulouse*, which was now becoming a focus of the Oriental influences pouring in across Europe and from Spain, and was destined to be the centre of the conflict with heresy just a hundred years later.[2]

The practical result of this teaching, in the excited passions of the populace and their ultimate reaction on the teacher, is deeply significant of the social condition of the age. After a course of signal success for twenty years, he was seized by the populace of St. Gilles in Provence, and, in vengeance for his outrages against the cross, was himself burnt to death.[3]

He had a successor in Henry of Lausanne, a deacon and formerly a Cluniac monk, whose followers, the *Henricians*, became famous chiefly through St. Bernard's zeal in reclaiming them.[4] Though

[1] *Epist.* (addressed to the bishops of the infested parts of Dauphiné) *adv. Petrobusianos hæreticos*, in the *Patrolog.* clxxxix. It is a defence of the whole system of the Church, and is especially interesting in one respect—the argument for the truth of Scripture from the agreement of the Epistles with the narrative parts of the New Testament, anticipating Paley's argument in the *Horæ Paulinæ*. Peter of Bruis is mentioned, in connection with Tanchelm, by Abélard (*Introd. ad Theol.* ii. 4), who (in 1121) speaks of him as dead; and hence, as twenty years are assigned to his career, he must have appeared at or before the beginning of the century. (Some historians, however, date the twenty years from 1104 to 1124.) The birthplace indicated by his surname is supposed to have been Bruis, near Montelimar, in Dauphiné. Peter of Clugny enumerates five heads of his heresy: (1) "Believers' baptism," in opposition to the salvation of infants by the rite; Against (2, 3) the use of churches and crosses, (4) the efficacy of the Eucharist; (5) prayers and oblations for the dead, and the use of hymns in divine worship.

[2] Toulouse (Tolosa) had been the capital of the Arian Gothic kingdom, and heresy is said to have always lingered in the region. We shall have to speak presently of the special causes that favoured its spread in Languedoc. (See Chaps. XXXV. and XXXVII.)

[3] For details see Robertson, vol. iii. p. 177.

[4] He is mentioned as the associate and successor of Peter of Bruis by Peter of Clugny (*op. cit.*); also in the Letters of Bernard and Hildebert; Gaufrid. *Vit. Bernard*; Hildebert's Life in the *Gesta Epist. Cenomann.*; in Mabillon's *Analecta*. (See Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 391–3.)

affecting an extreme asceticism, he was accused of licentiousness and fondness for gaming; but his eloquence is described as such that none but a heart of stone could resist it. He appeared first at Lausanne, and afterwards at Le Mans (1116), where he abused the permission of Bp. Hildebert to preach, by exciting a popular tumult against the clergy. Driven out thence, he met with Peter of Bruis in the South of France; and, on that heresiarch's death, Henry took his place. At the Council of Pisa (1135), on the accusation of the Archbishop of Arles, he was condemned by Innocent II., forced to retract his heresies, and committed to the custody of Bernard. After a short detention as a monk at Clairvaux, he was released on a promise which he broke by resuming his preaching in the South of France. The passionate letter of Bernard to Henry's protector Ildefonsus, count of St. Gilles and Toulouse, is perhaps coloured by indignation, while it bears witness to the heresiarch's power over the people, who had deserted the churches and sacraments, rejected the services of the priests, withheld their dues and wonted reverence. Bernard's letter heralded a mission which he undertook, at the request of Cardinal Alberic, who had been deputed by Eugenius III. to combat the sect (1147). The first scene of his signal success was the town of *Albi*, that chief seat of the heresy which afterwards gave the sectaries the common name of *Albigenses*. Here, though the cardinal had been insulted only a few days before, Bernard, fresh from his triumph in preaching the Crusade, was received with enthusiasm, and his miracles completed the discomfiture of the heretic. Deserted by the people, Henry found protectors among the nobles, rather from their dislike of the clergy than any sympathy with his doctrines, but they too yielded to Bernard's influence; and the heretic was given up in chains to the Bishop of Toulouse. Nothing more is heard of him, and the sect speedily decayed, or rather, perhaps, its distinctive name was merged in the widespread collective heresies to which we now turn.[1]

[1] To these heretics of the age, whose place in history is chiefly personal, must be added ARNOLD OF BRESCIA, whose career we have had to trace in his signal but success brief at Rome (see Chap. IV. §§ 7, 11). It is convenient here to notice certain *visionaries* within the pale of the Church, who vied with heretics in denouncing her corruptions, and prophesying her downfall if their warnings were neglected. Such utterances were not held to forbid the canonization of two famous German abbesses in the 12th century, ST. HILDEGARD and ST. ELIZABETH OF SCHÖNAU, for whose lives, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 65, 206–7. We have already had occasion to speak of the prophecies of the Abbot JOACHIM of Fiore. (Chap. XXV. § 3.)

ALBI.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MANICHEAN SECTS:

CATHARI, ALBIGENSES, ETC.—CENT. XII., XIII.

§ 1. Various names of these sects, merged in that of ALBIGENSES. § 2. The *Cathari* and *Publicani* persecuted in Western Europe—Their treatment in England by Henry II.—Bernard against the burning of heretics—General indisposition to extreme measures. § 3. Peculiar influences in Languedoc and Provence, predisposing to the growth of heresy. § 4. Councils against the heretics of Toulouse—Their Pope, and synod—Prevalence of the heresy. § 5. Mission of Cistercians: their failure at Toulouse. § 6. A Crusade decreed by the Third Lateran Council. § 7 Manicheism of the Albigensian sects—Their doctrine as to creation and redemption; the Old and New Testaments. § 8. Reverence for the Scriptures—Versions—Practical teaching: ascetic and puritanic—Opposition to the Church. § 9. Their own church system, hierarchy, and ritual—The sacrament of *Consolation*—The two classes of *Perfect* or *Elect*, and *Imperfect* or *Federated*—Their evil and good repute.

§ 1. THE odious appellation of *Manicheans* was given by the Catholic churchmen and chroniclers to a variety of sects diffused throughout Western Christendom, from the Hellespont to the Ebro and from Sicily to Britain, who are distinguished, though often very vaguely, by many names in their several localities. It was chiefly in Germany that they bore the title of CATHARI, doubtless

assumed to denote their principles, and doubly interesting as the Greek equivalent of our word *Puritan* and the etymological source of the German *Ketzer*, "a heretic."[1] They called themselves *Apostolici* and *Boni Homines*; and popular usage very generally allowed the name of *Bonshommes* to their harmless and ascetic character; while, on the other hand, the most odious imputations were associated with the appellation of *Bourgres* (*Bulgari*, *Bugari*), which points to their connection with the Paulicians and Bogomiles of Bulgaria, like that of *Popelicani* or *Publicani*, by which they were known in France, till these various appellations were merged, first in the common title of *heretics*, and afterwards of ALBIGENSES, from the district (the *Albigeois*), which was the chief scene of the crusade against them at the beginning of the 13th century.[2]

§ 2. Under these various names, as well as the common designation of Manicheans, bodies of sectaries, whose tenets agree in general with those of the *Cathari*, appear in the 12th century at many places in Germany and the Netherlands, France, Burgundy, and Aquitaine.[3] Their prevalence in the manufacturing towns is significant of the growing spirit of independent thought and will

[1] Eckbert (*Serm. I. adv. Catharos*, about 1163) says distinctly, "Hos Germania nostra *Catharos* appellat." The Lombard and Italian variety of the word, *Gazari*, is supposed by some to be the immediate source of the German *Ketzer*, which was already used by the Minnesingers at this time. The names *Cathari* and *Catharistæ* were handed down from the early Eastern Church, with special reference to Manichean claims to ascetic purity (Augustin. *de Hæres.* c. 46). The names *Pobelicani*, *Populicani*, *Publicani* (in Flanders, *Piphles*), are probably corrupted forms of *Pauliciani*, but naturally suggesting the odious sense of *Publican*, as well as the prevalence of the heresy among the *populace*. In *Patari* and *Paterini* and *Paternii*, again, some find another form of *Cathari*; others a term of reproach for their rejection of clerical celibacy, while Dr. Maitland, pointing out that the original form is *patrini* (*i.e. godfathers*), connects it with their baptism of their converts. (On all these questions, see further in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 393 f.; Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 182–3.)

[2] *Albi* or *Alby* (*Albiga*), the chief town of the *Albigeois* district (*Albigesium*), is on the river Tarn, about forty miles north-east of Toulouse. It is still a considerable manufacturing town. The various names of the sectaries are seen in connection with their special seats in the South of France in the decree of the Third Lateran Council (c. 27, A.D. 1179). It is clear that the name *Albigenses* arose gradually from the prevalence of heresy in the Albigeois district, rather than, as Roger of Wendover says (ii. 267), from the mere fact that the first processes against them were held at Albi. It seems to have been fixed in use in place of the general name "heretics" by the foreign soldiers in the campaign of 1208. There are many other names, partly from ancient sects, partly local, and partly from classes of the community, such as that of *Tisserands* (weavers) in Flanders, significant of heresy among the workers in towns.

[3] For the particular places, see Gieseler and Robertson, *ll. cc.*

in these rising communities; but the less instructed classes were often violent against them; and many of them perished in popular tumults, as well as by the judgment of priests and sovereigns. Spain was infested by them; and in Italy they extended as far south as Calabria. In Lombardy, where we have already seen them at Monteforte, and where opposition to clerical authority had long been vigorous, they are described as abounding in cities and suburbs, villages and castles, and teaching without fear or hindrance. In England, a party of some thirty *Publicans* was discovered at Oxford about 1160, and condemned by a Council at which Henry II. was present. By his sentence they were branded in the face, severely flogged, and driven out of the town to perish of cold and hunger, as the people would hold no communication with them.[1] But even these "tender mercies of the cruel" must be regarded as distinguishing the King of England favourably from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the Continent; for the chronicler tells us that,[2] "while the Publicans were burnt in many places throughout France, King Henry would by no means allow this in his dominions, although there were many of them there." A policy, in which contempt for superstition and jealousy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had doubtless no small share, was sanctioned by the purer principles advocated by the pious Abbot of Clairvaux. In 1146, Bernard was applied to by Everwin, provost of Steinfeld, concerning certain Manichean (Petrobusian or Henrician) sectaries at Cologne, who, after a public discussion with the clergy, had been tumultuously burnt by the mob. The provost regrets this violence, and asks for arguments and authorities against the errors which he reports. Upon this Bernard composed two sermons on the text, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines;"[3] that is, he says, while vehemently denouncing their opinions and practices, "They are to be taken *to us*, not with arms but with arguments; and, if possible, they are to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, and recalled to the true faith." Not that he would allow them free licence and impunity, an idea quite inconsistent with the ecclesiastical discipline of that age. They might be taken and imprisoned, to prevent their wasting the Lord's vineyard, and as erring brethren to be reclaimed, but not cut off to the death of soul as well as body. Indeed, through the 12th century, we may still trace a certain hesitation in carrying out the extreme severity which we have seen applied to the scattered heretics.

[1] Will. Neubrig. (ii. 13), who approves the punishment of what he notes as the first outbreak of heresy in England since that of Pelagianism.

[2] Roger of Hoveden, p. 352, b.

[3] Bernard, *Serm. in Cantic.* (ii. 15) 65, 66

§ 3. It must be remembered that, in the chief seats of heresy of which we have now to speak, in Languedoc, there was no supreme authority, like that of the Emperor or the King of France, to enforce a decided policy, while its social and political condition demanded a specially prudent policy on the part of the Church. The historian of Latin Christianity [1] has described the state of that beautiful land of the South, Languedoc and Provence, advanced in civilization, art, and luxury beyond any other part of Europe, under princes who, distinguished in the Crusades, had brought back Oriental ideas and tastes, who gave themselves full licence in manners and morals, whose religion was chivalry, and their recreation the amatory and satiric song of the troubadour; with powerful manufacturing towns, where the spirit of free thought and even turbulence grew with wealth, and Eastern heresies had been brought in with commerce; all classes uniting in such contempt for the clergy that, "instead of the old proverb for the lowest abasement—'I had rather my son were a Jew'—the Provençals said, 'I had rather he were a priest.' The knights rarely allowed their sons to enter into orders, but, to secure the tithes to themselves, presented the sons of low-born vassals to the churches, whom the bishops were obliged to ordain for want of others. . . . The devout found their religious excitement in the new and forbidden opinions. There was for the more hard and zealous an asceticism which put to shame the feeble monkery of those days; for the more simply pious, the biblical doctrines; and, what seems to have been held in the deepest reverence, the consolation in death, which, administered by the *Perfect* alone (men of tried and known holiness), had all the blessing, none of the doubtful value, of absolution bestowed by the carnal, wicked, worldly, as well as by the most sanctified, priest."

§ 4. Since the burning of some Manicheans at Toulouse, at the beginning of the 12th century, the growth of heresy in this region had been so serious as to call forth the edict of a General Council, besides being denounced in provincial councils under the personal

[1] Milman, vol. v. pp. 403–408. The reader must not forget that we are dealing with a time before Languedoc was united to France, and while it was still held by several counts, each independent in his own county. Under the suzerainty of the Count of Toulouse were the five fiefs: I. *Narbonne*, whose count possessed the most ample feudal privileges. II. *Béziers*, under which viscounty the Counts of *Albi* and *Carcasonne* held. III. The countship of *Foix*, with six territorial vassalages. IV. The countship of *Montpellier*, now devolved on Pedro, king of Arragon. V. The countship of *Quercy* and *Rhodez*. For signal illustrations of the prodigal luxury and ostentation of these princes, see the *Hist. de Languedoc*, iii. 37 (quoted by Milman, p. 407).

presidency of Popes;[1] and its persistence furnishes a comment on the accounts of St. Bernard's miraculous success. In 1165, a synod of bishops at Lombers, near Albi, endeavoured to reclaim a number of the "good men" (*boni homines*), who maintained their right to free argument, and refused to answer concerning their faith under compulsion; and no attempt was made to enforce against their persons the sentence passed on their opinions.[2] Two years later (1167), "we read of a council held by the heretics themselves at St. Felix de Caraman, near Toulouse, under the presidency of a person styled *Pope Niquinta*, a name which has been identified with that of one Nicetas, who is said by a writer of the time to have come from Constantinople into Lombardy. A vast multitude of both sexes flocked to receive from him the mystical rite which was styled *consolamentum*. Representatives of several Catharist churches appeared; bishops were chosen and ordained for these communities; and, with a view to the preservation of harmony among the sectaries, Niquinta told them that *all churches were*, like the seven churches of Asia, originally *independent of each other*, that such was still the case with their brethren of Bulgaria, Dalmatia, and the East; and he charged them to do so in like manner."[3]

This account contains three points of special interest: the recognition of a connection with the Bulgarian sectaries; the existence of an ecclesiastical organization among the heretics; and their assertion of the principle of *congregational independency*. A devout (or, at least, orthodox) Troubadour[4] laments that "this heresy (which the Lord cursed) had in its power the whole Albigeois, Carcassonne, and Lauragais, from Béziers to Bordeaux. Churches were in ruins, baptism refused, the Eucharist in execration, penance despised, sacraments abolished, the doctrine of two principles introduced."

§ 5. The lord of the country—Raymond V., count of Toulouse—applied to the powerful and devout brotherhood of Cistercians, as the force best fitted to restore the religious peace of his dominions (1177). At the same time, and probably in consequence of the count's appeal, the Kings of France and England (Louis VII. and Henry II.) induced the Cistercians to undertake the task by means of a fully organized mission, headed by the legate Peter, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, and other high ecclesiastics; among them, Henry,

[1] Namely, a council held by Callixtus II. at Toulouse (1119); the Second Lateran Council, by Innocent II. (1139); the Council of Reims, by Eugenius III. (1148); and that of Tours, by Alexander III. (1163).

[2] For details, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 403.

[3] Boug. xiv. 448–9; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 188.

[4] Fauriel, *ap.* Milman, v. 407.

abbot of Clairvaux, who has left a graphic account of the heresy and the vain attempt to suppress it.[1] Amidst a rhetorical description of the heretics as lords among the clergy as well as the people, he bears an interesting testimony to their ecclesiastical organization, and especially their system of popular preaching by *Evangelists*, which seemed to him still more audacious. On their entry into Toulouse, the missionaries were pointed at and mocked in the streets, and called hypocrites, apostates, heretics. A severe example was made of their chief supporter in the town, Peter Moran, an old man of great wealth and powerful connections, who is said to have called himself John the Evangelist. Though he abjured his errors, he was repeatedly flogged, amerced of all his property, and sent on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Roger, viscount of Béziers, who fled into an inaccessible part of his dominions when called on to release the Bishop of Albi from the custody of the heretics, was declared a perjured heretic and traitor. Henry declares it to have been the general opinion in Toulouse that, if the visitation had been delayed for three years longer, scarcely any one would have been found in the city to call on the name of Christ; which he urges as a reason for instant action, applying the figure used by St. Paul in a very different spirit[2]—that "a great and evident door stood open for the Christian princes, *to avenge the wrongs* of Christ." Such was the first call to a crusade upon Christian heretics, raised by an abbot of Clairvaux, as if in emulation of his sainted predecessor's preaching against the unbelieving Saracens.

§ 6. The common "Father" and Church of Western Christendom responded at once (1179) in a decree of the Third Lateran Council against "the *damnata perversitas* of the heretics in Gascony, the Albigeois, and the parts about Toulouse, called Cathari or Patareni or Publicani, or by other names, who were openly and no longer secretly practising their wickedness and proclaiming their error, and attracting the simple and weak to their fellowship."[3] An anathema was pronounced alike on them and all who should protect or harbour them in their houses or on their lands, or have any dealings with them. All the faithful were enjoined, in order to the remission of their sins, "to oppose such calamities like men, and *to protect the Christian people against them by arms.* Let their goods be confiscated, and let the princes be at liberty to reduce

[1] The chief authority is Roger of Hoveden, who gives the letters of Henry and Peter. (See the extracts in Gieseler, vol. iii. pp. 403–4.) The complete failure of the mission is recorded in the few terse words of Robert de Monte, *et parum profecerunt.* (*Chron.* s. a. 1178.)

[2] Acts xiv. 27; 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12.

[3] Alexander III. at the *Conc. Lat.* iii. c. 27, *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 404.

men of this sort to *slavery*." To all the faithful who took up arms, the decree granted a relaxation of penance for two years or longer, according to the duration of the campaign, *at the discretion of the bishops*, to whom the execution of the mandate was committed, while all who refused were to be excluded from the Eucharist. The Archbishop of Narbonne followed up the mandate given to his order by requiring his suffragans to publish the ban every Sunday against the heretics and their protectors, including by name Roger, count of Béziers, and four viscounts. The Abbot Henry himself, who was created at the Council Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, returned to the country as papal legate (1181) with an army, which perpetrated much bloodshed and devastation, but failed to suppress the heresy. Before relating the more thorough effort for their extirpation, made by Innocent III. at the beginning of the 13th century, it is necessary to enquire more fully into their tenets, with a special view to their discrimination from the *Waldenses*, who had arisen at the same time in the South of France, and whose confusion with the Albigenses has been the source of much error.[1]

§ 7. It is now generally admitted, as we have seen, that the charge of *Manicheism*, against the sects included under the general names of *Cathari* and *Albigenses*, rests on a substantial foundation.[2] Perhaps the matter is best summed up in Baxter's terse estimate of the Albigenses, as "Manichees with some better persons mixed."[3] Their *speculative tenets* were based on the theories of *Dualism* and *Emanation*, the irreconcilable antagonism between spirit and matter; and the formation of the present material world by the bad principle, as is proved by its evils and imperfections. Adam and Eve were formed by the devil, with souls of light imprisoned within their fleshly bodies. And, as the material world, so the unspiritual dispensation of the Old Testament, the Mosaic ritual

[1] Superficial readers are often led into this confusion by the mere juxtaposition of the names *Albigenses and Waldenses* in the titles even of works in which they are carefully discriminated.

[2] For the ancient authorities, see Gieseler (vol. iii. pp. 404–8), who, as usual, gives full extracts. The most important are the two contemporary historians of the Albigensian Crusade, the monk Peter of the Cistercian abbey of Vaux Cernay, in the diocese of Paris (*Hist. Albigensium*, down to 1218), and Gulielmus de Podio Laurentii (William of Puy-Laurent), chaplain of Raymund VII. (*super Hist. Negot. Francorum adv. Albigenses*, down to 1272). The chief modern works are: Maitland, *Facts and Documents*, &c. (already cited, p. 578, n. [1]), and *Eight Essays*, Lond. 1852; C. Schmidt, *Hist. et Doctrines de la Secte des Cathares*, Paris, 1849; and especially Hahn, *Gesch. der Ketzer im Mittelalter*. See also Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* bk. ix. c. 8; Robertson, bk. v. c. 12; Hardwick, *Ch. Hist. Mid. Age*, pp. 285 f.; Trench, *Medieval Ch. Hist.* lecture xv.

[3] Trench, p. 220.

and the utterances of the old prophets were the work of Satan; for the God of the Old Testament is changeable, false, and cruel. The fall of the rebel angels, and its fruit in these their works, necessitated the coming of Christ, who was a glorious emanation from the Father. As the Son of God, He was but the highest angel, and was inferior to the Father, as the Holy Ghost was to the Son. The incarnation appears to have been generally denied; and "the bodily form of the Saviour, His actions and sufferings, were explained on the Docetic principle; the Gospel miracles were said to have been wrought in no other than a spiritual sense—such as feeding spiritual hunger, healing the diseases of the soul or raising from the death of sin; and in this sense the sectaries claimed for themselves a continuance of miraculous power, by virtue of the Saviour's promise." [1] The redemption of the world by Christ was to be accomplished in the eventual recovery of the human souls from their imprisonment by Satan in the flesh, to resume their spiritual bodies,[2] and the return of the material world into the chaos out of which the power of evil shaped it. Hence there was of course no place for the resurrection in their system; and the souls of men were held to be the fallen angels who had lost their spiritual bodies, and were doomed to the penance of passing through seven forms of terrestrial bodies. In regard to the whole history of the world and man, they seem to have held the doctrine of absolute predestination.

§ 8. With all their Manichean disparagement of the Old Testament,[3] the Cathari vindicated their puritanic claims by their thorough knowledge of and reverence for the Scriptures they received. They had vernacular versions *made from the Greek*; another indication of their origin.[4]

In their practical teaching, both moral and ecclesiastical, we trace a mixture of principles: ascetic based on Manicheism, and puritanic in opposition to the corruptions of the Church. Of the former kind was their objection to marriage, as at best a necessary evil, and to

[1] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 191. "The later miracles of the Church were denied, and members of the sect sometimes threw ridicule on them by applying to some famous worker of miracles for the cure of a pretended ailment, and afterwards exposing the imposture."

[2] So they interpreted the new resurrection body of 1 Cor. xv.

[3] They seem to have accepted the poetical and some of the prophetical books, and to have regarded the quotations of the Old Testament in the New as stamped with divine authority.

[4] The Catharic translation of the N. T. is extant in a Romaic dialect, but not yet printed. As far as can be judged from the style of the writing, this MS. belongs to the 12th or 13th century. For an account of it, see Gieseler, iii. pp. 407–9.

the idea of connecting spiritual grace with what they regarded as evil matter in the Sacraments, the use of water in baptism,[1] and of bread and wine in the Eucharist; much more, therefore, to transubstantiation. But on more general grounds they rejected the whole sacramental and disciplinal system—confirmation and confession, penance and absolution, ordination and the ritual of worship—nay, the very constitution of the Church. For they not only called the Church of Rome a cave of robbers and the harlot of the Apocalypse, but they denied that a house built with hands was a *Church*, for that name belonged to every good man or woman or congregation of both; and they carried out this principle by profaning and destroying churches, with their furniture, sacred vessels, and vestments. They held all war and capital punishment to be murder, and denounced the Pope and bishops as murderers for countenancing wars, especially those of religion and persecution.

§ 9. On the other hand, they had a church system and hierarchy, sacraments and ritual, of their own; they claimed to possess the true priesthood, and held the necessity of membership in their communion to salvation, as decidedly as did the Catholic Church itself; so that even their orthodox adversaries charged them with denying the power of faith. The statement that the sectaries of Bulgaria had a Pope, whose authority was acknowledged in the West, is doubtful; but they certainly had orders of bishops and deacons, and a gradation of membership, not unlike a division between the initiated and uninitiated.[2] The great sacrament of their fellowship was that which they called the *Consolation* (*consolamentum*), because it bestowed the gift of the consoling Spirit, the Paraclete; the baptism of fire, which restored to him who received it the heavenly soul which had been lost by the Fall. It was administered not only by the clergy, but by any one who had received it, and, in case of necessity, even by a woman; but sinfulness in the minister made the rite void. The other sacraments were the Blessing of Bread at their daily food,[3] Penance, and Ordination. Those who had received the *Consolation* formed the higher class of the *Perfect* (*perfecti*) or *Elect*; and were pledged to a

[1] This objection seems to have been mixed up with the theory of "believers' baptism;" for Eckhart says that they openly denied the baptism of infants, but more secretly denied all water baptism (i. 2).

[2] This distinction may perhaps have involved an esoteric and exoteric teaching, which might go far to account for the difficulty of discriminating the Manichean and puritanic principles; the one the system of the leaders; the other the simpler faith of the common people.

[3] It is said that they regarded the food thus blessed as conveying the spiritual nourishment of the Lord's body, so that every meal was a eucharistic sacrament.

severely ascetic life; abstaining from all animal food, eggs, milk, and cheese, and renouncing marriage, which was declared to be so fatal that no married persons could be saved, unless they were separated before death. The breach of any of these rules by the *Perfect* was a mortal sin, which could only be remitted by a repetition of their *Consolation*; but for venial sins absolution was obtained by a solemn monthly confession, called *appareilamentum*. The Perfect belonged no longer to themselves, but were bound to travel and labour for the service of the sect; and they were indefatigable in obtaining proselytes. They renounced all property, after the pattern of Christ and his Apostles, and were constant in their invectives on the wealth of the clergy.

The lower order of adherents were called the *imperfect*, or, as not being full members, the *federated* (*fœderati*);[1] but, as there was no hope of salvation out of the sect, they were required to receive the Consolation on their death-beds.[2] With the prospect of this final rite, and freedom from its obligations during life, the federated are charged by their enemies with great laxity of morals, and many of the Perfect are said to have regretted not having taken advantage of their former immunity to indulge more freely in sin. Other writers bring against the Cathari accusations of magic, incest, and other abominations, such as are usually laid to the charge of heretical parties. Though oaths, and even affirmations, such as "truly" or "certainly," were strictly forbidden, and it is said that the Perfect would rather die than swear, they are accused of swearing as freely as they lied; and for their habitual use of equivocation, especially in evading questions concerning their tenets, they are likened to "eels, which, the more tightly they are squeezed, the more easily they slip away." Notwithstanding their renunciation of property, they are charged with being fond of money, and practising usury and other unscrupulous means of obtaining it, and with neglecting the poor, partly from avarice, and partly from disbelief in the merit of alms. Yet we are told the reputation for sanctity won by the rigid lives of the Catharists was one chief source of their wide-spread influence; and many nobles of the land showed them the confidence of entrusting them with the education of their children.

[1] According to some, these were called *Hearers*, and the Perfect *Believers*.

[2] "Many entered into an agreement, known as *La Convenenza* (the Covenant), that it should be administered to them in their last moments; and some, after having received it, starved themselves to death, lest they should again be defiled by a relapse into sin. Besides this, which was styled *endura*, suicide was allowed in various cases, such as that of extreme persecution; and it is said that, in order to obtain for receivers of clinical consolation a higher place in glory, it was usual for their friends to starve or to strangle them." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 195.)

Church of St. Ainay, Lyon.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE WALDENSES, OR POOR MEN OF LYON.

CENTURIES XII.–XV.

§ 1. Confusion of the Waldenses with the Albigenses—Their freedom from Manicheism and all doctrinal heresy—Popular misconceptions of their name and character. § 2. Their real foundation at Lyon by WALDO (1170)—His one desire for Scriptural knowledge and life—Translations of SS. and extracts from Fathers—Preaching of himself and his followers: forbidden by the Archbishop. § 3. Appeal to Alexander III. rejected—Walter Map's account—Condemnation by the Council of Verona, by the name of *Humiliati* or POOR MEN OF LYON. § 4. Popular success and wide diffusion—Patronage of princes—Their schools. § 5. Their constant use of the vernacular Scriptures—Testimony of Innocent III. and others to their orthodoxy. § 6. Errors imputed to them. § 7. Progress of their opposition to Rome. § 8. Their moral and social virtues—Labour and simplicity of life. § 9. Their extant writings, mingled with their later views—Poems—The *Noble Lesson* (15th century.)

§ 1. FROM the heterogeneous tenets and doubtful character of these sectaries,—obscured as both have been by the evidence of their contemporary enemies, and the partial views of their modern apologists,—it is a relief to turn to the one body in which we clearly recognize the main principles of a scriptural and evangelical effort to reform the corruptions of the Church, which only the Church itself forced into heretical opposition; the society, rather than sect (to call them by their own proper name) of the "Poor Men of Lyon" (*Pauperes de Lugduno*). Even here we have first to dismiss views now clearly proved to be unfounded, but long held by the most opposite parties, which confused the WALDENSES with the *Albigenses;* the one party desiring to involve both in the common odium of Manicheism; the other making both equally pure reformers. Without doubt they had so much in common, that the purest motives influenced individuals found in both, and both necessarily agreed in condemning certain glaring corruptions of the Church, nay more, both opposed a great part of her doctrine, constitution, and ritual, on the same puritan grounds. But the distinction is broad and clear in respect of their fundamental principles and historical derivation, at least in respect of those darker features which formed one element in the system of the Catharist or Albigensian sects. We have the pregnant admission of contemporary Catholic opponents of the Waldenses, that *they were far less perverse than other heretics;* that they were sound in their faith as to the doctrines that relate to God, and received all the articles of the Creed; so that, in the South of France, they were sometimes allied with the clergy in defence of these truths against Manichean and other heretics.[1] While they exalted the Gospel above the law, it was in no spirit of Manichean disparagement of the older Scriptures. And, although they did not escape the popular charges of secret and abominable rites, or the imputation of hypocrisy, the general purity of their morals is allowed by their opponents.[2] The result of

[1] The Waldenses even spoke of the Manichean sectaries as "devils."

[2] For the authorities for these statements, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 205–206; Gieseler, ch. vii. § 88, vol. iii. pp. 411 f. On the Waldenses in general the principal sources of information are: some *Waldensian MSS.* in the libraries of Geneva, Dublin, Cambridge, &c. (see Herzog, *inf. cit.*); the works of their Catholic opponents, the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse (Limbosch, *Hist. Inq.*); Bernardus, Abbas Fontis Calidi (*ob.* before 1200), *Adv. Valdensium sectam* (*Patrol.* cciv.); Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium;* Steph. de Borbone (*ob.* 1250), *De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti;* Alanus ab Insulis, *Contra Hæret. sui Temporis;* Rainerius Sacchoni (first a Catharist and then an Inquisitor), *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis;* Moneta, *Summa adv. Catharos et Valdenses;* Yvonetus (a Dominican, 1270–1280), *De Hæresi Pauperum De Lugduno* (Martene,

modern research is summed up in the calm and emphatic judgment of Hallam,[1] on the heretics of this age: "Those who were *absolutely free from any taint of Manicheism* are properly called WALDENSES;" and in Archbishop Trench's eloquent application to them of the principle of the survival of the fittest: "Of all the bodies which thus in the Middle Ages joined hands in a revolt against the authority of Rome, and which had their hostility to her in common, the Waldenses, weak in numbers as compared with so many of the others, alone survived to greet the dawning of a brighter day. One would not willingly utter a single word which even malice could pervert into an apology for the persecutors; yet allegiance to the truth leaves me no choice but to say that the Waldenses alone survived because, resting on a Scriptural foundation, they alone were worthy to survive."[2]

Nor is this a mere matter of opinion, but a judgment confirmed by the known history of the body, which is as free from any trace of the Eastern derivation, as it is from any admixture of the Oriental doctrines, of the Albigenses. For it may safely be pronounced a fond fancy, which, with the aid of a mere play on the name,[3] would trace their origin to a primitive remnant of Evangelical Christians in the Alps of Piedmont and Savoy; a notion impressed

vol. v.). For the modern works see Gieseler, Robertson, Niedner, Hase, &c.: besides those of Maitland already quoted, the most important are, A. Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser im Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1851; Herzog, *Die romanischen W., ihre vorreform. Zustände u. Lehren*, Halle, 1853; W. Preger, *Zur Gesch. d. W.* (in the *Akad. d. Wiss.*), München, 1875.

[1] *Lit. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 382.

[2] *Medieval Ch. Hist.* p. 229.

[3] The easy transformation of *Waldensis* or *Valdensis* (the V and W being interchangeable in the Latin) into *Vallensis* is further complicated by the resemblance to *Vaudois*, the name of one of the districts where the sect has survived, and *possibly* (though this is little more than a guess) the local origin of Peter Waldo's surname. The very likeness would be a ground for suspecting one of those frequent plays of words, of which we have seen an example in *Popelicani* and *Publicani*, if the argument were one of probability only. But, with the known origin of the sect from Peter Waldo as its founder, the conclusion is quite clear, that, "when it is sought to get rid of their relation to him, as embodied in the very name which they bear, and to change this name into *Vallenses*, the Men of the Valleys or the Dalesmen, it is a transformation which has no likelihood, philological or historic, to recommend it." (Trench, p. 250.) The *only* early writer, in whom we find the name *Vallenses*, used it as a play of words: Ebrard (*Lib. antihæresis*, c. 25): "Quidam autem, qui *Vallenses*, &c., appellant, eo quod *in valle lacrymarum* manent;" and in like manner the Abbot Bernard (*Adv. Waldenses*) doubles the pun, saying they are called *Valdenses* "nimirum *e valle densa*, eo quod *profundis et densis errorum tenebris* involvuntur" (evidently alluding to the German word *Wald*, Lat. *Valda*, "a wood").

on the popular mind by Milton's immortal protest against the massacre of their descendants in that region in 1665:—

> "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
> Lie scatter d on the Alpine mountains cold;
> *Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,*
> *When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones.*"

The popular misconception is aided by the idea, which such words naturally tend to perpetuate, of a perfect agreement (or, to use, under protest, the expressive modernism *solidarity*) of the strong Protestant faith of these people since the Reformation with the original theology of the Waldenses. "What the Waldenses learnt to hold and teach after contact with the Hussites in the 15th century, and still more after communications held in the 16th with some chief continental reformers, has been regarded as that which they held from the beginning."[1]

§ 2. The positive historical testimony of all the writers who were nearly contemporary with the first appearance of the sect ascribes its foundation, in the year 1170, to a wealthy merchant of Lyon, whose name, or rather appellation, is most commonly given WALDO, in Latin WALDUS, but also Waldensis, and other forms, the origin of which is a matter of mere conjecture.[2] Some ascribe to the sudden death of a fellow-citizen, at a meeting of the chief inhabitants of the town, that strong religious impression, which all agree to have been free from fanaticism or wilful heresy. His one desire—we tell

[1] Trench, pp. 257–8. The whole passage is important. On the relation claimed for them to the very earliest opponents of abuses in the Church see pp. 250–1. To the argument for the high antiquity of the sect from their writings which are preserved in MS., the general reply is that these works belong to the 15th century, or later, and are affected by that Hussite influence to which reference is made above. The most plausible of these arguments has been derived from the metrical work (in the Romance language), entitled "The Noble Lesson" (*Nobla Leyczon*), the opening lines of which (*in the first printed edition*) give the date of 1100 years since Christ, and also the name of *Vaudes;* whence it has been inferred that the sect existed under that name, nearly a century before Waldo. But an inspection of the MS. in the Cambridge University Library has proved the true reading to be 1400 years ("mil et 4 cent ans" instead of "mil e cent ans"), thus bringing the date of the poem down to the 15th century. This poem and most of the other Waldensian MSS. are printed in Hahn (*op. cit.*); Herzog, *Die romanischen Waldenser;* and Todd's *Books of the Vaudois.*

[2] The name of PETER is first given to him in the 15th century. For the various forms and explanations of his name, see the authorities cited above. Besides the name derived from their founder, his followers are called *Leonistæ* (from *Leona*, Lyon), *Sabati*, *Xabatenses*, *Inzabbattati*, from the *sabot* or wooden shoe of the lower classes, to which they chiefly belonged.

the story as it is told by a Dominican Inquisitor [1]—was to have a fuller knowledge of Holy Scripture than he could obtain from hearing the lessons read in church, and to regulate his life by the example and precepts of Christ and His Apostles. Being himself illiterate, he employed two priests of the city, the one to translate, and the other to transcribe, in the vernacular Romance tongue, many books of the Bible, as well as a large selection of passages of the Fathers and churchmen relating to Christian doctrine and practice, arranged under heads, like the *Sentences* of the Schoolmen: a selection which at once indicates his loyalty to the Church. Their repeated perusal and meditation moved him to desire a life of Evangelic perfection, such as the Apostles led; and his first step was to sell all his goods, and to cast away the despised worldly dross to the poor. Thus far his course was that of St. Francis a few years later; and the *precedence* of Waldo is a fact of no little moment. But, with the more unfettered sense of duty to God alone, the layman of Lyon took for his maxim, "We cannot but speak the things that we have seen and heard." At this point he parted from the ruling Church, without any desire of separation; not, as his opponents allowed, in the spirit of heresy, but of disorder—"running before they were sent," was the condemnation of the Waldenses by Pope Lucius III. As the Dominican historian puts it, "he usurped and took on himself the office of the Apostles, preaching the Gospels, and the things he had laid up in his heart, through the streets and villages, calling about him many, both men and women, to do the same, confirming them in the knowledge of the Gospels." He draws a vivid picture of men and women, ignorant and illiterate, running about through the villages, making their way into houses, preaching not only in the streets but even in the churches, and inciting others to do the same; and he alleges the consequent spread of errors and scandals as the ground on which the Archbishop of Lyon forbad them to intrude on the office of preaching and expounding Scripture. Their reply was that of the Apostles to the Jewish Sanhedrin, "*We ought to obey God rather than men*, who commanded His Apostles to *preach the Gospel to every creature.*"[2] For this presumption in

[1] Stephanus de Borbone (at Lyon about 1225).

[2] Acts v. 29; Mark xvi. 15. The *references* are given by Stephen, who is scandalized at the presumption of Valdensis in usurping the part of Peter. (Is it possible that we have here the origin of Waldo being called Peter?) The Dominican's comment is well worth adding, as it defines the original offence of the Waldenses against ecclesiastical obedience:—"As if the Lord had said to *them* what He said to the Apostles, who yet did not take on themselves to preach till they were endued with power from on high. They then, I mean Valdensis and his followers, *first by*

usurping the office of the Apostles the Archbishop excommunicated and silenced them; and many of them were thus driven out of Lyon, and began to preach in the country round as far as the Alpine valleys which became long afterwards the chief home of the community.

§ 3. In all this there was on their part no wilful separation from, much less hostility to, the ruling Catholic Church; we do not even read, thus early in their course, of any direct denunciation of her corruptions. The whole question at issue was, to use the famous phrase of a later age, of the "Liberty of Prophesying"—of preaching the Gospel and teaching its truths without the necessity of ordination or the commission of the bishops. So confident was Waldo of his right and duty, that he appealed against the Archbishop's sentence to Alexander III., who was then holding the Third General Council of the Lateran. Two of his followers appeared before the Council, with the urgent petition that the right of preaching might be confirmed to them.[1] They presented to the Pope a book in the vernacular of Southern France, containing the text, with glosses, of the Psalter, and most of the books of both Testaments. As to orthodoxy, they avowed their adhesion to the four doctors of the Church—Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome. The Pope referred them and their books to a commission, one member of which, Walter Map, or Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, famous for his somewhat licentious Latin verses, in which the clergy are freely satirized, has left an account of the proceedings. The petition of these "ignorant and illiterate men"[2]—as the Council styled them in the phrase of the Jewish Sanhedrin, though, less wise, they did not "take knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus"—was contemptuously rejected; but a deeper motive of dislike and fear is expressed by the Archdeacon. After describing the indefatigable labours and apostolic poverty of these itinerant evangelists, he adds, "They now begin in the humblest manner, because they cannot get a footing; but, if we once let them in, we shall be turned out." But it is most significant of the totally different light in which they were regarded, as compared with the Manichean sectaries, that they were not included in the condemnation and crusade denounced by the Council against the latter.[3]

presumption and usurpation of the apostolic office fell into *disobedience*, then into *contumacy*, then into the sentence of excommunication."

[1] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, *ap.* Gieseler, iii. 415.

[2] For the Archdeacon's complacent account of his victory in the argument, see Trench, p. 253. He quotes Acts iv. 13 (*homines idiotas et illiteratos*), unconscious of the irony on himself and the Council.

[3] See Chap. XXXV. § 6.

Perseverance in their unlicensed work, however, brought down on them, five years later, the anathema of Lucius III. and the Council of Verona (1184), by a decree which includes, with the Cathari and Paterini, "those who mendaciously call themselves by the false name of *Humiliati*, or *Poor Men of Lyon*."[1] The last was evidently the name chosen for themselves; that of *Waldenses*, and the rest, being applied to them by common usage.

§ 4. Thus cast off by the Western Church, and thrown into a position of unwilling antagonism by the resolve to obey God rather than men, the Waldenses soon showed that their enforced independence was a new source of power. Two chief causes prepared the way for their success with the people, as for that of the Franciscans a few years later. Their simple fervid preaching supplied one of the most grievous deficiencies of the Church, and their plain Scriptural teaching was the best antidote to those prevalent heresies, which derived their life and strength from the corrupt ecclesiastical system and doctrine. So far from the Waldenses being leagued with the Albigenses in common heresy and hatred of the Church, we are told that they disputed with the greatest acuteness against the Arian and Manichean sectaries.[2] Before the end of the 12th century, we have particular accounts of their rapid spread in Languedoc and Gascony, Lorraine and Burgundy, Northern Italy (especially at Milan[3]), and Spain, where a decree of Alphonso II., King of Arragon, denounced the wrath of God and his own, not only on themselves, but on all who should receive or listen to them, and ordered all such to be punished as traitors (1194). The earliest positive evidence of their connection with Piedmont is in 1198, when the Bishop of Turin obtained authority from Otho IV. to take forcible measures for their suppression. The efforts of the clergy to extirpate them were impeded by the protection of power-

[1] Lucii III. P. *Decretum contra Hæreticos* (*Decr. Greg.* v. 7, 9; Mansi, xxii. 476). In the enumeration of sects denounced, they are named next after the *Cathari* and *Paterini*, and before the *Passagini*, *Josephini* and *Arnoldistæ*, all reputed Manicheans. But it does not follow from this list in the usual form that all were condemned on the same ground; and, from all that goes before, we are justified in applying to these "Poor Men of Lyon" the next sentence of the decree, against those who, under the guise of piety, took upon for themselves the power of preaching without licence, according to the words of the Apostle, though the same Apostle says, "How shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x. 15). To this they rejoined in the words of St. James (iv. 17): "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

[2] Gulielm. de Podio Laurent. *in Prologo.*

[3] The favour they received here from the municipality is proved by the grant of a site for their school, which was also used for their religious meetings. The order of the Archbishop for its destruction was disregarded.

ful patrons;[1] and the youth of all classes were trained in their schools, which in Provence and Lombardy were more numerous than those of the Catholics.

§ 5. The chief source of their influence was that familiar knowledge and constant use of Holy Scripture in the vernacular, to which their enemies bear a testimony not free from admiration. They read and taught them to all classes; and when the day's work was over, labourers and artizans gave their evenings to study. On this point we have the most interesting evidence and judgment of Innocent III., in a letter addressed to all Christians in the city and diocese of Metz (1199).[2] The bishop had informed the Pope that a large number of laymen and women, drawn by a desire for the Scriptures, had caused the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, the Psalter,[3] and many other books, to be translated in the Gallic speech, which laymen and women presumed to "belch out" to one another in secret meetings, and to preach by turns. The Pope does not hesitate to admit that "a desire to understand the Divine Scriptures, and zeal in exhorting according to them, is not blameworthy, but rather to be commended;" what he censures is the secresy of their meetings, their assumption of the office of preaching, their mocking the "simplicity" of the priests, and their despising the fellowship of those who did not adopt their views. But this was all he had to say against them; for in another letter to the Archbishop we have the testimony, most remarkable as borne by such a Pope as Innocent, that the archbishop had not accused them of erring in the faith, or disagreeing from the doctrines essential to salvation.[4]

§ 6. This witness to their orthodoxy is confirmed by those adversaries, on whom we are obliged to rely for much of our knowledge of their opinions and practices; and Ebrard of Bethune even makes it an aggravation of their heresy by treachery: "Because you hold some things in common with us, and in others do not disagree with us, you are like enemies in our own

[1] Thus in 1194 we find the Bishop of Béziers exacting a promise from the guardians of the young viscount, whose father had been the chief protector of the Albigenses, not to harbour "the *heretics* or *Valdenses*" (the distinction is significant).

[2] Lib. iii. *Epist.* 141; also in *Decr. Greg.* v. 7, 12; Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 417.

[3] He also mentions "*moralia Jobi*," meaning, perhaps, Job and the other specially moral books.

[4] As the result, apparently, of this correspondence, certain abbots were appointed to preach against them; these burnt their vernacular books, and, we are told, "extirpated the sect." (Alberici, *Chron.* ann. 1200.) But nevertheless it existed in the diocese twenty years later (Cæs. Heisterbach, *de Mirac. et Vision. sui Temporis*, v. 20). Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 417.

house.[1] Peter of Vaux-Cernay pronounces the Waldenses evil, but by comparison far less perverse than other heretics; "for they agreed with us in many things, but in some they dissented;" and he names, as their four chief errors, the wearing of sandals, like the Apostles; their denying the lawfulness of oaths, or of taking human life on any ground; and their assertion that any one of them, without episcopal ordination, "could make the body of Christ."[2] Writers, who discuss their tenets more particularly, tell us that they were led on in the downward course of error to hold that deceased believers are not profited by the alms, fasts, and prayers, of the living, or even by solemn masses performed on their behalf;[3] that holy orders confer no power to consecrate and bless, or to bind and loose; that no one is bound to confess to a priest, if a layman is at hand, which seems to make confession the natural act of Christians, and not a priestly function;[4] that the *general absolutions* made by bishops in the various offices of the Church are not ratified (by God).[5] It seems strange, but significant of ecclesiastical casuistry, to find their regarding *all lying as mortal sin* treated as heresy, together with their disallowance of oaths and the taking of human life. Their alleged denial of the efficacy of baptism, especially in the case of infants,[6] may probably have been rather (as we have seen with the Cathari) an insistence on personal faith as the essential condition of its efficacy. All their religious services were conducted in the vernacular tongue.

§ 7. After their excommunication, the Waldenses naturally became more opposed to the clergy and the whole order of the Roman

[1] *Liber Antihæresis*, c. 25.

[2] Petrus Mon. Vall. Cernagi, c. 2. It may be doubted how far this phrase represents the Waldensian view of the Eucharist, or merely the writer's mode of putting their celebration of the sacrament. But the truth seems to be that the early Waldenses (at least) avoided theorizing on this as on other Catholic doctrines. The distinct recognition of only two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, in their own *Confession of Faith*, seems to belong to a later time, in opposition to the doctrine of seven sacraments, which was only fully established in the 12th century. It must not be forgotten that these anti-Waldensian writers of the 13th century refer to a time when the views of the sect had been developed under the influence of their excommunication and persecutions.

[3] Bernard. Abb. Fontis Calidi, *adv. Waldenses*, c. 9; Gieseler, iii. 421.

[4] According to James v. 16.

[5] This seems to reserve the function of absolution for particular sins, whether pronounced by a priest, or, as would appear to be inferred from the preceding article, by all Christians on confession to one another. The article, "Quod Prædicatores non debent laborare manibus," seems to refer to the support of their ministers by voluntary contributions, which other writers represent as mendicancy.

[6] Reimer, *Summa*, 1775; *c. Wald.* 265; Yvonet, 1779.

Church, which they declared to be the beast and harlot of the Apocalypse, apostate, and divested of spiritual power from the time of its union with the Empire under Pope Sylvester,[1] though there had ever been within it a remnant who held the true faith and were heirs of salvation. "They denounced the penitential system of the Church, as alike burdensome and unavailing, and contrasted it with the full and free forgiveness which their own sect offered, after the example of the Saviour's words, 'Go and sin no more.' They denied the doctrine of Purgatory, and the lawfulness of the practices connected with it—some of them believing in an intermediate state of rest or of punishment, while others held that souls, on leaving the body, go at once to their final abode. They denied the miracles of the Church, and pretended to none of their own, although in later times some of them professed to see visions. . . . Unlike the Cathari, they held it lawful to eat meat, even on days when it was forbidden by the Church; and they held marriage to be lawful, although they regarded celibacy as higher."[2]

§ 8. Such is the account of their opinions by prejudiced adversaries, whose witness also to their moral and social character is the more remarkable for the confession of their vast superiority in character to the clergy and dignitaries of the Church; a contrast which was one chief cause of their gaining converts. Here again we have the testimony of Pope Innocent III.;[3] and a chief censor of the Waldenses represents them as saying with truth: "The Apostles did not live so, nor do we, who are imitators of the Apostles."[4] The same writer draws the following picture of their character and mode of life. The heretics are known by their manners and their speech: in manners they are sedate and modest; they have no pride in their dress, because it is neither costly nor mean. They practise no trades, in order to avoid lies, oaths, and

[1] The statement about the apostacy of the Papacy from the time of Sylvester is found in the *Noble Lesson:* no Pope since Sylvester can forgive sin. Sylvester was identified with the little horn of the prophet Daniel (vii. 8). See the authorities cited by Robertson, vol. iii. p. 203.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 204–5.

[3] Lib. vii. *Epist.* 75.

[4] Pseudo-Rainerii *Summa*, c. 3; *ap.* Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 444. This is the fourth of seven causes assigned for the heresy, the others being: (1) "Inanis gloria;" (2) The incessant zeal of all, men and women, small and great, in teaching and learning, by night and day; (3) Their teaching and learning of Holy Scripture in the vernacular (the writer himself had seen a rustic who recited the book of Job from memory, and many knew the N. T. perfectly); (4) The scandal from the evil example of certain persons; (5) The insufficient learning of some (Catholics), who preached what was frivolous or false; (6) The irreverence with which some ministers of the Church performed the Sacraments; (7) Hatred towards the Church (and no wonder, with such good reasons).

frauds; but they live by labour only, like workmen; their very teachers are shoemakers and weavers. They do not multiply riches, but are content with necessaries. They are chaste, especially the Leonistæ; and temperate in food and drink. They go neither to taverns nor dances nor other vanities. They refrain from anger; they are always at work; and therefore *they pray little*—an inference, of which the meaning is easily seen; and we may accept his valuable testimony to their regular use of the services of the Church, without the base motive to which he imputes it.[1] They are known also by the precision and moderation of their words. They keep themselves watchfully from scurrility and slander, from levity of speech, and lies and oaths; not even saying *Verily* (*verè*) or *Surely* (*certè*), for they account these as oaths. The desire of their enemies to entrap them in their words may account for any foundation of truth in his imputation of habitual evasiveness in answering questions; as, when asked, "Do you know the Gospel or Epistles?" they answer, "Who could have taught me?" A modern Catholic Church historian admits that, even in the ages of the fiercest fanaticism, it would have been quite impossible to get up a crusade against them.

§ 9. With these testimonies to the essential orthodoxy and moral excellence of the Waldenses, "their enemies themselves being judges," we are fortunately able to compare some remains of their own writings. In these, however, as we have said, their earliest views are mixed up with a more decided anti-Catholic development; but they are no less remarkable for the points in which they stop short of the theology of the Protestant Reformers.[2] The most important of them is the *Noble Lesson*, which is now ascertained to

[1] "Item ad ecclesiasm *ficte* vadunt, offerunt et confitentur, et communicant, et intersunt prædicationibus; *sed ut prædicantem capiant in sermone*"—a *result* very probable from this writer's own account of the sermons often heard, but not therefore their *motive*.

[2] This is well brought out by Trench, whose account of the work we quote. (*Medieval Ch. Hist.* pp. 258 f.) This poem, *La Nobla Leyczon*, was first printed in Raynouard's *Choix des Poesies originales des Troubadours*, ii. 73; and again in Hahn's *Gesch. der Ketzer im Mittelalter*, ii. 628, with most of the other old Waldensian poems, viz. *La Barca* (i.e. the *Ship of the Church*), *Lo novel Sermon*, *Lo novel Comfort*, *Lo Payre* (i.e. *Père*) *Eternel*, *Lo Despreczi del Mont* (i.e. *Contempt of the World*), *L'avangeli de li quatre semenez*, founded on the Parable of the Sower. Other works are a *Catechism*, a *Confession of Faith*, on *Antichrist*, on *Purgatory*, and on the *Calling of the Saints*, printed by Leger (*Histoire*, &c.), with dates in the early part of the 12th century (1100 to 1120), which seem to have been affixed by the later Waldenses as representing what they regarded as their primitive opinions. They bear evident traces of later controversial developments. (Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 419.)

belong to the beginning of the 15th century, that is, above two centuries after their historic origin. "This tractate, written in verse, is an earnest summons to repentance, to amendment of life, to the exercise of Christian graces, to the doing of good works, all this in view of the shortness of this present life; the greatness of the rewards, and the terribleness of the penalties, which after death severally await those who have done good or done evil; with a solemn warning against that peace which is no peace, against all those spiritual drugs by which the Church of Rome quieted, or rather stupefied, the consciences of men in regard to judgment to come. But what is most remarkable is this: that, while Christ's sufferings and death are there set forth, as proof that as many as will live godly must suffer persecution, there is, in all the 500 and more lines that make up this poem, only a single line which contains a reference, and that but historically, to the death of Christ as a redemptive act; no word at all of the duty and blessedness of making by faith the benefits of that atoning death our own. . . .

"And yet, marvellous indeed is the sustaining, quickening, binding power of the Word of God. With a complex of doctrine theologically incomplete; having only imperfectly extricated themselves from errors which had in the lapse of centuries overgrown the Church; and, even where they got rid of Roman error, not always having seized with firm hand the truth whereof this was the caricature or the denial; they yet lived on from age to age, a light in a dark place. They lived on, too, which from one point of view is the more to their honour, without having produced, so far as we know, a single theological genius or other pre-eminent leader of their own. The Friends of God could boast their Nicolas of Basle; the Pantheistic Mystics could claim an Amalric of Bena, and one half of our Eckart; the Apocalyptic enthusiasts their Joachim of Floris; the Moravian Brethren their Luke of Prague; the Brethren of the Common Life their Gerhard Groot; other religious bodies, too, had their single spokesman or champion, who stood high above the crowd; but no one stands out as a predominant spirit among these; they hold the championship of that truth, which was given them to keep in common; the honour of guarding it is shared alike among them all."

Gateway of Carcassonne.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE.

A.D. 1198–1229.

§ 1. Prevalence of heresy at the epoch of Innocent III.'s accession (1198) —Steps for its suppression in Italy and France—"*Deliverance to the secular arm.*" § 2. Religious Revolt of LANGUEDOC—Heretics protected by the Princes—Character of RAYMOND VI., Count of Toulouse. § 3. Policy of Innocent III.—Mission of Cistercians: PETER OF CASTELNAU and Arnold of Cîteaux—Diego and Dominic. § 4. Durandus of Osca attempts to reconcile the Waldenses—Order of *Pauperes Catholici.* § 5. BISHOP FULK—Excommunication of Raymond and murder of the legate Peter—Innocent declares that *no faith is to be kept with heretics.* § 6. The Crusade proclaimed—Various motives of the

adventurers—The leaders—SIMON DE MONTFORT. § 7. Submission and penance of Raymond—The Pope's double dealing. § 8. The Crusade continued—Taking and massacres of Béziers and Carcassonne—Fate of Raymond Roger. § 9. Reward of De Montfort—Cruel war—Massacre of Minerve. § 10. Count Raymond at Rome—New terms imposed on him—Revolt of Toulouse—Intervention of Peter of Arragon: his defeat and death at Muret—Simon de Montfort made Prince of Languedoc—The Fourth Lateran Council (1215). § 11. Louis of France in Languedoc—Capture of Toulouse—Return of the Raymonds and new revolt—Deaths of Simon de Montfort and Raymond VI. § 12. LOUIS VIII. again in Languedoc—His death—Raymond VII. submits to the Pope and Louis IX.—His penance—Later history of Languedoc till its union with France.

§ 1. AT the epoch of INNOCENT III.'s accession to the papal throne, three years before the close of the 12th century (Jan. 1198) the forms of heretical opinion and organization which we have described were rife in every state and province of Latin Christendom. The Cathari were powerful in the papal territory itself. At Orvieto they were not suppressed till after they had murdered the young governor, whose zeal had staked his life on their extirpation (1199). At Viterbo, a sedition of the Patarenes formed one of the first claims on the Pope's energy, and it was not put down till he visited the town in person several years later (1207). "The Patarenes took to flight; but this did not prevent the Pope from enquiring into the matter, and he ordered that their property should be confiscated, that their houses should be demolished, and that all heretics, especially the members of this sect, should be *delivered to the secular arm*—a phrase which now occurs for the first time, in order to punishment."[1] Innocent urged like measures on the authorities at Faenza, Bologna, Florence, Verona, Trevisa, and other places, particularly Milan. We read of heretics in Dalmatia, Bosnia, and the Tyrol; at Strassburg, where about eighty were put to the ordeal of hot iron, and most of them were convicted and burnt; and of similar executions at Paris, Troyes, Rouen, Langres, and in various places of Northern France and Belgium.

§ 2. But it was especially in Languedoc that Innocent "found a whole province, a realm, in some respects the richest and noblest of his spiritual domain, absolutely dissevered from his Empire, in almost universal revolt from Latin Christianity."[2] The heresies prevalent

[1] Innocent III. P. *Epist.* x. 105, 209; *Gesta*, 123; Robertson, iii. p. 345.

[2] Milman, vol. v. p. 409. The chief authorities for the history of the Albigensian Crusade are: (1) Peter, a monk of Vaux-Cernay, who attended his uncle, the abbot, and was chaplain to Simon de Montfort. His bigotry against the heretics is furious, and his statement of their

among the common people were fostered and protected by the princes, but rather through contempt and hatred of the clergy than from religious convictions of their own. Foremost among those charged with being oppressors of the bishops and clergy were the counts of Béarn and Comminges, the young viscount of Béziers—who, following his father's steps, fell one of the earliest victims of the crusade,—and the still more powerful count of Foix, whose wife and one of his two sisters are said to have been Waldensians, and his other sister a Catholic. But the most powerful (next to the King of Arragon,[1] who divided with the King of France the suzerainty of the country) was the ill-fated RAYMOND VI., Count of Toulouse, who was destined to lose both his territory and fame in the coming struggle, though far from being a worthy confessor for religion. His character "is darkly coloured by the hatred of the sterner among the writers of the Church of Rome as a concealed heretic, as a fautor of heretics, as a man of deep dissimulation and consummate treachery. He appears to have been a gay, voluptuous, generous man, without strength of character enough to be either heretic or bigot. Loose in his life, he had had five wives, three living at the same time, the sister of the Viscount of Beziers, the daughter of the King of Cyprus, the sister of Richard of England; on the death of the last, he married the sister of King Pedro of Arragon. The two latter were his kindred within the prohibited degrees. This man was no Manichean! Yet Raymond, even though his wives were thus uncanonically wed, is subject to no high moral reproof from the Pope; it is only as refusing to execute the Papal commands against his subjects (towards him at least unoffending), that he is the victim of excommunication, is despoiled of realm, of honour, of salvation."[2]

§ 3. Raymond had incurred suspicion by his association with heretics in early life; and when, at the age of thirty-eight, he succeeded his father (1194), he was very soon excommunicated by Celestine III. for aggression on the rights of the abbey of St. Gilles. But one of

opinions is very suspicious. (2) A poem by an anonymous Troubadour, published by Fauriel (*Docum. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France*, Paris, 1837). The Troubadour is at first strongly against the heretics, but takes the other side when the cause is that of the nation against De Montfort. (3) A prose version of this poem, published in the *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iii., and in Bouquet, vol. xix., and sometimes cited as the *Anon. Languedoc.* (4) William de Puy-Laurens (*de Podio Laurentii*), in Bouquet, vol. xix.

[1] Peter (Pedro) II. became King of Arragon in 1196, and fell, as we shall presently see, in the most decisive battle of this crusade (1213).

[2] Milman, vol. v. p. 414. *Joanna*, daughter of Henry II., was the mother of Raymond VII. She died soon after her brother Richard (Sept. 1199), and was buried with him at Fontevraud.

the first acts of Innocent III. was to remove this sentence; as it was the Pope's policy to claim the aid of the princes in rooting out heresy from their dominions. For this purpose, in the first year of his pontificate, he addressed a letter to the prelates, princes, nobles, and all the Christian people of the region,[1] calling on them to assist and obey the two Cistercians, Rainer and Guy, whom he sent as legates to put down the heresies of "the Cathari, Valdenses, and Paterini." He declared the civil and religious outlawry of the heretics: they were to be banished and their property confiscated; and the extreme penalty of death seems to be implied in the assertion, that heresy is the murder of the soul. The reluctance of the princes to become the executioners of such orders on their own people was expressed in the answer of Raymond: "We have been brought up with them; we have relations among them, and we know that their life is honest." Rainer, soon falling sick, was succeeded by another Cistercian, Peter of Castelnau, and the envoys were armed with the new power of dealing with heresy independently of the bishops, and even of suspending such bishops as showed any reluctance to work under two simple monks. In 1204, Arnold, the supreme Abbot of Cîteaux, a bitter and unscrupulous hater of heretics, was added to the mission, with twelve members of his order. Their first efforts to reclaim the heretics by conference were met by arguments drawn especially from the scandalous lives of the clergy; and we have already had occasion to relate how the pomp with which they travelled through the land was rebuked by the Spanish bishop, Diego of Osma, who began the work which was carried on by his disciple Dominic and the order of Preaching Friars.[2]

§ 4. Another Spanish ecclesiastic, Durandus of Osca, made a sincere effort for the reconciliation of the Waldenses, who were as yet in no direct doctrinal opposition to the Church, by transforming their society into a Catholic order; in fact, anticipating in intention the work soon afterwards performed by St. Francis. The "Poor Men of Lyon" were to be absorbed in an order of "Catholic Poor" (*Pauperes Catholici*), under strict monastic rules of poverty and obedience to the Church. The idea was approved by Innocent, who prescribed a confession of orthodoxy, and severely reproved the bishops who were unwilling to receive the converts won by Durandus from the Waldenses.[3] But the difference was too deeply rooted in principle, and the order soon came to an end.

[1] Innoc. *Epist.* i. 94. [2] See above, Chap. XXII. § 3.

[3] For the letter of Innocent concerning the whole movement (A.D. 1210) see Gieseler (iii. 462), who finds in the spirit shown by the Pope in this matter one reason why St. Francis did not become a heretic. Helyot (iii. 22, f.) supposes the *Pauperes Catholici* to have ultimately joined the Augustinian Friars.

§ 5. Toulouse, where the civil authorities opposed a steady resistance to the mission, had become, in 1205, the see of a new bishop, FULK, or Folquet, who was as bigotted and merciless as the Abbot Arnold. The son of a rich Genoese merchant at Marseilles, he had spent a wandering youth as a licentious Troubadour, till the shock of his mistress's death drove him to the cloister, when he came forth hardened into a character conspicuous among the churchmen of the age for treachery and cruelty.[1]

In 1206, the legate, Peter of Castelnau, excommunicated Count Raymond for refusing to abandon a war with his vassals in Provence and to turn his arms against the heretics; and Innocent called on the kings, nobles, and Christian people of France, to enforce the sentence (1207).[2] Raymond submitted, promising to aid the persecution; but, on the ground of his reluctance to act against the heretics, Peter renewed the excommunication. Some threatening words uttered by Raymond in an angry conference at St. Gilles were followed by the murder of the legate, who was pierced by one of the Count's men with a spear as he was embarking on the Rhone (January 15th, 1208). It seems that Raymond was innocent of the crime;[3] but the Pope at once assumed his guilt in a vehement letter to the bishops of the country, ordering them to proclaim on every Sunday and holiday the excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse, the murderer, and all his accomplices. The Pope did not hesitate to declare that *no faith was to be kept with him who does not keep faith with God.*[4] The only terms on which Raymond could be admitted to repentance, were the expulsion of all heretics from his dominions.

§ 6. While this sentence was fulminated against the Count himself, the murder of Peter was seized as a fit occasion for the complete extirpation of the heretics in Languedoc. We are still in the midst of the age of the Crusades; when each Pope was ready to proclaim one; when Christendom was longing to emulate the deeds and avenge the failure of Richard Cœur de Lion and his comrades; when Europe was full of soldiers trained in that school of cruelty and licence; and princes and nobles could be tempted by conquests easier and nearer at hand than those which had failed them in the East. Here was an enemy of the Christian faith in the fairest part of Christendom, whose wealth and provinces were already coveted

[1] See his character drawn by Milman, vol. v. p. 412. His amorous songs are still extant.

[2] Innoc. *Epist.* x. 61, 149.

[3] For the evidence, see Milman, v. 419.

[4] Innoc. *Epist.* xi. 26: "Cum juxta Sanctorum Patrum canonicas sanctiones, *qui Deo fidem non servat, fides servanda non est.*"

by the princes and nobles of northern and central France. Cardinal Gualo was sent to organize the Crusade which Innocent had proclaimed even before the murder of Peter; and the Pope's vehement appeal combined the civil and spiritual powers of Moses and St. Peter, "the Fathers of the Old and New Testaments," and the favourite image of the "two swords," to typify the holy alliance of France and Rome. Thus he wrote to Philip Augustus: "Up, soldiers of Christ! Up, most Christian king! Hear the cry of blood; aid us in wreaking vengeance on these malefactors! Up, in the same tone cried the Pope to all the adventurous nobles and knights of France, and offered to their valour the rich and sunny lands of the South."[1] The Crusade was proposed by Gualo, in a great national assembly at Villeneuve on the Yonne. Philip Augustus, whose conflict with John of England and the Empire was but suspended for a time, excused himself and his son on the ground that they were threatened by those "two great lions; but he contributed a force of 15,000 men, and gave all his subjects leave to join in the holy war. The clergy voted a subsidy of a tenth; and nobles and commons displayed a zeal stimulated by the offer of the same indulgences as for a Crusade to Palestine, and by tempting baits of conquest and spoil. The warlike bishops of France, themselves threatened by the heretics, made common cause with their brother prelates of the South; and in the first ranks of the Crusade appear the archbishops of Reims, Sens, and Rouen. Adventurers of all classes were tempted by the hope of plunder and the promise of salvation. The clergy and monks everywhere preached this new way of attaining everlasting life; and the numbers gathered for the Crusade were too large for any accurate computation.[2]

Among the lay captains of the host were the Dukes of Burgundy and Nevers, and the baron who became the chief commander and chief gainer in the enterprise—SIMON DE MONTFORT—a na after-

[1] Milman, vol. v. p. 421. See his description of the political motives mingled with the Crusade, especially the reduction of Languedoc under the full sovereignty of France. The difference still existing between Gallic France and Aquitaine must be remembered. "Throughout the war, the Crusaders are described as the *Franks*, as a foreign nation invading a separate territory."

[2] See Milman, vol. v. pp. 421-2. Some mention 500,000. The Troubadour estimates them at 20,000 knights and 200,000 common soldiers, not reckoning the townsmen and clerks; but (says he) "God never made the clerk so learned who could count the half or the third of their crosses, banners, and barbed horses, or write the names of the priests and abbés only." (Fauriel, 15.) Peter of Vaux-Cernay gives the number of men-at-arms as 50,000.

wards invested with a nobler fame by his son.[1] This veteran Crusader was chosen general, with solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost. "Simon was now about sixty years of age, and was regarded as a model of the chivalry of the time. In person he was tall, strong, and active; as a leader he was at once daring and skilful; and his affable and popular manners contributed to secure for him the enthusiastic love and confidence of his followers. The sincerity of his devotion to the Church had been shown in the late Crusade. . . . He was remarkable for his regularity in the exercises of religion, daily hearing mass and the offices of the canonical hours; and he was upheld by a lofty confidence in the protection of Heaven. . . . But with Simon's better qualities were combined some of the vices which not uncommonly seek their sanctification from high religious professions;—a vast ambition, a daring unscrupulousness as to the means of pursuing his objects, a ruthless indifference to human suffering, and an excessive and undisguised rapacity."[2] Few contrasts could be stronger than that of the characters of the leaders on the two sides.

§ 7. Raymond of Toulouse again bowed before the storm, rejecting the bolder counsel of his nephew, the viscount of Beaucaire, to hold out in their castles against the invaders. He sent to Rome an embassy of bishops and abbots (for some churchmen still adhered to him), and humbly requested the Pope to appoint a new legate to deal with him, as he considered Arnold of Cîteaux his personal enemy. Innocent, whose letters constantly avow the use of fraud in dealing with heretics in general and with Raymond of Toulouse in particular, did not wish to drive the Count to desperation till his great vassals were first subdued. He seemed to grant his request, while he mocked its sense, by the appointment of his own secretary Milo, whose known moderation led Raymond to say that he was a legate after his own heart, not knowing that Milo, and his sterner colleague Theodisc, were both placed under the orders of Arnold: the deception being avowed in the Pope's own instructions to Milo. The new legate was the bearer of the terms obtained by Raymond's

[1] Simon's title was taken from the place of his birth (ab. 1150), Monfort l'Amaury, in the Isle de France, in which barony he succeeded his father (1181), and was afterwards made its count, being also by inheritance Count of Evreux. The earldom of Leicester was acquired by his marriage with Amicia de Bellomont, daughter and coheiress of the last earl (who died in 1204). He was confirmed in it by King John in 1207, but afterwards banished and deprived of the earldom for his treatment of the younger Count Raymond (VII.). The title was restored to his second son, the famous Simon de Montfort of English history, with the consent of the elder brother (Amalric or Amaury, who succeeded his father in Languedoc), by Henry III. in 1230. [2] Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 350–1.

envoys at Rome, if we may believe the Troubadour, "by fair words and *many presents*." He must purge himself of complicity in the murder of Peter of Castelnau, swear obedience to the Pope and his legate, giving up seven castles in pledge, besides other stringent conditions, and penalties in case of their non-fulfilment. To all this he pledged himself in a solemn act of penance before the high altar of St. Gilles, to which he was led up with a rope round his neck, scourged on his naked shoulders as he went; and it was contrived that, in leaving the church, he should pass by the tomb of the murdered legate, to which he was forced to pay respect (June 18, 1209). Nor was this all: his humiliation was completed by submission to the new demand that he should himself take up the cross against his own loyal subjects; and he remained with the army till after the fall of Carcassonne.

§ 8. The submission of Raymond gave no check to the Crusade; for it was declared to have been set in motion not against the Count of Toulouse, but, as one of its apologists writes, "such mighty armaments must not have been prepared in vain." Next to Raymond among the suspected princes, and even more obnoxious for his courage and resolution, was his young nephew, Raymond Roger, viscount of Béziers. Having in vain counselled his uncle to resistance, in self-defence rather than from sympathy with the heretics,[1] he now waited on the legates at Montpellier to clear himself of the suspicion of heresy. His excuses were rejected with derision; and he threw himself with his main force into Carcassonne, while the crusading army advanced against Béziers.[2] This first act of the war revealed its national rather than religious character. The people, in their prince's absence, refused to surrender at the advice of their bishop, who was in the crusader's camp—advice which Arnold permitted, probably with a treacherous motive—and Catholics joined with heretics in declaring that, rather than surrender, they would be drowned in the sea—they would eat their wives and children. "Then"—replied the abbot Arnold—"there shall not be left one stone upon another; fire and sword shall devour men, women, and children:" and when the city was taken by storm, and the legate was asked how the Catholics should be distinguished, he answered, "Slay all! God will know his own." (July 22, 1209).

[1] "The Troubadour praises the Viscount very highly, and says that he could bring many clerks and canons to attest his orthodoxy (p. 26)." (Robertson, vol. iii. p. 352.)

[2] Béziers stands north-east of Narbonne on the little river Orb, which runs into the Gulf of Lyon. The city is described as strong, exceedingly rich, and very populous, relying on its armed citizens and numerous soldiers. (Gul. Brito, *ap.* Milman, vol. v. p. 429.)

The Crusaders advanced through a country deserted by the people, to the strong town of Carcassonne, standing on a steep hill,[1] with fortifications lately strengthened (as the monk relates with horror) with the materials of ecclesiastical buildings, but badly provisioned. After the repulse of two assaults, in which both Simon de Montfort and the young viscount of Béziers displayed singular courage, Peter of Arragon came to offer his mediation, as a Catholic king who had lately proved his orthodoxy by the expulsion of all heretics, and as suzerain of the viscount, for whose own sound belief he vouched, while pleading his youth. Arnold would only permit Raymond Roger to retire with eleven knights, all the rest being required to surrender at discretion; and the viscount declared he would rather be flayed alive than desert the least of his subjects. But a week later their distress through famine and pestilence induced him to accept the legate's safe conduct in the hope of making terms;[2] and he was detained as a prisoner, while the people were allowed to leave the town (says the monk) "naked, carrying nothing with them but their sins" (Aug. 15), and 400 of them were hanged or burnt as heretics. The speedy death of Raymond Roger in his dungeon, at the age of twenty-four, was laid to the charge of Simon de Montfort, who alone reaped its fruit.

§ 9. At all events, De Montfort now proved that his chivalric merit and religious zeal were not crowned by the disinterested virtue which is its own reward. When the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Nevers and St. Pol declined the vacant fief, Simon de Montfort, a week after the fall of Carcassonne, was elected viscount of that place and Béziers by the abbot Arnold and a few assessors, as tributary to the Holy See; and Innocent, in confirming the act, invested him with all the lands conquered *or to be conquered* during the Crusade: a promise of fearful omen to Count Raymond. An immediate effect of this grant was to infuse a national spirit into the resistance which became general through the country, while the great French nobles, disgusted with the character of the war, withdrew with their vassals, whose forty days' term of service had expired. De Montfort found it hard to hold his ground during the winter, in a war of exasperated cruelty on both sides; but his ascendancy was restored by reinforcements which his countess brought to him in the spring of 1210. The capture of Minerve, a strong fortress among the rocks of the Cevennes, was

[1] Carcassonne (now a town of above 20,000 inhabitants) stands on the upper course of the Aude, about forty miles west of Narbonne, among the hills which join the Cevennes to the northern spurs of the Pyrenees.

[2] The accounts differ as to whether he gave himself up as a hostage or was treacherously seized during a conference.

marked by a signal act of the abbot Arnold's perfidy, in which De Montfort acquiesced. The garrison and people, reduced by famine, accepted a capitulation so artfully worded that, when a fierce Crusader protested against its leniency, Arnold replied, "Fear not, few there will be whose lives will be spared;" and his promise was made good when his preaching was rejected by the women even more obstinately than the men. "A hundred and forty of the *Perfect* spared their persecutors the trouble of casting them on the vast pile; they rushed headlong of their own accord into the flames" (July, 1210).[1]

§ 10. Meanwhile Raymond, who had returned to Toulouse, was assailed with new demands by the legate, who again excommunicated him when he answered that he appealed to the Pope (September 1209). He took what seemed the desperate resolution of going to Rome at the very moment when Innocent was heaping favours on Simon. Passing through France, he obtained letters to the Pope on his behalf from the king and some of the great nobles; and, though at first received with vehement reproaches, he won at least the show of favour from Innocent, who seems to have begun to have misgivings about the acts of the Crusaders. Together with presents of a rich mantle and a ring from the Pope's own finger, he received absolution on the condition of a canonical purgation before the legates Arnold and Theodisc (his supposed friend Milo having died). Perhaps it was by secret instructions from Rome that the proposed purgation was insultingly refused him at St. Gilles (September 1210). In the ensuing February, he was cited to a council at Arles, and required to submit to terms such as he declared all his territory would not satisfy.[2] Their publication roused the spirit of resistance at Toulouse and through all the towns of his dominion, the people declaring that they would all die, they would eat their own children, ere they would abandon their injured sovereign.[3] But all this enthusiasm, under the weak and irresolute Raymond, availed little against such a practised warrior as De Montfort, and the military adventurers by whom he was reinforced.[4] Even the remonstrances to which Innocent was moved by the excesses of the Crusaders, and the complaints of Philip Augustus and Peter of Arragon, were of no avail, and the Pope soon revoked his orders for greater justice and mercy to the princes and people. Toulouse was

[1] Milman, v. 437. [2] See the fourteen articles in Milman, v. 439, 440.
[3] Fauriel, 102; Milman, v. 441.
[4] We must be content to refer to Milman, Robertson, &c., for the details of the war, with the horrible devastation and cruelties perpetrated by De Montfort, not (says Peter) that he had pleasure in such things, "for of all men he was the mildest," but on the plea of retaliation.

divided between the partisans of the Count and Bishop,—the "black band" of the citizens, and the "white band" organized by Fulk for the extirpation of Jews, usurers, and heretics. When De Montfort appeared before the city, the whole clergy went out to his camp, carrying the consecrated host. Vigorous sallies and want of supplies forced him to raise the siege, mercilessly wasting the country as he retired (June 1211); but, by the end of the following year, Raymond, having lost all but Toulouse and Montauban, fled to the King of Arragon, whom the great victory of Navas de Tolosa had set free to take an active share in the contest.[1] He first interceded in vain on Raymond's behalf at the great council of Pamiers, where De Montfort appeared as a sovereign prince, and the French nobles and churchmen divided their spoil. (November 1212.) His appeals to the Pope called forth new letters of remonstrance from Innocent to Arnold and Simon;[2] but a council held by the Legates at Lavaur decided (more in accordance with the Pope's old policy than his new professions) to come to no terms with the "tyrant and heretic of Toulouse;" and Innocent threatened the King of Arragon with a new Crusade.

In 1213 Peter crossed the Pyrenees with a force vastly superior to that of Simon, who had only 1000 men-at-arms and 400 squires, and laid siege to Muret. Rebuking the fears of his wife and friends, and only replying to a proposal to count his force, "We are enough, by God's help, to beat the enemy," De Montfort won a decisive victory, and the King of Arragon was left dead upon the field, from which the two Raymonds fled (September 12, 1213). The Pope's new legate, Cardinal Peter of Benevento, received the complete submission of the princes of Languedoc (1214); but only to give De Montfort time to finish the conquest, if we are to believe the monk Peter's boast, "Oh the pious fraud of the Legate! Oh his fraudulent piety!" A great council at Montpellier (January 8, 1215), chose Simon de Montfort prince and sovereign of all Languedoc; and this decision was confirmed by the Fourth General Council of the Lateran, after vehement protests from the dispossessed princes and much vacillation on the part of Innocent.[3] (November, 1215.)

[1] Besides having a sister married to Count Raymond, Peter had now given another in marriage to the younger Raymond. The battle in the plain of Navas de Tolosa (or Muradal), near the Sierra Morena, in which the Kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, won a victory over the Moors, which checked their progress in Spain, as that of Charles Martel had done long before in France, was fought on the 16th of July, 1212.

[2] Innoc. *Epist.* xv. 212, 213. For the substance, see Milman, v. 447–8.

[3] For the details and secret history of the Council, and the favour shown by the Pope to young Count Raymond (VII.), see Milman, vol. v. pp. 452–458. We have already noticed the decrees of the Council against heretics (Chap. V. § 8).

§ 11. Meanwhile the war in Languedoc went on; the army of the Crusaders was swollen by new adventurers, and the enterprise was joined by Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who was present at the taking of Toulouse, the last refuge of the defeated party. Its bishop and pastor, Fulk, urged the destruction of the city, but De Montfort saved his new capital, demolishing its fortifications. Louis only remained with the army for forty days, in performance of a vow; and his politic father received his report of Simon's greatness with significant silence. In the following year (1216), Simon went to receive investiture in his conquests from the King of France as his suzerain; and was met on his journey by processions of the clergy and people with the welcome, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" But his triumph was short-lived. Young Raymond undertook the enterprise, to which even Innocent is said to have encouraged him; and returned with his father to a people ready to welcome them.

Toulouse revolted from its new lord, was reconquered, revolted again, was coaxed by the treacherous promises of bishop Fulk into submission, which De Montfort repaid with severities that draw from the Troubadour the cry, "O noble city of Toulouse! thy very bones are broken."[1] In the summer of 1217, during the absence of De Montfort, the elder Raymond appeared suddenly before the town with a body of Spanish soldiers, and was received with enthusiasm: the nobles threw themselves with their followers into the walls; and preparation was made for a vigorous defence. On hearing the news, Simon hastened to the scene, swearing a prophetic oath, that he would press the siege till he took the place or perished. Bishop Fulk, who had been driven out of Toulouse with the countess, hastened to rouse Northern France to the new Crusade proclaimed by the Pope,[2] whose legate denounced extermination for the whole people of Toulouse. The siege had lasted nine months, when, in answer to a successful sally of the defenders, a grand assault was led by Simon and Guy de Montfort. Guy fell,

[1] Milman, vol. v. p. 460. The sympathy of the Troubadour, which was at first with the Crusaders, is now entirely with the insurgents in this new national war against De Montfort.

[2] Honorius III., who had succeeded Innocent III. in July 1216. The *words* of the Troubadour, if imaginary, are doubtless even the truer for that to the spirit of the legate's threat:—"The fire of hell has again kindled in this city, which is full of sin and crime. The old lord is again within its walls, against whom whosoever will wage war will be saved before God. You are about to reconquer the city, to break into the houses, out of which no single soul, neither man nor woman, shall escape alive! not one shall be spared, in church, in sanctuary, in hospital! It is decided, in the secret councils of Rome, that the deadly and consuming fire shall pass over them!" (Milman, *loc. cit.*)

covered with wounds, and, as Simon was lamenting over his brother's body, he was struck by a stone from an engine, and died, commending himself to the mercy of God and the Virgin[1] (June 25th, 1218). The besiegers retreated, pursued by the exasperated people, and many of the banished heretics took courage to return. But the cause of Simon's heir, Amaury de Montfort, was supported by the Pope with new indulgences for the Crusaders,[3] among whom prince Louis made another brief and successful expedition, distinguished only by the capture and atrocious massacre of Marmande (1219). Three years later Raymond VI. died at Toulouse in peace, but still pursued by the strange vicissitudes of his fate; for, though proofs of his penitence and faith were laid by his son before the Pope, the legate closed a long inquest by an adverse decision, and the last Christian rites were not performed till the body had lain for three centuries in the sacristy of the Knights Hospitallers at Toulouse.

§ 12. Philip Augustus, on the excuse of declining health, withstood to the last the solicitations of the Pope, and even Amaury's offer to make over his rights in Languedoc to the king; but at his death he made a bequest of money for the extirpation of heresy in the south (July 1223). His son, Louis VIII., was now free to accept the renewed offer made by Amaury, when he was driven out of Languedoc (Feb. 1224); but a war with Henry III. of England engaged his attention for two years. The sanction of the Church was given to the new crusade by a council at Bourges (Nov. 30, 1225), where Raymond vainly offered to submit to the Holy See in all things and to devote himself to the extirpation of heresy. In the spring of 1226, Louis led a vast army to effect his own coveted conquest in the name of the crusade. The towns all opened their gates, except Avignon; and its three months' siege was attended by a sickness in the French army, which broke down the king's own health, and he died at Montpensier (Nov. 8, 1226).

While Queen Blanche, as regent for her young son,[4] was occupied in maintaining her authority against the disaffected nobles,

[1] While his admirers arraign the Divine justice of the loss of their martyred saint, his opponents retorted that he could not be a saint who had died without confession. (See the passages cited by Milman, *loc. cit.*) Peter of Vaux-Cernay adds to the fatal blow five wounds with arrows, which he likens to the *stigmata* of Christ.

[2] Amalric(us) is the Latin form of the name, which was derived from the old seat of the family. (See p. 613, n.)

[3] Honorius also allowed a part of the money raised for the crusade in Palestine to be diverted to the Albigensian war, and founded a new military order of the "Holy Faith" to fight against the heretics.

[4] Louis IX. (St. Louis) was twelve years old at his father's death.

Raymond held out in Languedoc; but, overmatched by numbers, he was glad to accept the terms of peace dictated at Paris by the papal legate (April 12, 1229). The greater part of his territories were given up to the king of France; and the small portion reserved to him as a fief was to pass, upon his death, to one of the king's brothers, who was to be married to the Count's only daughter, Jeanne.[1] Raymond swore fealty to the king of France and obedience to the Church, giving the former possession of the citadel, and the latter a new university[2] at Toulouse; and bound himself to strict measures against heresy. Though himself blessed by the late Pope and never adjudged a heretic, he was only absolved from the excommunication laid on him for defending his rights, after a penance in the cathedral of Notre Dame, where, like his father at St. Gilles, he was led up to the altar under the scourge.

[1] The bride and bridegroom were both infants, and the marriage of Jeanne to Alfonso, Count of Poitou and Navarre, did not take place till 1241. Raymond VII. died in 1249; and his daughter and her husband were victims to the fatal crusade in which St. Louis lost his life on the voyage back from Tunis; they both died at Savona (1270); and, as they left no heir, Languedoc, with the whole possessions of the Counts of Toulouse, reverted to the crown of France, with the important exception of Avignon and its territory, forming the little county of Venaissin, concerning which see p. 106 and Chap. VIII. § 5.

[2] It is important to observe the *time*, just when Scholasticism was becoming supreme at Paris, the only university in France till now; so that the foundation of the university of Toulouse, under clerical teachers, expressly for the counteraction of heresy, was in fact the subjugation of the old free spirit of southern learning, the literature *of the langue-d'oc*, to the Scholasticism of the North. (Robertson, iii. 437.)

The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace. (Bottari.)
From the Cemetery of St. Hermes.

Prison of the Inquisition at Cordova.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE INQUISITION: FROM A.D. 1229.

§ 1. Council of Toulouse for the extinction of Heresy—Prohibition of the Scriptures to the laity, especially in the vernacular—Canons against the *suspicion* or *common report* of heresy—Disabilities and penalties—Inquisition ordered by bishops, abbots, and lords. § 2. Virtual origin and actual foundation of THE INQUISITION: entrusted to the Dominicans by Gregory IX.—Rules of evidence, and penalties—Handing over to the secular arm—Laws of Louis IX., Frederick II., and Raymond VII. § 3. First proceedings in Provence and Languedoc—Ingenuity of torture. § 4. The Inquisition in Germany stopped by the murder of Conrad of Marburg. § 5. The Inquisition in Spain—Proceedings against Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics—Ferdinand and Isabella—Bull of Sixtus IV.—Thomas of Torquemada. § 6. Revival of the Inquisition by the Bulls of Paul III., Paul IV., and Pius V.—Its general decline—Never established in Britain.

§ 1. WHILE the territorial spoils of Languedoc were appropriated by the victors in the Crusade, an ecclesiastical council met at

Toulouse to devise a more subtle and permanent machinery for the extirpation of the heresy which was still unsubdued (Nov. 1229). It enacted forty-five canons for the extinction of heresy and "the re-establishment of *peace*"—in the sense of the ruling powers. The laity were now, *for the first time*, forbidden even to possess the Books of the Old or New Testament (except "perchance" the Psalter and passages contained in books of devotion), with a "*most stringent*" prohibition of their possession in a vernacular translation,[1] and this was soon made a presumptive test of heresy. No heretic, or person suspected of heresy (for the example was now set of those *laws of suspicion* which became, long after, the disgrace of a system at the opposite extreme) was to be allowed to practise as a physician, or to approach the sick and dying; and all wills were to be made in presence of a priest. No office of trust was to be held by any one who was *in evil fame as a heretic*, and this elastic phrase was defined to mean those who were so *by common report*, or so declared by good and grave witnesses before the bishop. All persons, from the ages of fourteen for males and twelve for females, were to make oath of their Catholic faith and abjuration of heresy; all absentees, who did not appear within fifteen days, being placed in the class of suspects, which included also all who neglected confession and taking the Eucharist three times a year. But the punishment of open heresy, whether known or only suspected, was not enough: it was to be hunted down by a system of persecution, "which penetrated into the most intimate sanctuary of domestic life, and made delation not merely a merit and a duty, but an obligation also, enforced by tremendous penalties. The archbishops, bishops, and exempt abbots, were to appoint in every parish one priest and three or more lay inquisitors, to search all houses and buildings in order to detect heretics, and to denounce them to the archbishop or bishop, the lord or his bailiff, so as to ensure their apprehension. The lords were to make the same inquisition in every part of their estates. Whoever was convicted of harbouring a heretic forfeited the land to his lord, and was reduced to personal slavery. If he was guilty of such concealment from negligence, not from intention, he received proportionate punish-

[1] *Concil. Tolosanum*, c. 14. The Council of Tarraco (1234) extended the latter prohibition to clergy as well as laity, on pain of suspicion of heresy; and whoever had copies of either Testament (*in Romanico*) was ordered within eight days to bring them to the bishop to be burnt. The Council of Béziers (1246) prohibited in more general terms the possession of theological books in Latin by laymen, and both to them and the clergy in the vulgar tongue. But certain translations were made and allowed to be in use with the express view of counteracting heresy; for which see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 441.

ment. Every house in which a heretic was found was to be razed to the ground, the farm confiscated. The bailiff who should not be active in detecting heretics was to lose his office, and to be incapacitated from holding it in future. Heretics, however, were not to be judged but by the bishop or some ecclesiastical person. Any one might seize a heretic on the lands of another. Heretics who recanted were to be removed from their homes and settled in Catholic cities; to wear two crosses of a different colour from their dress, one on the right side, one on the left. They were incapable of any public function, unless reconciled by the Pope or by his legate. Those who recanted from fear of death were to be immured for ever."[1]

§ 2. In the inquisitorial provisions of the Council of Toulouse it is usual to trace the origin of that terrible instrument of Romish priestcraft, the INQUISITION, or "Holy Office." It is perhaps more accurate to say that the Statutes of Toulouse embodied the spirit of what may well be described in Milton's words—the "devilish counsel, first devised by" Innocent III. "and in part proposed" in the Lateran Council of 1215, or rather still earlier by Lucius III. (1184);[2] but the inquisitorial system directed by those Popes and by the Council of Toulouse was strictly episcopal, and the Inquisition, properly so-called, was only cast into its definite form when Gregory IX. constituted the Dominican order as the standing Papal Inquisitors, claiming the co-operation of bishops, but directed only by the Holy See.[3] Though the bishops had for the most part thrown aside their former reluctance to pursue heresy with severe punishments even to the death, they still fell below the standard of the new-born

[1] Milman, vol. v. pp. 466–7. The inefficiency of these tremendous penalties is shown by the still more stringent edicts of the Councils of Mélun and Béziers a few years later (1233); and the increased exasperation of the contest is testified by the enactment of the former against the murderers, and harbourers of murderers, of the persecutors of heretics.

[2] The decree of the 4th Lateran Council (c. 3, § 7: for the text see Gieseler, iii. 432) is taken word for word from that of Lucius III. (1184, cited above, p. 601). The chief authorities on the Inquisition are: Nicolai Eymerici (Inquisitor-General in Arragon, *ob.* 1399), *Directorium Inquisitorum*, ed. cum *Comm.* Francisci Pegnæ, Romæ, 1578, and often reprinted; Ludovici de Paramo *de Origine, de Officio, et Progressu S. Inquisitionis*, Libri III. Madr. 1598 f., Antv. 1619 f.; Phil. a Limborch., *Hist. Inquisitionis*, Amst. 1692 f.; Llorente, *Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (the original in Spanish, translated by A. Pellier), Paris, 1817, 4 vols. This great work is based on original documents in the Archives of the Holy Office. There is an abridged free translation into English, Lond. 1826. The only English work on the whole subject is the *History of the Inquisition*, by the Rev. W. H. Rule, 2 vols., Lond. 1874.

[3] This took place in Germany, Austria, and Arragon in 1232, in Lombardy and Languedoc in 1233.

zeal of the friars; and the tribunal was not to be hampered by the ordinary processes of ecclesiastical or civil law, nor by the common rules of fairness and safeguards of innocence. In seeking for suspected as well as known heretics, it received the testimony of criminals and infamous persons, who were disqualified as witnesses in all other courts; their unsupported evidence overbore the denials of the accused; even their names were kept secret,[1] and their evidence was believed against the dead as well as the living. Ensnaring questions were put,[2] and torture was employed to wring out confession and recantation, as well as promises of mercy, which were often broken on the plea that no faith ought to be kept with those who had denied the faith. The penalties inflicted, even on those who recanted, according to the degrees of their heresy, were various forms of penance, forfeiture of goods, imprisonment often perpetual; nor did recantation always save them from the dreadful death by fire, to which obstinate heretics were doomed. But as the Church would not shed blood, she handed over those condemned by her to the secular power, with the mockery of a recommendation to mercy; and such sentences were armed with the authority of the state in the severe laws enacted against heresy by Louis IX. from pious zeal (1228), by Frederick II. from policy and to turn aside suspicion from himself (1232), and by Raymond VII. as a part of his abject submission (1233).[3] The severe laws of Frederick II. against heretics appear to have been political engines designed to strengthen

[1] It would be an easy step from this secresy for an unscrupulous inquisitor to suborn false witnesses; and the actual doing of this is a charge brought by King Philip the Fair against Fulco, in his decree concerning the proceedings of that inquisitor at Toulouse in 1291 (See the passage in the *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 118, and Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 435.)

[2] For some striking examples of questions in which two alternatives were put in such a manner that either answer was pronounced heretical, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 434. The *Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, a collection of its sentences from 1307 to 1323, gives some idea of its frightful activity (published with Limborch's *Hist. de l'Inquis.*). Similar collections, from an earlier date, are extant in MS.

[3] Louis IX.'s Ordonnance, *Capientes*, is in Laurière's *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, Paris, 1723. Frederick II.'s, re-enacted more than once, and finally in the three laws promulgated at Padua, Feb. 22, 1839, are in Pertz, vol. iv. pp. 287, 326, and Petr. de Vineis, Lib. I. *Epist.* 25–27. The *Statuta Raimundi super Hæresi Albigensi*, which gave effect to the decrees of the Council of Toulouse, is in Mansi, vol. xxiii. p. 265. The unhappy Raymond was frequently compelled to take part in severities which he abhorred, and which he vainly strove to mitigate; and so he purchased the favour of his suzerain and of Rome. In 1242 Louis IX. forgave his renewed rebellion, Gregory IX. released him from his enforced crusading vow, and he afterwards acted as mediator between Innocent IV. and Frederick II. Shortly before his death, in 1249, he proved his loyalty to the Church by presiding over the execution of eighty Cathari at Agen.

his power in Italy and Sicily, rather than to coerce his German subjects. We even find the freethinking emperor taunting the Popes with their allowance of all sorts of heresy among their allies at Milan, and the authorities of that anti-Ghibelline city vindicating their orthodoxy by active persecution. In 1233 a chronicler records that "the Milanese began to burn heretics in the third year of the Lord Archbishop William of Ruzolo," and the Podestà celebrated in a Latin verse both his erection of a public building and that he had done his duty in burning Cathari.

§ 3. The account of the first proceedings of the archbishop and Dominicans as Inquisitors at Narbonne, given in a letter from the Consuls of that city to those of Nismes, recalls to mind the famous epistle of the churches of Lyon and Vienne, describing the great persecution of heathen Rome in the same region.[1] Persons held in no ill repute, and not even known to be suspected of heresy, were arrested and their goods seized and distributed; some were set free, stripped of their property; others were put to death in prison, without trial and without the promulgation of any sentence on their faith. This tyranny provoked risings at Narbonne (1234), Albi, and other towns; the inquisitors were driven out from Toulouse (1235), and several of them were put to death by the populace.[2] Through the provinces of France Louis IX. enforced the sentences of the Dominican Inquisitors; but Philip the Fair, the champion of national liberties against the Papacy, endeavoured to check their zeal, and especially to mitigate the persecution in Languedoc.[3]

§ 4. In Germany, the career of the Inquisition was cut short by the excesses of the very first inquisitor whom Gregory IX. sent into the country (1232). Conrad of Marburg had gained by his preaching the spiritual power which he abused by his almost incredible cruelties as confessor to Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, whom he had harassed to death in her twenty-fourth year.[4] The atrocious

[1] Part I. p. 77. See the extracts in Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 434.

[2] At Avignonnet, in Languedoc, three Dominican inquisitors were murdered in 1239, and four in 1242, when Raymond VII. made his last vain attempt.

[3] See his charge to his seneschal (in 1291) to use prudence in the arrests required by the Inquisitors, and his decree (already cited) concerning the inquisitor Fulco at Toulouse. (*Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. pp. 98, 118.) In these documents the king refers to that horrible ingenuity of torture for which the Inquisition became infamous.

[4] She was the daughter of the King of Hungary, and widow of Louis, landgrave of Thuringia. She was canonized in 1235. There is a sermon on her by Bonaventura, and we have her life by Theodoric, and the modern work of Justi, *Elizabeth die Heilige*, 2nd edit. Marburg, 1835.

proceedings, which he began at Strassburg, against the "Poor Men of Lyon" and the "Manicheans," are attested by the letter of complaint, which Sifrid, archbishop of Mainz, found it necessary to address to Gregory IX. On the evidence of suborned witnesses and the confessions of pretended heretics, to whom the names of the persons to be accused were dictated,[1] many, first of the lower orders and then of the highest rank, were condemned to the fire or compelled to accept the tonsure, without any opportunity of defence being allowed them. Confessions were required, not only of heresy, but of dealings with evil spirits, in the form of a cat or toad, with obscene rites; and many sound Catholics chose the fiery death on Conrad's assurance that it was a martyrdom if they were really innocent, while others saved their lives by a false confession. A single day often sufficed for the accusation, sentence, and execution; and this facile procedure was turned to purposes of private revenge and the short settlement of disputes about property. It was in vain that the archbishop of Mainz, supported afterwards by those of Cologne and Treves, admonished Conrad to use greater moderation; he set the bishop at defiance by preaching a crusade at Mainz. Before the Pope had time to act on the archbishop's letter, Conrad was killed in a popular tumult near Marburg[2] (July 30, 1233); and no further attempt was made to establish a permanent Inquisition in Germany.

§ 5. It was in Spain, the native country of St. Dominic, that the Inquisition became most firmly established; but the terrible fame of the Spanish Inquisition belongs to a much later time, when the final conflict with the Moors added a strong political motive to religious zeal for the suppression of everything anti-Catholic. For the original purpose of extirpating the Cathari, the Inquisition was established in Arragon in 1233, and in Castile towards the end of the century. As the Christian reconquest of the peninsula advanced, and baptisms of Jews and Mohammedans became frequent, a new object for its energies was found in the detection and punishment of the nominal converts who had either secretly retained or relapsed to their old faith. For the same high authority, which forbad conversion to Christianity by force, held the breach of

[1] The makers of these false confessions are represented as saying: "*Nescio quem accusem, dicite mihi nomina de quibus suspicionem habetis.*"

[2] Among other cases of popular vengeance on inquisitors, the genius of Titian and Guido has celebrated the assassination of Peter of Verona, "virgo, doctor, et martyr, corona triplici laureatus," who was canonized as St. Peter Martyr by Innocent IV. in the same year (1252). (Bern. Guidonis in Bouquet, xxi. 696–8; Robertson, vol. iii. p. 564.) For the episode of the Crusade against the Frisian people called Stedinger in 1233–4, see Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 436-7, and Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 565–6.

Christian profession to be a crime punishable even by death.[1] During the whole period of the Middle Ages, the Jews, by their learning as well as their wealth, had exercised a great and civilizing power in the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula, and had even been counsellors of the sovereigns. The popular envy caused by their prosperity and advancement, and the hatred of them as extortioners, were inflamed by stories of their desecration of Christian rites, and even sacrifice of Christian children, in their secret assemblies. It was especially about the end of the fourteenth century that they were assailed by riots, spoliation, and massacre, followed up by severe laws, which severed them from the society of Christians and prohibited their pursuit of the professions for which they were specially qualified. Their only refuge from this persecution was the profession of Christianity; and many of the new converts were raised to high office in the Church as well as the State. Conversions so profitable, and so suspicious from their suddenness, furnished the clergy, and especially the Dominicans, with the pretext for sounding an alarm; and, after the union of Arragon and Castile, the counsels of Ferdinand, prompted by the prospects of spoil from confiscations, as well as by the urgency of the friars and the Papal legate, prevailed over the more liberal policy of Isabella. On the 1st of November, 1479, Sixtus IV. issued a bull authorizing the two sovereigns to appoint inquisitors for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions; and the terrible persecution that ensued, directed chiefly against the Jews, but embracing also Mohammedans and Christian heretics, was brought to a climax by the appointment of THOMAS DE TORQUEMADA, who had been confessor to Isabella, as Inquisitor-General for Castile and Arragon, with power to frame a new constitution for the "Holy Office" (1483).[2] This revived

[1] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2, qu. 10.

[2] The terrible history of the Spanish Inquisition, with its army of secret spies, its dungeons and tortures, and its "acts of faith" (*autos da fé*), as the public executions were called, is a subject requiring a special treatise. Its historian, Llorente, gives the following account of its victims during the three centuries of its power (1481–1784):—

Persons burnt alive	31,912
" " in effigy	17,659
condemned to severe penances ..	291,450
Total ..	341,021

The Spanish Inquisition was suppressed by an edict of Napoleon (1808), and by a vote of the Cortes (1813), restored by Ferdinand VII. (1814), and finally abolished by the Cortes (1820). It must be recorded to the honour of the famous Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo and Regent

Spanish Inquisition was in close connection with the State; the sovereigns appointed and dismissed its members; and the property of the victims was confiscated to the Crown. It was in vain that the Cortes, and even Popes, endeavoured to mitigate its severity: the irresponsible power of the inquisitors proved too strong for them, and some ameliorations ordered by papal bulls were revoked after the Reformation.

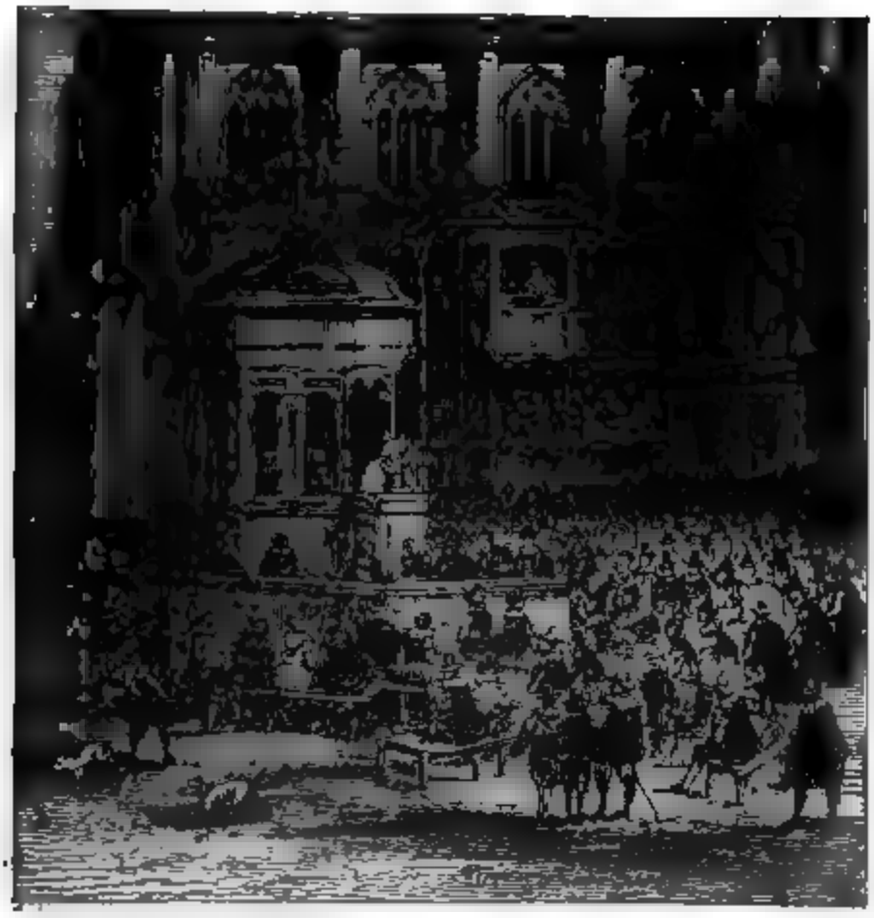
§ 6. One means of combatting the great revolt from Rome was sought in the general revival of the Inquisition, which had long died out except in Spain. In July 1542, Paul III. issued a bull, appointing six cardinals as inquisitors-general "in all *Christian countries whatsoever*;" their leading principle being that "to heretics, *and especially to Calvinists*, no toleration must be granted." This was the maxim of one of the six, and the chief prompter of the measure, Cardinal Caraffa, who, after his elevation to the papal throne as Paul IV. (1555), confirmed the institution with still greater stringency.[1] "In a constitution of Pius V. (1566) a fresh demand was made of absolute obedience to the mandates of the Inquisitor-general: princes, judges, and all secular magistrates, were earnestly implored to lend their help, and under the succeeding Popes the organization of this merciless tribunal was still more developed, and treatises drawn up for the instruction of the various officials now employed in carrying out its sanguinary objects."[2] Yet the harshness and inhumanity of these measures often issued in their own defeat. A few southern states of Christendom alone accepted the intervention of the Holy Office, the rest excluding it, either from religious principle, or from a dread lest the atrocities which it perpetrated should provoke a general rising of their subjects, and imperil the established forms of faith and worship."

It is to be recorded to the lasting honour of the British Churches and States, that even in the severest contest with heretics, and especially the Lollards, neither England nor Scotland ever admitted the Inquisition.

of Castile (*ob.* 1517), that he became chief inquisitor in order to mitigate the severity of the tribunal.

[1] See his bull of March 1, 1559, in Raynald. *s. a.* Another proof of his zeal in the cause was given by his institution of a feast of St. Dominic. In the same year Paul IV. endeavoured to cut off the intellectual sources of heavy by the publication of an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum.*

[2] Hardwick, *Hist. of the Christian Church during the Reformation*, p. 303: "Two of these treatises were the *Light of the Inquisition*, by Bernard of Como, with *Annotations* by Francis Pegna (Rom. 1584), and in the following year Eymeric's *Directory of the Inquisitors*, with the *Commentaries* of Pegna. Other works relating to the subject will be found in a collection entitled *Tractatus Illustrium Jurisconsultorum de Criminalibus Inquisitionis*, Venet. 1584."



Preaching at Paul's Cross.

BOOK VII.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS PRECURSORS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WYCLIF AND THE LOLLARDS.

A.D. 1324 (?)–1384, *et seq.*

§ 1. The REFORMATION dates from JOHN WYCLIF—Neglect of his Memory—Contemporary Information—Quincentenary of his Death. § 2. Imperfect Ideas of him—Wyclif as a great Schoolman. § 3. His Life at Oxford and his Livings—Lutterworth. § 4. Three stages of his teaching—Epoch of his Doctor's Degree—The "Tares among the Wheat." § 5. The first stage, chiefly Scholastic—Controversy with the Friars—Philosophy, Scripture, and Authority. § 6. Second stage: Ecclesiastical Politics

—Tribute demanded by Urban V.—Refusal supported by Wyclif—His *Theory of Dominion:* the first epoch of the English Reformation—Paradoxical and real meaning. § 7. The *Poor Priests*—Wyclif, St. Francis, and Waldo—The *Lollards.* § 8. Negociations with Rome—Wyclif at Bruges—John of Gaunt, the Black Prince, and the Good Parliament. § 9. Lancaster, Wykeham, and the Convocation—First Process against Wyclif—Protected by John of Gaunt—Death of Edward III.—Bulls against Wyclif—His state-paper for Richard II. § 10. Second process—Sudbury and Courtenay—Wyclif at Lambeth—Protected by Court and People. § 11. Effect of the Papal Schism—Cade's Rebellion; results to Wyclif and the Lollards—New Charge of Heresy—Wyclif's denial of Transubstantiation—His Doctrine of the Eucharist. § 12. Proceedings against him at Oxford. § 13. The "Earthquake" Council of London—Submission of the University—Wyclif retires to Lutterworth. § 14. Translation of the Bible—*Trialogus*—Tracts—His English Style. § 15. Citation to Rome, and Answer to Urban VI. § 16. His Death and Character—Condemnation at Constance, and burning of his bones—The Lollards after his Death—Persecution by the Lancastrian Kings.

§ 1. LIKE all great epochs in the course through which it is the work of History to trace God's dealings with the Church and the world, the REFORMATION in the sixteenth century may be regarded either as the climax of all that went before it, or as the beginning of a new age with a complete history of its own. From the latter point of view the subject would require another volume like the present, the limits of which have been barely adequate to the condensed review of the Medieval Church; and in the small space remaining we can but attempt a sketch of the Reformation as the culminating epoch, in which the elements of a purer religion and freer search for divine knowledge cast off the bondage of a corrupt ecclesiastical system. And the mode of treatment thus prescribed by the conditions of our work may be not without some use in guarding against errors which spring from too great a severance of the new age from the old one of which it was the product; for there is a truth even amidst all the pseudo-scientific harping upon "evolution" as applied to history.

The saying of Niebuhr that "no present can be stable, and no future bear fruit, unless its roots be firmly fixed in the past," is signally illustrated in JOHN WYCLIF;[1] for it is from him—after all

[1] Once for all as to the spelling. There is no question of right or wrong for an age in which the orthography of names was quite unsettled; and, as a matter of fact, we have above a dozen different forms of the name, in which the changes are rung between *i*, *ie*, *ee*, and *y*; *c*, *cc*, and *ck*; *f*, *ff*, and *v*; with or without the final *e*. We adopt the form likely to prevail from its use by Mr. Shirley and the "*Wyclif*" Society; though for *Wycliffe* there is the plea of old-established use and the accepted form of

that we have seen of the various efforts for reform through the whole history of the Church—that the beginning of what we understand by "*the* Reformation" must be dated. Not only would he deserve that place from the character of his teaching and, above all, his great work in the translation of the Bible, even if his efforts had been as premature as they have usually been regarded; but we now know that there was a real and vital continuity in the labours of Wyclif and of Luther, with John Hus and his followers for the middle link.[1] And for his connection with the past, which is the key to all Wyclif's teaching, it is a disgrace rather than a wonder that this has only been lately understood, owing to the strange neglect with which he and his works have been treated for five centuries; little more being known of him than the reverence due to his memory as our first great Reformer, translator of the Bible, and framer of English prose in the same age in which Chaucer cast the mould of English poetry. Truly a zeal for his name; but "not according to *knowledge*." As one chief reviver of his true fame has said of his own age: "No friendly hand has left us any, even the slightest memorial of the life and death of the great reformer;"[2] the name of the *place*, respecting which some interesting particulars will be found in the *Handbook for Yorkshire*.

[1] This is fully proved and illustrated in the important work by Dr. Johann Loserth, *Hus und Wiclif: zur Genesis der Hussitischen Lehre;* Prag, 1883. Another recent and valuable German work is Professor Lechler's *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, translated by Peter Lorimer, D.D., Lond. 1878. New Edition, with Supplement by S. G. Green, D.D., Lond. 1884.

[2] Page xlv. of the truly invaluable *Preface* to the volume of the Rolls series of Chronicles, entitled: "*Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico.* Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER OF WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to Henry V. Edited by the [late] Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, &c., Lond. 1858." Walden was one of Wyclif's chief opponents at Oxford, and was active in the processes against his followers; and the "motive" of the work is indicated by the motto "Inimicus homo hoc fecit" (Matt. xiii. 28), and the opening explanation that "the reapers of Christ"—such as the Carmelites who withstood Wyclif—first gathered up the tares, and bound them in bundles "by the invincible rope of authority and unloosable knot of reason, to hand them over to the judgment of the faithful *to be burnt*" (p. 2). The work consists of a series of original documents, with a slight connecting thread of narrative, illustrating the controversy of the Church with Wyclif and his followers, down to the year 1423. It is in seven parts, of which the Rolls volume contains only the first two. With regard to the authorship, Mr. Shirley shows the probability that it was put together from Walden's papers after his death, of which the largest part and basis of the whole was the compilation of an earlier opponent of the Lollards, Stephen Patryngton, his patron and predecessor as provincial of the Carmelites (p. lxxvii.). Of other original authorities, the chief are the Chronicles of Walsingham, (*Historia Anglicana*), Knighton (*De Eventibus Angliæ usque* 1395, in

his story has been told by bitterly hostile chroniclers;[1] and of the chief contemporary account of himself and followers, compiled under the title—then terribly suggestive—of the "tares of Master John Wyclif bound together in bundles *to burn* them," we can emphatically say, "An enemy hath done this." For half a millennium his works have remained for the most part scattered and unprinted, till, in this age of centenary celebrations, the approach of the five-hundredth anniversary, or "quincentenary," of his death, on the last day of the present year (1884), suggested the effort to crown the half-millennium by the only worthy monument of a complete edition of his works.[2] This enterprize is itself the best proof of the impossibility of giving at present any full and satisfactory account of Wyclif's Life and Writings—the latter being the chief evidence for the former. Meanwhile the few leading events of his life have long become a part of English history; and our present concern is to shew the connection of his teaching with those who preceded him and those who took up his interrupted work.[3]

§ 2. The popular conception of Wyclif as a religious reformer of a type even purer than those of the sixteenth century, though so far true, is most imperfect from pardonable ignorance, an excuse which cannot be pleaded for reactionary Protestants who sneer at the Reformation and treat him as a political partisan and a dangerous socialist. It is true that his religious position must not be severed from that of the whole chain of witnesses for a purer faith and

Twysden's *X. Scriptt.*), or rather pseudo-Knighton (for Mr. Shirley shows that his 5th Book is not genuine, p. 524 n.), and Capgrave (*De Henricis*, Rolls Series). Of modern works (for a list of which, see Shirley, pp. 531–3) the most important are the *Lives* by Lewis, 1720 (the first and still the best, says Shirley); Vaughan, 1828, 2d ed. 1832, and a Monograph, 1853; Le Bas, 1832.

[1] As an example of their spirit, take the character drawn by Walsingham, the monk of St. Alban's, who exults over Wyclif's death as a divine judgment, and calls him "organum diaboli, hostis ecclesiæ, confusio vulgi, hæreticorum idolum, hypocritarum speculum, schismatis incensor, odii seminator, mendacii fabricator" (ii. 119). The pseudo-Knighton's equal bitterness is the more remarkable, as he must have obtained his documents from John of Gaunt (see Shirley, p. xxvi. n., and the passages he cites).

[2] The interest of this celebration is increased by its following close on the "quatercentenary" of Luther's birth (1883). The first fruit of the Wyclif Society has been: "*John Wyclif's Polemical Works in Latin.* For the first time edited from the MSS., with Critical and Historical Notices. By Rudolf Buddensieg." 2 vols., Lond. 1884.

[3] We are spared the necessity of much detail by Canon Perry's two chapters on Wyclif and the Lollards, in the *Student's English Church History*, chaps. xx. xxi. It is almost superfluous to refer to our usual text-books, especially the eloquent narrative of Milman (vol. viii.) and the careful account of Robertson (vol. iv. chap. vi.).

practice than that which prevailed in the Catholic Church, and that his own labours culminated at last in the simple work of a doctrinal reformer and popular teacher; but the primary keynote of his whole career is struck by Mr. Shirley: "It was less the reformer or the master of English prose, than the *great Schoolman*[1] that inspired the respect of his contemporaries; and, next to the deep influence of personal holiness and the attractive greatness of his moral character, it was to his supreme command of the weapons of scholastic discussion that he owed his astonishing influence."[2] He studied and taught at Oxford at a time when the scholastic theology of Paris had worn itself out by its own elaboration, and men turned to the bolder and more subtile genius of the English school; when a contemporary[3] mourns the departure of the Palladium for the shores of Britain, which in learning, as in polity, was a *microcosm* (Shakspeare's "world by itself"). The intellectual empire of Paris passed over to Oxford, and the four great Schoolmen of the fourteenth century were the Englishmen, Duns, Ockham, Bradwardine, and Wyclif.[4] Wyclif speaks with profound respect of that great light of Oxford and England, Grosseteste, and in one remarkable passage he declares that he had entered on the labours of Grosseteste, William of St. Amour, and Ockham. But while Wyclif's political

[1] His enemies themselves being judges, *e.g.* the ps.-Knighton (*ap.* Twysden, p. 2644): "In philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis."

[2] *Fasc. Zizan.* pref. p. xlvii. Mr. Shirley refers to the testimonies cited by Bale and Lewis. One of the most remarkable is the account by Thomas de Ettino, Prior of the Dominican convent at Bonn, of a meeting of Doctors from Bonn, Paris, and Oxford, held at Bologna in the house of Cardinal Colonna, afterwards Martin V. (Nov. 25th, 1410), which decided against the burning of his books, already perpetrated at Prague (see p. 665), as "it would be absurd and opposed to truth to deprive students and scholastics of the *logical*, *physical*, *moral*, and *theological* books of the said Master John, in which are contained many things *true*, *good*, and *useful*." Observe here the scholastic subjects of the books, and that even the *theological* are included in the favourable judgment. The assembled Doctors were content with a warning against certain propositions in some of the books. And this was only six years before the Council of Constance ordered the burning of Wyclif's books and bones.

[3] *Philobiblon*, c. ix. p. 38. This work is printed under the name of Richard of Durham, Oxford, 1598; but it was really written by Holkoth, in 1344. (See Warton, *Hist. of Poetry*, vol. i. p. 90; and Shirley, pp. xlviii., li.).

[4] See Mr. Shirley's most admirable discussion of Scholasticism in relation to Wyclif, introduced by the words, "So long as the history of scholastic philosophy in this country is unwritten, so long must we be content to want an essential element, not only in the portraiture of Wyclif's character, but in the history of the English Reformation" (*Fasc. Zizan.* pref. p. xlvii. *f.*).

views were near akin to Ockham's, his philosophy was, on the contrary, decidedly Realist; and in his Augustinian theology he was nearer to Aquinas than to Scotus. Old Fuller is at least partly right in tracing the source of his reforming spirit to the two facts, that he was a pupil of Bradwardine and a secular priest.

§ 3. The events of Wyclif's early life as commonly received are few, and some of them wrong. His family doubtless belonged to the village "of that ilk" in Yorkshire; and the place of his birth was probably Hipswell, about a mile from Richmond. Lewis's date of 1324 is unauthenticated;[1] and Merton must resign the honour of his Fellowship to Balliol, of which College we find him Master or Warden in 1361, and in the same year resigning that office for the rectory of Fylingham in Lincolnshire, which he exchanged, in 1368, for Ludgershall in Bucks, and finally he was presented by the Crown to Lutterworth in Leicestershire, in 1374. While generally residing at his cures, and labouring as we shall see presently, he retained his active connection with Oxford, where we find him at various dates renting rooms in Queen's College; and he makes frequent mention of his disputations "in the Schools and elsewhere," and especially of his sermons before the University.

§ 4. In Wyclif's teaching at Oxford and by his pen, Mr. Shirley traces three well-marked stages; which, though all imbued with the scholastic spirit, may be distinguished,[2] the first as purely scholastic, but with regard to theology as the supreme science, the second political, in respect chiefly of the relation between Church and State; the third pre-eminently religious, an earnest effort to reform the doctrine and practice of the Church. How he

[1] Though some passages of his works seem to point to a longer life than 60 years, all the indications of age are very doubtful (see Shirley, p. xii.). For the proof that he was a different person from John de Whyteclyve or Whytcliff, the fellow of Merton, rector of Mayfield, and (probably) Warden of Canterbury Hall, see Shirley's note, pp. 513, *f.* As to some other current statements, Mr. Shirley observes: "That in 1356 he published his first work, *The Last Age of the Church;* and that in 1360 he took up the pen of the dying Archbishop Fitz-Ralph of Armagh, in his memorable controversy with the Mendicants, are facts only by courtesy and repetition." The *Last Age of the Church* was one of those current prophetical tracts which, like the *Prophecies of Joachim* and the *Everlasting Gospel* in the preceding century, indicated an anti-papal spirit; and it was fathered upon Wyclif in common with half the other tracts of the 14th and 15th centuries.

[2] This is Mr. Shirley's division, who says (p. xl.) that "the *first period* includes the whole of Wyclif's *logical*, *physical*, and *philosophical* works; in the *second* he first appears as a reformer, but a reformer rather of the constitution than the doctrines of the Church; the theological element is closely connected with the political, and his literary is subordinate to his practical influence."

was shut up to this best part of his work during his last three or four years, from 1381, we shall see in due course. The division between the first two stages is marked by the statement introducing his controversy with his first chief opponent, the Carmelite friar Cunningham,[1] that the evil seeds secretly sown at Oxford had grown gradually through the sufferance of his fellow-students, but it was when Wyclif took his degree of Doctor in Divinity[2] that he boldly uttered open blasphemies from his chair, and at this time of the harvest Christ inspired his reapers (the Carmelite friars) to act on the commission, "*Colligite primum zizania, et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum.*"[3] This critical epoch in Wyclif's career (which Bishop Bale *assumed* to be 1372) is shewn by Mr. Shirley to have been between 1361 and 1366, very probably in 1363.[4]

§ 5. The gradual growth of the tares before that harvest-time implies that earlier teaching in which Wyclif would certainly engage, according to University custom; and we are distinctly told of his lecturing on the *Sentences* as Master of Arts and his responsions as Bachelor of Divinity, already broaching the philosophical elements of his later doctrine of the sacraments.[5] It is as the sum of this first period of his teaching that Cunningham binds up the bundles in thirteen propositions, which shew its distinctly scholastic nature, but at the same time its vital bearing on questions

[1] *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 2. The first three pieces in the book contain the disputations of this "Frater Johannes Kynyngham" (or Kylyngham) against Wyclif, with an introductory narrative. How the style of Wyclif in the first two as *Master*, but as *Doctor* in the third, helps to fix the critical epoch of his Doctorate, is shown by Shirley, pp. xvi. xvii. For the fuller statement of another opponent, Wodeforde, confirming the account of the growth and outburst of Wyclif's heresy, see *ibid.* p. xv. note.

[2] "Cum cathedram doctoris audax arriperet": where the emphatic predicate is *audax*, not *arriperet*, as if he had usurped the *cathedra*; the right to teach being conferred by the doctorate, which writers forgetful of the old constitution of Universities have converted into an appointment to a professorship. The word *arriperet* seems to indicate the friar's jealousy of the secular priest's teaching; and doubtless this was a main element of the controversy, in which, however, it appears that the friars attacked Wyclif, rather than he the friars, as is the traditional account.

[3] Observe another example of the prevalent perversion of Scripture, not only in the Carmelites' assuming to themselves the commission to the *angel-reapers*, at a harvest-time of their own choosing instead of "the end of the world"; but the complete inversion of the whole lesson of the parable—present forbearance in the prospect of God's judgment—into a pretext for their own judgment and persecution.

[4] Preface, pp. xvi. xvii.

[5] Wodeford, *LXXII. Quæstiones de Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, MS. Bodl 703, *f.*, *ap.* Shirley, p. xv. n.

of theology and church government and property, in a sense tending against the received dogmas. The Church of that age might well be excited by such propositions as these:[1] that no one, who is in a state of mortal sin, can be lord or priest, or bishop; that no priest can exercise civil rule; that no ecclesiastic can hold property for his subsistence (*vivere proprietarie*); that temporal lords have the right to take temporalities from ecclesiastics; that no one is bound to pay tithes or oblations to profligate (*discolis*) curates.[2]

The exposition of Wyclif's philosophical views is beyond our province here; they must be left for careful study in his own works, which are as yet inadequately known; and it is from this part of the labours of the Wyclif Society that we may expect most novelty. We must be content to indicate, in general, how his philosophy leads up to his theology and his work of reformation. We find Wyclif here in perfect accord with Roger Bacon.[3] In his controversy with Cunningham he describes the positions held against the artifices of heretics, the subtilties of sophists, and the carnal wisdom of the worldly, as *three nests* in which he and the other unfledged chickens of Christ are nourished by the fruit of the trees of Scripture. The first nest is partly *logical*, by which Scripture generally verifies its own sense; the second, and higher, is *natural*, that is (to translate his dialectic terms) the natural reason by which we learn the truth and sense of Scripture; the third, and highest, is *metaphysical*, by which we learn the eternity of God, to whom all things past and future are present; and by means of that truth we solve the perplexed doubts about free will, necessity, and the contingency of future things, and uphold the truth of

[1] Nos. 9–13.

[2] On this, which was one ground of the charge that Wyclif's teaching trenched on the rights of property, it should be observed that the obligation of tithe, as part of the consideration for which property was held, was not then so clearly settled as it is now. In Wyclif's view it had still its original *eleemosynary* character; besides that what he says refers to its payment to the unworthy priest, the alternative being, not to withhold it, but to increase the share of the poor. (See, as to the apportionment of tithes, Chap. XVI. § 9.) What he meant to oppose was, the crying evils condemned by the most Catholic reformers, of an idle and unworthy clergy, secured in its position by its property; what he contended for was an evangelic ministry, dependent for its humble necessary subsistence on the offerings of the faithful.

[3] See above, p. 537. For what follows we possess, fortunately, not only Cunningham's statement of Wyclif's views (*Fasc. Zizan.* p. 14, *f.*), but two of his own tracts in the controversy (*ibid.* p. 453, *f.*). It is worth while to note the courtesy of both champions in this early conflict, which Wyclif describes as an academic tournament. We condense the statement, translating its technical philosophic terms into more familiar language.

Holy Scripture in the force of its own language (*de vi sermonis*) against the pompous subtilties of the sophists.[1]

We choose this one example of Wyclif's early teaching, to shew how he used the chief branches of scholastic philosophy to subserve the one great end of maintaining the plain truth and supreme authority of Holy Scripture. Accordingly his Carmelite opponent, amidst much subtile argument, not without keen humour, fixes on *this* as the main point at issue, contending that the plain sense of Scripture is not always to be found in the letter (*ex vi sermonis*), and that where the truth is not obvious, either from some difficulty involved, or from some apparent contradiction, *we must give faith to the received glosses and to the expositions of the Doctors*; the faith demanded being, beyond all question, not readiness to learn and study, but obedience to the *authority* of the Doctors recognized by the Church. Such was the issue joined between Wyclif and his opponents in this first stage of his career.[2]

§ 6. In the second stage we find him drawn into the arena of ecclesiastical and national politics, as the champion at once of England against Rome, and of the temporal power against the encroachments of the spiritual; but in both cases, and this is the supremely important point, resting his whole case on the deep foundation of the subjection of all human authority to the sovereignty of God. It was in 1365 that Urban V. claimed thirty-three years' arrears of the tribute which John had covenanted to pay as the Pope's vassal, but which had been refused by Edward I., and again by Edward III.[3] We have seen the discontent roused

[1] We venture to describe this as the Pauline and Augustinian doctrine set in the reconciling light of reason, and a view essentially the same as that of the famous Sermon (on the "*must &c.*," of Matthew xvi. 21), in which Bp. Horsley argues that a *paradox* is not necessarily a *contradiction*, till it is made such by pushing one of two co-ordinate truths to an extreme; and that Divine predestination and human free-will are such truths, each resting on its own evidence in reason and revelation, paradoxical to us, who "know in part," but not therefore contradictory, as will be seen seen when "we shall know even as we are known." We could cite the experience of one who just fifty years since found in this doctrine a "nest" in which his faith has since reposed, however often shaken by "winds of doctrine."

[2] It is very interesting to find him thus early calling in question the bequest of dominion by St. Peter to his successors, and in this connection hinting at those views of dominion which afterwards formed a cardinal point of his teaching, but which he postpones for another occasion: "Ista est pulchra via ad introducendum materiam de dominio, sed oportet ab illa supersedere ad tempus, ne materia accepta præ manibus emittatur" (*Fasc. Zizan.* p. 456). Hence it is clear that the theory was not first invented to meet the political crisis of 1366.

[3] The details of this and the subsequent political affairs, in which

through Christendom by the exactions of the Popes at Avignon; but in England the demand was received as that of a virtual vassal of the French king for treasure which would go in part to support our deadly enemy. The claim was finally and for ever rejected by Parliament in 1366; and the decision made at Westminster was sustained in the schools of Oxford by Wyclif, who now describes himself as a royal chaplain.[1] His whole argument was based on that famous *Theory of Dominion*, the publication of which is regarded by Mr. Shirley as *the true epoch of the beginning of the English Reformation.*[2]

The doctrine expounded in his great works on *Divine* and *Civil Dominion* was made the occasion of bitter censure, which is perhaps more excusable in the passions of his age than the apologies made in our own by "candid friends" who fail to see it from the right point of view. It is, as he himself has emphatically warned us, an ideal theory, not a rule for the guidance of civil polity; the work of a Schoolman, not of a practical statesman, though involving very practical applications; of one of those English Schoolmen, whose bold and subtile acuteness, in marked contrast with the safer solidity of the Parisians,[3] led them to exaggerate the forms of ingenious paradox by which all the Schoolmen delighted to give point to their propositions.[4] That *Dominion is founded in Grace*, and that *God must obey the Devil*, are startling propositions, especially standing side by side, till we see that they really mean the same as *One is your Master, even God*, and *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, as Paul was to Nero, and Christ himself to Caiaphas and Herod and Pilate, nay, to Satan in His temptation; and the second and more paradoxical proposition

Wyclif was concerned, may be read in the *Student's English Church History*, the text-books of English History, and the admirable summary in Mr. Shirley's Preface.

[1] In the *Determinatio de Dominio*, printed by Lewis (p. 363, *f.*) which is perhaps a fragment of his great work *De Dominio Divino*. Mr. Shirley places its writing in 1366, or next year at the latest (p. xvii.). Wyclif, who appears to have been present at the Parliament, and is by some supposed to have been consulted on the question, recites the opinions given by seven lords, probably the earliest extant report of a parliamentary debate. (Shirley, p. xix.)

[2] Mr. Shirley (p. xl.) says this of the preface to the *De Dominio Divino*, "published at the latest in 1368"; but he adds that this date is conjectural, and probably a year or two later than the truth. The second great work on the same subject, *De Dominio Civili*, he refers, on internal evidence, to 1371 (p. xxi. n.).

[3] See the interesting testimonies cited by Mr. Shirley, p. xlviii.

[4] Or, as would be said in German (and in Anglo-German slang), to "accentuate" (*betonen*) their meaning.

is the qualification of the first. Nor should it be forgotten that, in introducing *feudal* language in such a discussion, Wyclif was not only addressing a feudal society, but arguing on a demand which sprang out of feudalism. The very term *Dominion* must be understood, not simply as rule or government, but in the Latin and medieval sense of overlordship and ultimate possession, as well as authority. This was the right and dignity which, Wyclif maintained, God had given to no vicar upon earth, whether Pope or Emperor, prince or bishop, priest or magistrate; but such lawful dominion as each had was given by His grace, complete in its own sphere, the civil as well as the ecclesiastical; only *properly* exercised by true Christians in a state of grace; while for all His people the ultimate appeal is to Him, their supreme Lord, whom they must obey rather than man.

The theory supplied a rational foundation for resisting all unrighteous claims to authority, possessions, and exactions, such as that of the Pope's suzerainty over, and tribute from, a nation; the famous power of "the two swords"; the intrusion of the clergy on the province of civil government by the claim of divine right; their support in idleness, luxury, and even vice, and their refusal to bear their share of taxation; the exactions of mendicants upon society. But, on the other hand, it was an ideal theory, which must be modified in its practical application to a society where God, in His providential government, suffered the authority and oppressions, usurpations and exactions, of wicked men. Here comes in the supremacy of law and social order: "the powers that be are ordained of God: therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God"; and in this sense God must obey the devil.[1]

One is almost tempted to say that Wyclif gave a signal example of such an act of obedience, when his zeal for civil rights against clerical usurpation leagued him with the selfish and overbearing policy of John of Gaunt, the prince whose son and grandson sent Wyclif's followers to the stake. Assuredly, in maintaining his scholastic thesis, he never suspected that it might be used in a sense hostile to law and property, or imputed to him as giving a pretext for the peasants' insurrection. In short, it was a theory of the relations of Church and State, designed to maintain the freedom of the one without invading the spiritual province of the other; and a theory of personal and social life, protecting the rights and liberty

[1] The apology, that this doctrine was not Wyclif's own, but the inference of his enemies, is as unfounded as it is superfluous; for he himself reiterates, defends, and clearly explains it, in terms which ought to silence his self-constituted apologists. (See a MS. Sermon, *ap.* Shirley, pp. lxiv lxv.).

of the individual, as subject to the law, but in the crisis of highest and ultimate appeal bound "to obey God rather than man":—"Ye call me Lord (*Dominus*) and Master, and *so I am*": "Thine is the power and *Dominion*": "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven."

§ 7. But to see the best part of Wyclif's labours for the one great end, we must turn from Westminster and Oxford to his work as a country parson, in which character some would fain trace the portrait immortalized by Chaucer.[1] To this second period of his career belongs the institution by which, while combating the friars in scholastic debate and scathing their corruptions in his writings,[2] he met them on their original strong ground of itinerant preaching, combined with evangelic poverty, to do the work for which the parochial clergy were generally incompetent as well as unwilling. Here again it seems to some that Wyclif needs an apologist—(or is the apology for the friars, or half and half for both?)—to remind us that he had much in common with their founders. Yes; but with this vital difference, that in his order of *Poor Preachers*, or *Simple Priests*, the poverty was not a work of merit, but only a mode of life to aid the power of their preaching; and he utterly rejected the vice of mendicancy, which had brought the friars to what they had now become. Except for that unhappy error, St. Francis might have seen in Wyclif's itinerant evangelists, going about two and two in russet gowns, the very ideal of his own Minorites; but their truer prototype was in the Poor Men of Lyons, though there is no trace of any Waldensian influence upon Wyclif.[3]

[1] The truth seems to be that, as with all great literary artists, the ideal character contains personal traits, some of which may be drawn from Wyclif. The whole subject of Chaucer's relations to Wyclif, with whom he shared the favour and protection of John of Gaunt, belongs to the history of English Literature; but at all events the poet was no Lollard. The sum of the matter is "that, though he sympathized—as is shown by a thousand satirical passages in his poems—with Wyclif's hostility to the monastic orders and abhorrence of the corruptions of the clergy and the haughty claims of papal supremacy, the poet did not share in the theological opinions of the reformer, then regarded as a dangerous heresiarch" (*Student's English Literature*, p. 34).

[2] For example, in the *Two short Treatises against the Begging Friars*, ed. James, Oxford, 1608. But we cannot stay to follow to details of the conflict. One example of his satire is the tracing of their pedigree to the first murderer (*Caimitica Institutio*), whose name he finds in the initials of the four orders, **C***armelites*, **A***ugustinians*, **I***acobites*, **M***inorites*, adding that the voice of Abel cries to the Lord against them.

[3] Here are two passages worth quoting: "As the Mendicant Friars had sought to take this weapon of popular preaching out of the hands of the Poor Men of Lyons, so these Poor Priests in their turn sought to wrest the same out of theirs." (Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.* p. 318). Again:

It was his own spontaneous effort to carry the Gospel to the people, in the spirit of the Apostle—"when the world through wisdom knew not God, it pleased God through the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."[1] The Church—especially our own—may well ponder the fact that this village itinerancy was instituted by the last of the great English Schoolmen. What effect it produced, before its early suppression through the influence of the friars,[2] is testified even by the exaggeration of a hostile witness, soon after Wyclif's death, that every other man in England was a Lollard.[3]

§ 8. The renewal of war with France, in 1369, was followed by the disastrous turn of affairs in Gascony and the return of the Black Prince in shattered health (1371). For these reverses the churchmen who held the government were made responsible, and the clergy were looked to as a source of supply for the financial exigencies to which the state was brought. The chancellor, William of Wykeham, and his ecclesiastical colleagues, were replaced by laymen of the old feudal party, with John of Gaunt at their head; and the decision of Parliament to lay fresh taxes on the lands and income of the clergy was defended by Wyclif at Oxford.[4] The complete failure of the new government made it

"It is idle to conjecture what might have been; but, if Wyclif had died before his denial of transubstantiation,—strange dream as it seems, it is less strange than the real life of Francis of Assisi,—his name might have come down to us in another form, and miracles have been wrought at the tomb of their founder by the brother preachers of St. John Wyclif." Shirley, p. xli., where a note is added: "In the 4th Book of the *Trialogus* there is a great deal which illustrates the constitution of the order. (See also the *Sex Juga* and the *De Ecclesia*.)"

[1] 1 Cor. i. 21. To the charge of "disorder," to which the *apologists* so readily confess, it is enough to reply that the Poor Priests throughout the immense diocese of Lincoln were *under Episcopal sanction* (Shirley, p. xl.). Their labours seem to have extended to other parts, particularly the diocese of London (*ibid.* note). But Wyclif himself, like St. Francis, did not regard episcopal ordination as necessary for preaching.

[2] See the passage of the *Trialogus* (iv. 37) quoted by Shirley, who places the suppression between the Council of London (1381) and the writing of that book (1382 or 1383).

[3] If, as Gieseler says (iv. p. 246), the appellation of *Lollards* was first given by adversaries to these Poor Priests, it confirms what has been said of the origin of the nickname in England (p. 569, n.). People familiar with the term abroad, through the constant intercourse with the Low Countries, would catch at a name which had already acquired an heretical savour, and apply it in the same loose way in which *Beghard* had been used on the Continent, and as *Methodist* has been misapplied in our own days. The connection between *zizania* and *lollium* is found in Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.* xiii. 28): "Inter triticum et *zizania*, quod nos appellamus *lollium*, quamdiu herba est, . . . grandis similitudo est."

[4] In a passage of the MS. *De Dominio Civili*, quoted by Shirley, p. xxi.

necessary to open negociations with the Pope, Gregory XI. (1373), and Wyclif was a member of the second commission sent to Bruges for that purpose (1374), with colleagues of views very different from his. The lay ministers who had displaced the clerics consented to a repeal of the statute against provisions, and the Pope mediated a short-lived truce with France (1375).[1] Indignation at all this mismanagement, inflamed by the long-standing discontent at the abuses of the royal household and the influence of the King's mistress Alice Perrers, now united the commons and clergy against the Crown and nobles, and the Black Prince came forward to redress the state by the measures of the "Good Parliament" (1376), which were still in progress when the Prince's death (July 8th) restored John of Gaunt to power.

§ 9. In the new Parliament, which met in January 1377, the Duke of Lancaster obtained the reversal of his brother's reforms, and incurred fresh odium by the unprecedented[2] impost of a poll-tax, nearly such as provoked Wat Tyler's rebellion four years later. But he met with a great check in Convocation, where Wyclif appeared as his supporter. The Duke's special enmity to William of Wykeham had been shewn by his exclusion from the general amnesty proclaimed at the King's jubilee, and the seizure of his temporalities.[3] The clergy refused to vote a supply till their petition on the bishop's behalf was heard, and the Duke had to consent to a compromise. The Convocation followed up this

For the details and the apologue of the birds stripping the owl of the feathers they had lent him, when they wanted the means of flight from the hawk, and for Wyclif's part in the political events that ensued, see the *Student's Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 417, *f.*

[1] It was at the end of this year that Wyclif became rector of Lutterworth, on the presentation of the Crown in right of a patron who was under age.

[2] "Taxa hactenus inaudita," says Walsingham, p. 191.

[3] The pretext for the proceedings against the bishop was for acts of peculation, &c., committed during the chancellorship which he had resigned six years before. For further details see Shirley (p. xxv.), and also his remarks on the strange alliance between Lancaster and Wyclif, the one aiming to humiliate the Church, which the other wished sincerely to purify. "A staunch friend of the mendicants, choosing for his confessors more than one of Wyclif's theological opponents (Cunningham and others), regarding almost with sympathy the court of Rome as the natural counterbalance to the power of the bishops at home, corrupt in his life, narrow and unscrupulous in his policy, John of Gaunt obtained some of his ablest and best support from a secular priest of irreproachable character, the sworn foe of the mendicants, whose views of government towered above intrigue, too often above sober reality, into a lofty idealism. . . . From points so opposite, and with aims so contradictory, were they united to reduce the wealth and humble the pride of the English hierarchy."

success by attacking Lancaster through Wyclif, who was cited before the Bishop of London, to answer articles of heresy founded on his views of ecclesiastical policy; and the character of the proceeding is shewn by the absence of any allusion to the doctrinal errors with which he had even before this been charged.[1] The moment chosen was most favourable, not only from John of Gaunt's unpopularity, but from the new position of the Pope, when the return of Gregory XI. to Rome (Jan. 1377; see p. 135) broke the long spell of the subjection of the papacy to France; and a statement of Wyclif's errors had been already sent to the Pope. The Bishop's court, before which Wyclif appeared at St. Paul's (Feb. 23), was bearded by John of Gaunt, and broken up by the irruption of the citizens, from whom the unpopular Duke was hardly rescued; but the death of the King (June 21st) altered the whole state of affairs. The City, whose Charter was threatened for the late disorder, hastened to make their peace with John, whose temporary retirement from court, to avoid the suspicion of such designs as his son Henry afterwards effected, restored his popularity. The Bulls issued from Rome on the 30th of May did not arrive till after the death of the late king, to whom one of them was addressed, with others to the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and the University of Oxford, which was commanded to forbid the teaching of the impugned doctrines, and to arrest Wyclif and bring him for trial before the Archbishop and Bishop. The University resented this interference with their jurisdiction, and the disposition of the Court towards Wyclif was shewn by the request of Richard and his Great Council for his opinion on the question, whether the realm of England may legitimately, under necessity for her own defence, forbid treasure to be carried abroad, even to our lord the Pope.

[1] "Wyclif had long ago been accused of heresy on the subject of the Incarnation, but this was not mentioned; his doctrine of the imperishability of matter had been actually condemned by Archbishop Langham, it was not alluded to; he had been accused of reviving the necessitarian tenets of Bradwardine, but neither were these touched upon. The object of the prosecution was to proclaim to the world that society was endangered by the political principles which John of Gaunt was putting in practice against the Church" (Shirley, p. xxvii.). It appears from Walsingham that the charges forwarded to the Pope were the same in substance as the 19 articles presented by Wyclif to the first parliament of Richard II., for which see the *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 245, *f.*, and *Stud. Ch. Hist.* p. 421–2. And so the Pope's rescript to the University of Oxford insists, not on any doctrinal error, but on the identity of Wyclif's views with those maintained by Marsilius of Padua and John of Jaudun against John XXII. *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 243, where the note on the date at p. xxviii. must be observed. (Comp. above, Chap. VII. § 7).

His answer in the affirmative,[1] leaving the strictly legal question to experts, is sustained by arguments from reason, from the principles of the Gospel, and from the law of conscience,[2] inasmuch as our fathers left endowments to the Church of England, not to the Church in general; besides patriotic reasons from the mischief of compliance; and he advises that even an interdict should be disregarded, as God takes no account of such censures. But, passing on to his special views of evangelical simplicity, and willing to give the Pope what his office requires, but not to support him in worldly pomp, he proceeds to apply the same rule to the true dignity of the priest at home. The danger that the treasure kept back from the Pope might tempt our own clergy to petulance, wantonness, and avarice, is to be met by restoring the endowments of the founders to their rightful heirs, with only a residuum reserved as a foundation for the true peace of the Church; and here he maintains that tithes and other offerings should be given only to worthy priests. This state-paper concludes with some very interesting remarks on the want of perseverance in the English character, and the first necessity of training the nation to unanimity and endurance, before attempting the great work of providing that neither personal favour nor private gain shall henceforth hinder the common advantage of the realm. In these last words we see the reformer's politics in their most practical aspect.

§ 10. Besides this state-paper, Wyclif issued three other pieces in his defence, but their dates and order are uncertain.[3] Meanwhile the Primate and the Bishop of London acted on the Pope's

[1] This most important document, dated in the first year of Richard II., is printed in the *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 258, *f.* It was doubtless prepared with a view to the deliberations of the new Parliament, which met in October, 1381. The whole subject of Wyclif's relations to the court during this reign needs further light; but it seems that John of Gaunt's influence did not cease during his temporary retirement. The good will of the young king's mother was proved by her interference at Lambeth; and when Richard married the sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus (1382), the "good queen Anne" proved herself a decided favourer of Wyclif and a link between the reforming movements in England and Bohemia.

[2] One argument under this head is what is due to the souls of the founders in purgatory—an indication of Wyclif's position towards Catholic *doctrine.*

[3] Two of these are given in the *Fasc. Zizan.* pp. 245, 481; and the third by Walsingham, p. 206. Respecting their order and date, see Shirley, p. xxxi. For the further quarrel between John of Gaunt and the Church about his violation of sanctuary in the affair of the Count de Denia, see *ibid.* p. xxxv., *f.* Also for the failure of Lancaster's attempt to cripple the Church in the Parliament of Gloucester, and Wyclif's writings in his defence, p. xxxvi. *f.*

bull;[1] but when, upon their citation, he appeared at Lambeth early in the year (1378), a message from the Princess of Wales forbad the bishops to proceed, and, while they hesitated, the court was broken up by the London rabble, which had interfered on the opposite side at St. Paul's the year before. Thus Wyclif now "owed to the popularity of his cause the protection which he had before so strangely obtained by the unpopularity of his patron."[2]

§ 11. But now another vast change in the Papacy affected the whole state of parties in England. The death of Gregory XI. (March 27, 1378) was followed by the double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII. and the Papal Schism.[3] This scandal to Christendom, and the abuses that sprang from it, gave a great impulse to the anti-papal views of Wyclif, who called the Popes at Rome and Avignon the two halves of the one Antichrist. But, on the other hand, the English nation was disposed to favour Urban as against the rival who was under the wing of France. This change of feeling rendered hopeless the practical reform of the Church, which had thus far been Wyclif's chief aim: just as his religious opinions became more decided, his political position was shaken; and it received a fatal blow from the insurrection of Jack Cade (1381). Henceforth it was easy to identify Lollardism with the socialist views of the insurgents, which were represented as the genuine fruit of Wyclif's theory of dominion.[4] The decisive blow to the long misgovernment of Richard's minority caused John of Gaunt to retire for a time in disgust, and henceforth, having made all the political use he could of Wyclif, he refused to support him in the conflict about religion. Moreover, as the excesses of a revolt are imputed to all who are supposed to have given it the least impulse, the murder of Archbishop Sudbury cast a shadow even on the innocence of Wyclif; Courtenay was a successor eager to take up the quarrel, and the occasion was ready to his hand. Wyclif had now begun (though the exact date is uncertain) to disseminate

[1] The Archbishop (Simon Sudbury) was lukewarm in the cause, if not favourable to Wyclif, with whom he had been on friendly terms; and when Bishop of London he had even condemned the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury (at least if the document is genuine: Hook's *Archbishops*, vol. iii. p. 250). But the Bishop of London, William Courtenay, haughty and proud of his high descent, was a thorough High Churchman, and vehemently hostile both to Wyclif and John of Gaunt.

[2] Shirley, p. xxxiii. Respecting the attempt to renew the proceedings after the recognition of Urban VI. see the note, *ibid.*

[3] See Chapter IX.

[4] One special example is the confession (if genuine) of the notorious priest John Balle, who acknowledged that he had been a disciple of Wyclif, and ascribed his errors to his teaching. (See the document in *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 273.)

those racy vernacular tracts which, besides their religious influence, gave a permanent character to English prose; and he had already entered on the crowning work of his life—the translation of the Bible (1380). But the distinct handle which he now gave for the charge of heresy was on the crucial doctrine of the "Sacrament of the Altar." From a very early period he had discussed the subject in a highly scholastic form, with a growing tendency against transubstantiation;[1] but in the spring of 1381 he put forth a paper containing twelve propositions, in which that dogma was expressly denied.[2] His views are more fully stated in the memorable "Confession" which he afterwards published in his defence.[3] The one essential point may be briefly expressed as follows: that the bread and wine become, by the act of consecration, the body and blood of Christ, but in such a manner that the material bread and wine still remain. Denying the absolute change which transubstantiation affirmed, he held not only a "real presence" in the fullest sense, but recognized it as effected by the act of consecration.[4] Wyclif avowed the essential agreement of his view with that of Berengar,[5] the only Doctor whom he excepted from the charge of universal error on the question since the year 1000. The essence of the heresy consisted in the point which was made the crucial test in the ensuing persecution of the Lollards; to whom we find the question put—*whether the bread and wine remain in the sacrament after consecration*—and those who refused to deny this proposition as false and heretical were forthwith sent to the stake.

§ 12. For reasons not perfectly known, the attack on Wyclif was opened cautiously, first at Oxford, where the "Twelve Conclusions" were condemned by the Chancellor and twelve chosen doctors.[6]

[1] The materials for studying the whole subject are the documents printed in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, with Mr. Shirley's preface (p. lx.). The scholastic nature of the whole discussion is signally marked by one sentence, which at the same time attests Wyclif's consciousness of orthodoxy: "Illud autem quod de eucharistia *fides orthodoxa arctat nos credere*, potest catholicus *philosophice sustinere*."

[2] "*Conclusiones Wycclyff de Sacramento Altaris*," with three other "Conclusions" appended, and his arguments in their support (*Fasc. Zizan.* pp. 105–109).

[3] *Ibid* p. 115.

[4] The theory is *not*, as has been stated, identical with the Lutheran consubstantiation; but this, with all details, must be left for the theological student's further research.

[5] See Chap. XIX. The *date* is connected with a curious view of the Millennium, viz. that at the end of the first thousand years since Christ the devil was let loose to mislead and corrupt the Church, and especially the "Master of Sentences" and his theological followers (see Rev. xx. 1–3).

[6] The text is in *Fasc. Zizan.* 110–113. The composition of the court is significant. Half of the twelve assessors were friars of the four orders,

The sentence was publicly promulgated in the presence of Wyclif, who replied that neither the Chancellor nor his accomplices could refute his opinion, thus (says the Carmelite narrator) proving himself an obstinate heretic, and aggravating his contumacy by appealing, "not to pope or bishop or ecclesiastical ordinary, but to the king, cleaving as a heretic to the secular power for the defence of his error and heresy." John of Gaunt, whom the friar now highly lauds,[1] came down to Oxford, only to order Wyclif to submit and hold his tongue; but he replied by putting forth the famous Confession already mentioned.

§ 13. The friars had again roused the jealousy of the University for its independence; the elections for the next year brought in a Chancellor and Doctors friendly to Wyclif; and it was not with him, but the University, that the battle was fought out. The friars and their party appealed to the Primate, who, as soon as he had received the bull, summoned a Council at the convent of the Black Friars in Holborn (May 1382). Wyclif often mentions it as the "Council of the Earthquake" from the shock at its opening, which alarmed the fathers as an evil omen, but which the resolute Courtenay interpreted as a sign of God's wrath at the heresies prevailing in the land. The friars had a preponderance in the Council; and Wyclif, sarcastically recalling the long-standing enmity between them and the bishops, says that Herod and Pilate were made friends on that day. He himself was not summoned, but twenty-four propositions were selected from his writings for condemnation; the authorities of Oxford were ordered to make search for his works, and to banish him from the University.[2] After a keen resistance to the publication of the decree, the Chancellor and his chief supporters were summoned to Lambeth, and found it necessary to make submission; while Wyclif remained at Lutterworth to the end, unmolested though not unthreatened.[3]

§ 14. These last three years of his life bore some of its richest fruits, especially the translation of the Bible from the Vulgate,

two were monks, making eight regulars to two seculars and professors, with two doctors of laws.

[1] "Nobilis dominus, dux egregius, et miles strenuus, sapiensque consiliarius Dux Lancastriæ, sacræ ecclesiæ filius fidelis."

[2] A full account of the Council and the ensuing proceedings at Oxford and London is given in the *Fasc. Zizan.*, pp. 272–3 33, which Mr. Shirley pronounces "certainly the most interesting part of the volume." A sufficient summary is given in the *Stud. Eng. Ch. Hist.* pp. 432, *f.*

[3] It does not appear certain whether his final retirement followed on the Council of London or the proceedings at Oxford the year before. The story of his appearing (Nov. 1382) before the primate and other bishops at Oxford, and stating his opinions in terms which justified them in dismissing him, seems very doubtful.

which he completed with the assistance of his curate Purvey, who, alas! abjured Lollardism during the Lancastrian persecution.[1] Next in importance, as containing the final exposition of his views as a reformer, is the *Trialogus*,[2] in the form of a dialogue between *Aletheia* (Truth), a solid philosopher, *Pseustis* (Falsehood), a captious infidel, and *Phronesis* (Reflection), a subtile and ripe theologian—the descriptions are Wyclif's own. He continued also to pour forth those English tracts, of which only two or three have yet been printed; and yet, besides their religious value, it is in them that he appears as the true father of English prose. "It is not by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that Wyclif can be judged as a writer. It is in his original tracts that the exquisite pathos, the keen delicate irony, the manly passion, of his short nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour.'[3]

§ 15. His health, worn out through constant labour, was already broken down by a stroke of palsy, when his enemies planned an attack meant to be decisive, and he received a citation to appear before Urban VI. at Rome (1384). It seems that Richard II., who at least deserves the praise of protecting Wyclif and his followers, would not allow him to obey; but he had the still stronger excuse of physical inability. With that calm style of serious irony, which is one mark of the best writers, he answered,[4] that he rejoiced to shew plainly to any one the faith he held, especially to the Roman pontiff, because (he says) "I suppose that, if it be orthodox, he will confirm it with all humility; and if

[1] The work in its final form is the second edition, revised after Wyclif's death by Purvey, who wrote the *Prologue*, which is often erroneously ascribed to Wyclif, but doubtless describes the plan and method on which he himself proceeded. A splendid edition of both versions has been issued from the Clarendon Press, entitled: "*The Wycliffite versions of the Holy Bible*, edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, 4 vols. imp. 8vo, Oxford, 1850."

[2] Let not the reader suspect a "bull," for this title is really formed by a false analogy from *Dialogue*, as if διὰ were equivalent to δύο, whereas it allows of any number of interlocutors. The error is pointed out by Dr. Lechler, the editor of the best edition, Leipzig, 1869. The "*Dialogus*, sive Speculum Ecclesiæ Militantis" is a different work. For all that remains to be said of Wyclif's works and opinions, it must suffice to refer to Robertson, iv. p. 215, *f.*, and the *Stud. Eng. Ch. Hist.*

[3] Shirley, pref. p. xlvii.

[4] The letter is given in the *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 351, confirmed by a passage from his tract *De Citationibus Frivolis*, now printed for the Wyclif Society, in which he puts the case of "a certain feeble and lame man cited to that court, but hindered from going by the royal prohibition, and effectually prevented by the will and necessity laid him on by the King of Kings."

it be erroneous, he will correct it"; for the Pope is of all men most bound to keep God's law; but he has learnt from Scripture,[1] that he ought not to follow the Pope or any of the saints, except so far as he himself follows Christ; whence he exhorts him to give up temporal dominion to the secular arm, and to enjoin the same effectually on his clergy. Having thus disposed of the claim to jurisdiction, he adds that he would have humbly visited the Pope had he been able to go to Rome; but God had compelled him to the contrary; though (in the same spirit of irony, if we mistake not) he abstains from saying explicitly whether the necessity is physical or conscientious. The letter can only be understood by a sympathetic knowledge of his style as well as his spirit.

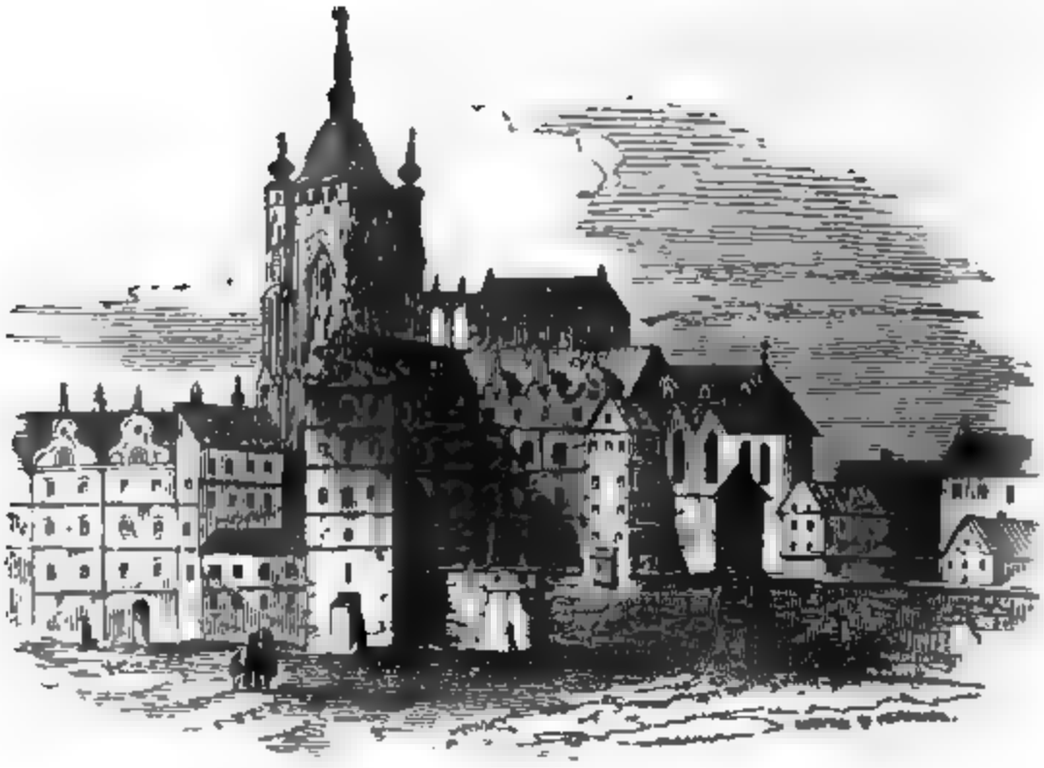
§ 16. The Benedictine chronicler notes with exultation, that Wyclif was seized with the fatal stroke of palsy while saying mass on the day of the saint whom he doubtless meant to malign in his sermon[2]; but pilgrims as devout as those to Canterbury still visit the church where his pulpit, table, and gown are reverentially preserved, with a portrait which, whether authentic or not, agrees with the lineaments described by his contemporaries: "A spare, frail, emaciated frame, a quick temper, a conversation most innocent, the charm of every rank; such are the scanty but significant fragments we glean of the personal portraiture of one who possessed, as few ever did, the qualities which give men power over their fellows."[3] Wonderful as it may seem that he did not die a martyr, it is a new wonder to find the punishment of heresy visited on his remains by those who were labouring to reform the Church in head and members. The Council of Constance sentenced the dead Wyclif to the same fate as the living Hus; but it was not till 1428 that Martin V. ordered Wyclif's former friend, Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, to have his bones burnt; and the ashes were thrown into the Swift. At that time the fiery persecution, which Henry IV. began and his son continued, to gain the support of the clergy to their doubtful title, had raged since 1400, and was continued till Lollardy seemed suppressed. But the feeble remnant still met for prayer and study of the Scriptures to the very eve of the Reformation, which owes more to their survival than is commonly believed.[4]

[1] Citing Matt. viii. 20, and 2 Cor. viii. 9.

[2] Dec. 28, the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket; but also of the Holy Innocents, a fitter type of Wyclif and his followers. He died three days later, Dec. 31.

[3] Shirley, pp. xlv. xlvi. Yet that he was no ascetic is testified by his own frank and interesting confession (*ib.* note).

[4] The history of the Lollards after the death of Wyclif is given with sufficient fulness in the *Stud. Eng. Ch. Hist.*, chap. xxi., to which the next chapter (xxii.) on Bp. Pecocke, is an essential supplement.



Old Town-hall (Rathhaus) at Prague.

CHAPTER XI.

JOHN HUS, JEROME OF PRAGUE,

AND THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN BOHEMIA.

FROM THE XIVTH CENTURY TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (A.D. 1648).

§ 1. BOHEMIA to the 14th century. § 2. The Emperor CHARLES IV.—University of Prague—Connection with Oxford. § 3. Precursors of Reformation: CONRAD; MILICZ; STITNY; MATHIAS OF JANOW. § 4. Bohemia and England—Queen Anne and Wyclif—Translations of the Bible. § 5. JOHN HUS—His chapel *Bethlehem*—King Wenceslaus and Queen Sophia. § 6. JEROME OF PRAGUE—Wyclif's Works in Bohemia. § 7. Hus's Theology—Latin work on the Eucharist—First qualified opinion of Wyclif's books—Jerome on Wyclif—Doctrinal Orthodoxy of Hus and Jerome—Issue with the French Reformers. § 8. Archbishop Zbynek and Hus. § 9. Contest in the University, and secession of the Germans. § 10. Papal Bulls against Wyclif's books and preaching in the *Bethlehem*—Hus's appeals to Alexander V. and John XXIII.—Burning of Wyclif's books: beginning of the civil conflict—Death of Zbynek. § 11. Indulgence for the Crusade against Ladislaus of Naples—Burning of the Bulls—The first three Martyrs. § 12. Hus retires from Prague—His *De Ecclesia* and Bohemian Works. § 13. Hus summoned to CONSTANCE—Foresight of his fate—Certificates of his

orthodoxy—His answers to the evidence—The safe-conduct and Sigismund's perfidy. § 14. His Journey, Trial, and Martyrdom—Reasons for the hostility of the "reformers." § 15. JEROME of Prague—His recantation, trial, and martyrdom—Testimonies of Æneas Sylvius and Poggio Bracciolini. § 16. Religious Revolt of Bohemia—Communion in both kinds—*Calixtines* or *Utraquists*, and *Taborites*—Death of Wenceslaus and rebellion against Sigismund. § 17. Civil War—John Ziska—Crusade of Martin V.—Defeats of Sigismund, Beaufort, and Cesarini—The *Compactata* of Basle—Defeat and Decline of the Taborites. § 18. Sequel—GEORGE PODIEBRAD—The house of Austria—The *Royal Charter*—The *Thirty Years' War* and *Peace of Westphalia*—The *Moravian Brethren.*

§ 1. BOHEMIA, lying in the heart of Europe, between Germany and Hungary, shares with England the distinction of leading the van of the purer reformation founded on the supreme authority of Scripture and the teaching and usages of the primitive Church. To some degree, indeed, this plateau of the upper Elbe, environed by mountains on all sides, and peopled by a race singularly proud of their distinct nationality and language, formed like Britain "a world by itself"; but these elements of independence were greatly modified by the early political and ecclesiastical connection with Germany and the Empire. The country, which derived from the emigrant Celtic *Boii* the name which it has borne since the time of Tacitus,[1]

[1] *Boëmum* (*Boiemi nomen:* Tac. *Germ.* 28; in German *Böhmen*), also *Boiohemum*, i.e. "the home of the Boii," who were driven back by the Romans beyond the Alps. It is only of late that we have had a trustworthy history of Bohemia. The standard *Chronicle* of Hajek, published in 1541 after the complete subjection of the nation to Austria, is one-sided and of no authority when uncorroborated. But in consequence of the recovery of political freedom in our own times, the Estates of Bohemia appointed a native historiographer, the late DR. FRANCIS PALACKY, who has given a history of the country and of the reforming movement from original documents. (For an account of his several works, see the Preface to Wratislaw's *John Hus.*) The work of Dr. Jordan (*Die Vorläufer des Hussitenthums in Böhmen*, Leipz. 1846) is a translation of a paper by Palacky, which, after long detention by the censorship at Vienna, the author published in 1869. Of many other works on the subject (for which see Hase, p. 366), the most important are: *Hist. et Monum. Johan. Hus et Hieron. Prag.* Nor. (Nuremberg), 1558, Francof. 1715, 2 vols. fol., containing Hus's Latin works, with an Introduction, neither complete nor impartial; Æn. Sylvius, *De Bohemorum Origine ac Gestis*, Rom. 1475 (Æneas Sylvius visited Bohemia and conferred with both the parties, 1450–1; and as Pope Pius II. he revoked the *Compactata* made by the Council of Basle); the *Histories* of the Councils of Constance and Basle, by Von der Hardt and Lenfant (see p. 150, *n.*); Lenfant, *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites*, Amst. and Pressb. 1731 and 1783, with *Supplement* by Beausobre, Laus. 1745; Höfler, *Geschichtsschreiber d. husit. Bewegung*, Wien, 1856–66; Tomek's *Histories of the University and City of Prague* (in Bohemian), 1849 and 1875; the *Bohemian Works of Hus*, first col-

was overrun about the sixth century by the Slavonian *Czechs*, who form the bulk of the population to the present day. The country was subjugated to the new Roman Empire by the successors of Charles the Great, and more effectually by Otho the Great (950), in consequence of which the bishopric of Prague, founded in 973, was dependent on the metropolitan see of Mainz.[1] The hold of Germany and Rome on the country was strengthened under Otho III. by the prohibition of the Græco-Slavonic liturgy, which had been introduced from Moravia. A more thorough conquest was effected by Henry III., but, during the troubles of his successors, the dukes of Bohemia extended their power over the neighbouring Slavonic nations, and their royal title was recognized both by Emperor and Pope at the beginning of the 13th century. The confusion of the "Great Interregnum" (1253, f.) allowed King Ottocar II. to extend his power far and wide, to Austria on the one side and Poland on the other; but he was vanquished by Rudolf of Hapsburg, and fell in battle at Marchfeld (Aug. 26, 1278).[2] From that time Bohemia was held in close connection with the Empire; the German element grew stronger and stronger, especially in the towns; and the beautiful capital of Prague became almost as much German as Bohemian.

§ 2. In 1305 the death of the last king of the old royal line, Wenceslaus V., led to dynastic troubles, amidst which his younger daughter Anne fled to the emperor Henry VII., who married her to his son John (the blind hero of Crecy), then 14 years old, and sent him to take possession of the kingdom, which remained in the electoral and imperial house of Luxemburg for a century and a quarter (1310–1437). We have already seen how his son, Charles IV., pursued a policy which had more regard for the aggrandizement of Bohemia than for the welfare of the Empire.[3] The influence of the "priests' Emperor" with Clement VI. procured the release of Bohemia from dependence on the see of Mainz, and the erection of Prague into an archbishopric (1344); but the act which had a vital

lected by R. J. Erben, 1865-8; Bezold, *Zur Gesch. des Hussitenthums*, 1875; Loserth, *Hus und Wiclif* (comp. above, p. 631, n.). An excellent account of the Life and Martyrdom of Hus and Jerome, with historical illustrations, is given in the Rev. J. H. Wratislaw's *John Hus*, London, 1882 (S. P. C. K.). In using this work, we do not multiply references, but give them only for the verification of important points.

[1] For the earlier stages in the Christianizing of Bohemia, and the fame of Bp. Adalbert, see Part I. Chap. XXIV. § 12.

[2] It is important for our subject to remember that Moravia remained permanently annexed to Bohemia, forming a marquisate under the kingdom.

[3] Chap. VIII. § 9, p. 133. The emancipation of the see of Prague is ascribed to the desire to humiliate the Archbishop of Mainz, Henry of Virnburg, who had supported Louis IV. in his contest with the Papacy.

influence on the events now under review was the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348. Charles intended it to be the great University of the Empire, and of all the nations on its frontier to which German influence had reached; and the epoch was favourable to this national scheme, when—as we have seen—the Palladium of learning had migrated from Paris, and the vigorous spirit of English scholasticism was affecting Germany through Ockham and others.[1] So truly was this imperial University *German*, that of the four "nations" into which it was divided (after the example of Paris) the Teutonic element predominated in all but one, owing to the flourishing German towns which had grown up even in countries otherwise Slavonic. There was doubtless substantial truth in the eulogy addressed to Sigismund by the Council of Constance (though with a purpose allowing of some exaggeration) of "that splendid University of Prague, counted among the greater jewels of our world; for of all the Universities of the German nation it bore not undeservedly the character of being the greatest."[2] Here must have been at once a centre of the same philosophy which was gaining ground at Oxford, and an impulse to a vein of native thought, more or less free alike from the orthodox scholasticism and the recent nominalism of Paris, as well as to the cultivation of a native literature on the purely Bohemian "side" of the University.

§ 3. How far this intellectual spring wrought with the spirit of Czech nationality and the general sense of the corruptions of the Papacy and Church to stimulate an independent movement of reform, can only be conjectured from what we know of the spirit of the age.[3] Certain as is the influence of Wyclif upon Hus himself,

[1] It is asserted, we know not on what evidence, that Oxford had a part in the foundation of the new University; but, be this as it may, the international fellowship of the University system of Europe makes it certain that Oxford scholars would visit Prague, as we find them doing in the time of Hus. The four "nations" at Prague were: (1) The *Bohemian*, including the Moravians, Hungarians, and South Slavonians; (2) the *Bavarian*, including the Austrians and Western Germans; (3) the *Polish*, including the Silesians, Lithuanians, and Russians; (4) the *Saxon*, including also the Scandinavians; each nation having an equal voice in the election of officers and other questions. The importance of this constitution to our subject will appear presently.

[2] Wratislaw, pp. 121–2. The rest of the passage bears an interesting witness to that spontaneous love of learning which was the loadstone of true University life.

[3] The theory that the objections of the Bohemian reformers to the Church of Rome on some points, such as the marriage of the clergy, the use of a vernacular liturgy, the giving the cup to the laity in the Eucharist, were a remnant of the influence of the Greek Church, has no historical foundation, nor does it accurately represent their opinions. Both arguments apply also to a supposed influence of the Waldenses; for,

it is no less clear that it could not have affected those Bohemian reformers who began their work even before Wyclif; but in them, as in him, it is easy to trace the spontaneous effect of Scriptural study, moral sense and love of a simple life, and the desire to preach the Gospel; with a zeal inflamed by indignation at the corruptions of the Church. What these were we learn from the testimony of one of Hus's most bitter opponents: "In the clergy there was no discipline whatever; in the courts of the pontiffs there was public simony; in the monastic state, if I may use the term, there was unbounded covetousness; and, to make an end, there was no vice among the lay people which the clergy had not practised first and most notoriously."[1]

The emperor Sigismund said to the fathers at Constance, on Hus's trial, "Verily I was still young when that sect arose and began in Bohemia"; but even before his birth (1366) we find earnest preachers of reformation.[2] Such was the Austrian, CONRAD OF WALDHAUSEN, an Augustinian monk, whose learning and eloquence caused Charles IV. to invite him to Prague, where he preached in German against cold and mechanical worship, the exaction of money for clerical offices, the practice of simony, the abuses of relics and indulgences, and especially the mendicant friars; and, though these presented articles against him (1364), he went on unmolested and with wonderful success, till his death in 1369.

Contemporary with him was the Moravian MILICZ OF KREMSIER, from before 1350 to 1363 a high court official and dignified ecclesiastic, who resigned all his preferments for the work of a poor preacher, addressing the people in their native tongue as often as three or five times a day. We find in him the captivating prophetic element, derived from his study of the Hebrew prophets and the Apocalypse. He gave a present date to the coming of Antichrist, whom he regarded as a corrupt principle variously personified; for at one time he told Charles IV. to his face that he was Antichrist; at another, when he had gone to Rome to await the return of

though thousands of them found a refuge in Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, there is not the least reference to their teaching in the works of Hus and his followers, whose theology, in fact, as we have already said of the later reformers, was decidedly in advance of the Waldensian (cf. Chap. XXXVI. *fin.*).

[1] Andrew of Brod, *Tractatus de Origine Hæresis Hussitarum, fin.* (Wratislaw, p. 49.)

[2] As a sign of the feeling prevalent among the nobles of Bohemia (though this may have been more political than religious) Charles IV. found it impossible to enforce the severe laws against heresy in his code, called *Carolina* (Robertson, iv. 315). For details respecting the precursors of Hus, see Gieseler, iv. p. 234, *f.*; Robertson, iv. p. 226, *f.*; and Wratislaw, chap. iii.

Urban V. from Avignon, he affixed to the door of St. Peter's a placard that *Antichrist is come.* But this denunciation of corruptions was made in all loyalty to the Pope, who treated him with honour. After years more of labour at Prague, with the fruit of a great moral reformation, Milicz was summoned to answer a charge of heresy at Avignon, where he died in 1374. His disciple THOMAS OF STITNY prepared the way for the coming movement by a series of works which formed and consolidated the Bohemian language.[1]

Another disciple of Milicz, MATHIAS OF JANOW, son of a poor Bohemian knight, is still more important for his works, though his fame is sullied by a more worldly spirit and eclipsed by a recantation.[2] After studying at Prague under Milicz, he spent six years at Paris and took his Master's degree, whence he is commonly cited as *Magister Parisiensis.* With the desire for honour and riches, to which he himself afterwards confessed when he had become an opponent of papal Reservations, he went to Rome to urge his suit for preferment, and obtained from Urban V. a bull in virtue of which he was elected a canon of the church of St. Vitus, now the cathedral of Prague, in the palace called Hradschin (1381). He also held the office of confessor there (and he is said to have been the confessor of Charles IV.) till his death in 1393, when he was buried in the cathedral.

Unlike his two predecessors, Mathias was rather a writer than a preacher. His views are chiefly set forth in his five books, *De Regulis Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, which Dr. Palacky would rather style, from the nature of their contents, "The Books of True and False Christianity." Like all these early reformers, Mathias solemnly declared his loyalty to the Catholic Church, and disavowed any intention of quitting it or breaking its unity. He attacked the worldliness and profligacy of a corrupt, covetous, and simoniacal clergy, and of a Pope usurping both temporal and spiritual supremacy, and he inveighed especially against the mendicant orders. Like Milicz, he is fond of apocalyptic imagery; but with him also Antichrist is rather a principle than a person—"the *spirit of Antichrist*"—full of concupiscence and pestilential pride, striving with great zeal after riches, fame, and the honours of this world; and the friars are "the abomination that maketh desolate."[3] He described the threefold schism of the East, Rome,

[1] Wratislaw, pp. 60–1.

[2] This recantation, which is a recent discovery by Palacky, is given by Wratislaw, pp. 66–7. Portions of Mathias's works, discovered early in the 16th century, were mistaken for Hus's, and printed among his works.

[3] His work *De Abominatione Desolationis* has been ascribed erroneously both to Wyclif and Hus, and is one of those printed among Hus's *Works*, vol. i. p. 376, f.

and Avignon, as fulfilling our Lord's warning against those who should say, "Lo, here is Christ! or, lo, there!" whereas few can say where out of these three the Church is and where Christ is[1]; while the Son of Man—the true Christian—hath not where to lay his head. He protests strongly against image-worship and the miracles concocted to support it; and, while condemning superfluous rites and ceremonies, he especially urges frequent communion by the laity, as an essential part of Christian worship.[2] This teaching was one of the special points of charge at a synod in 1388, which suspended him partially for half a year; but there is no ground for imputing to him any heresy as to the Eucharist itself. But the mainspring of his new views is to be found in his regard for the supreme authority of the Bible, his constant companion from youth even to old age, and his refuge for defence and consolation, instead of the relics which others carried with them.[3] There he sought light from Jesus himself, and therefore, he says: "In these my writings I have throughout made most use of *the Bible and its actual manuscripts*, and but little of the sayings of the doctors"—a principle which he learnt from "the blessed Augustine and Jerome, saying that the study of the texts of the most Holy Bible is the beginning and the end above all things useful to one desiring to attain to knowledge of theological truth, and is and ought to be the fundamental thing to every well-instructed Christian."

§ 4. Besides their intrinsic weight, these words may well supply a link in the *reciprocal* influence of England and Bohemia. It was, as we have seen, in 1381, the same year in which Mathias began his work at Prague, that ANNE OF BOHEMIA came to England as the queen of Richard II. We have ample testimony to the influence she had received from the reformers who had taught at Prague under the protection of Charles IV.; and on her early death, twelve years later, the funeral sermon of Archbishop Arundel bore witness to her pious exercises and *study of the Scriptures.*

[1] At the same time he distinctly affirms his own belief that "Christ is in that portion which has joined the Romans"; and he is speaking rather of the careless ignorance of Christians than against the Papacy. (See the whole passage, with other important extracts, in Wratislaw, c. iii.)

[2] It is interesting to observe that the *infrequent* communion which he censured was *monthly*. The frequent statement, that Mathias advocated communion by the laity in both kinds, is an error to which we have to revert presently. The acts of the synod of 1388 are not preserved; but it was clearly not the occasion of his abjuration, as he maintains his objections to image-worship in explicit opposition to its authority (Wratislaw, p. 71).

[3] See the whole very important extract in Wratislaw, pp. 68, 69. The words emphasized above show how, like Bacon and Wyclif, Mathias made all hang on an accurate knowledge of the letter of Scripture.

Now 1381 was the time when Wyclif had fully embarked in his great work of translating the Bible, and *in defence of it from so august a precedent*, he puts the case[1] that the Queen of England and sister of the Cæsar might have the Gospel in the three languages—*Bohemian*, German, and Latin; on which ground an inference of heresy might be cast upon her. Whether such a charge was hinted or not, we cannot doubt her influence in the protection of Wyclif by the court; nor that her Bohemian attendants would carry back, after her death, ideas imbibed in England. We have another and more definite testimony by Hus himself (in 1411) that he and other members of the University of Prague had read the writings of Wyclif for more than twenty years[2] (*i.e.* before 1391).

§ 5. JOHN OF HUSINETZ, called HUS[3] by abbreviation, from the name of his native town in southern Bohemia, was born of poor

[1] This supremely important passage, so often referred to, is first printed textually by Dr. Buddensieg. It is in the tract *De triplici Vinculo Amoris* (i. p. 168): "Nam possibile est, quod nobilis regina Anglie, soror cesaris, habet ewangelium in *lingwa triplici* exaratum, scilicet in lingwa *boemica*, in lingwa *teutonica* et *latina*, et hereticare ipsam propterea implicite foret luciferina superbia. Et sicut *Teutonici* volunt in isto racionabiliter defendere lingwam propriam, sic et *Anglici* debent de racione in isto defendere lingwam suam." The last sentence, shewing clearly the writer's argument, disposes at once of Milman's conjecture that the "Teutonic tongue" meant "English." Nor is there much more reason in Loserth's explanation of *possibile* as putting a mere hypothetical case. The cautious schoolman puts it hypothetically *for the sake of argument;* but such an argument would be worthless if *only* an hypothesis, and we know that it was founded on fact. Besides other evidence of early German versions, there still exists at Vienna a German Bible which belonged to Wenceslaus, who was himself suspected of heresy; and what is thus clear about the "lingwa teutonica" may be inferred about the "lingwa boemica," if, indeed, the mention of this *first* does not imply special knowledge of its existence. Nor, we think, would the words "*hereticare ipsam*," &c., be used without reference to the hint of some such charge against the queen (*impliciter*).

[2] This must be understood *chiefly* of Wyclif's philosophical works; for, on his trial at Constance, Hus spoke of what he had said about Wyclif "*twelve years ago*, before his theological works were brought into Bohemia." But this must be understood of authentic copies of his chief writings; for it would be absurd to draw a distinct line between the two classes of works when intercourse was going on. Hus added that he was much pleased with the philosophical works, and confessed the charge that he had wished his soul might be where Wyclif's was,—a strong proof, surely, of the hold gained by the English reformer on more than Hus himself.

[3] We adopt the spelling prevalent with recent writers, as not only the more accurate, but more convenient. The pronoun *us* shows that euphony does not demand the doubling of the final *s*. The surname thus accidently acquired is the Bohemian for *goose*, on which he often played, calling himself "Poor Goose." His countrymen have subscribed to restore the house in which he was born.

parents, July 6th, 1369, when Wyclif had already reached the height of scholastic fame.[1] While attending the schools at Prague, he maintained himself by chanting and other services in the church. In 1396 he took the degree of Master,[2] and, after serving as Dean of the Faculty of Arts for half-a-year in 1401–2, he was elected Rector of the University in 1403. Having been ordained priest, probably in 1400, he began to preach in the following year; having evidently imbibed much of the spirit and teaching of Mathias of Janow. It was his practice to write his sermons and have them copied for publication, so that they became widely known beyond the immediate circle of his hearers. In 1402 he was appointed resident preacher at a chapel founded (1390) by a merchant of Prague, under the significant name of *Bethlehem* ("the house of bread"), with the purpose of dispensing spiritual food to the people by preaching in the Bohemian language. The founder was a counsellor of King Wenceslaus,[3] in whose weak and impulsive but not ungenerous character, impatience of the power of the clergy seems to have been mingled with higher motives for the protection which he gave to the reformers.[4] His second wife, Sophia, was a stedfast friend of Hus, whose farewell letter from Constance to his friends expressed his heartfelt gratitude in the simple words, "Thank the queen, my gracious lady, from me for all the good that she has done me." Even his enemies allow the attractiveness which Hus's general spirit and pleasing manners added to the respect felt for his pure and ascetic life; and none could question the last witness borne by his disciple Jerome, when bound to the stake: "I knew

[1] See Chap. XXXIX. § 4, p. 635.

[2] He is not mentioned as Bachelor of Divinity till 1404, and, probably for reasons that will appear presently, he never became Doctor.

[3] Here it should be remembered that Wenceslaus had succeeded to the crown of Bohemia in 1378, having been also elected King of the Romans in the lifetime of his father, Charles IV. The Electors deposed him in 1400 in favour of Rupert; but Wenceslaus still maintained his title to the imperial dignity, even after he had taken part in the election of his brother Sigismund (1411, comp. p. 152), whom he affected to regard as his junior colleague, and he continued to hope for his own coronation at Rome. Meanwhile Sigismund, as heir to the Bohemian crown, interfered in his brother's kingdom; but these complicated details, as well as the relations of both to the other princes of Bohemia, must be left to civil history. Sigismund obtained the crown of Hungary by marriage in 1387, and was heir to that of Bohemia on his brother's death in 1419. (But comp. § 16–17.) After his election as King of the Romans we call him Emperor for brevity's sake, though he was not crowned at Rome till 1433.

[4] The whole matter was mixed up with the growing jealousy between the Germans and Bohemians; and Wenceslaus was doubtless resentful for his deposition from the German throne. We shall soon see that the Bohemian movement took a character thoroughly national.

the Master from my youth up, that he was an honourable and noble man, and a preacher of the faith of God's law and of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

§ 6. Besides their close personal connection and fellowship in the martyr's fiery death, JEROME OF PRAGUE[1] claims notice thus early in Hus's career on account of his part in making Wyclif's works known in Bohemia. He is truly described by Trench[2] as his elder comrade's "superior in eloquence, in talents, in gifts,—for certainly Hus was not a theologian of the first order, speculative theologian he was not at all;—but notably his inferior in moderation and practical good sense;" and Hus wrote with gentle humour of his friend whose rash fidelity had involved him in his fate as "the Longbeard (*Barbatus*) who would not take advice." The beard, which Jerome wore as a layman, added to his fine features, tall stature, and choice dress, to win admiration in the courts he visited; while his powers of mind and speech are attested by his disputations at the chief Universities of Europe and the testimony of the accomplished Florentine who was present at his trial at Constance. "I own"—writes Poggio[3]—"that I never saw any one, who in pleading a cause, especially one for life and death, approached more nearly to the eloquence of the ancients, whom we admire so much. It is marvellous to have seen with what words, what eloquence, what arguments, what expression of countenance, what visage, what confidence, he answered his adversaries and finally concluded the pleading of his cause."[4] The man who could speak thus, with health broken by a year's imprisonment in heavy chains—what must he have been at his best?

Jerome was some ten years younger than Hus, having been born about 1379 of a family in a good position in Prague, though not noble, as is commonly stated. We find him already connected

[1] In Latin HIERONYMUS DE PRAGA. Besides the few notices of him in the accounts of Bohemian affairs and the Council of Constance, we had but one vivid portraiture of the man in the famous letter from the Florentine scholar Poggio Bracciolini to Leonardo Arretino, describing the life and martyrdom of Jerome (*Epist. ad Arretin.* in Von der Hardt. iii. 64, and edited by Orelli, Zürich, 1835; see also Shepherd's *Life of Poggio*), till the recent republication, by Dr. Jaroslaw Goll (Prague, 1878), of a Bohemian narrative of the same scenes. (For a fuller account of the MS. and its contents, see Wratislaw, p. 377.)

[2] *Med. Ch. Hist.* pp. 325–6.

[3] For the full extract, see Wratislaw, p. 406. Remember that the half-heathen man of letters had no predisposition in Jerome's favour.

[4] See further § 15. On both trials, as in other medieval controversies, we are struck with the knowledge shewn without access to books. In those days, before printing, scholars were not content with "the knowledge of reference," but could say, "Omnia mea mecum porto."

with Hus during his studies at Prague, whither he returned in 1401 from two years' travel after taking his Bachelor's degree. Next year he visited England and Oxford, where he copied Wyclif's *Dialogue* and *Trialogue* with his own hand. We are not told whether he returned to Prague before he visited Palestine in in the following year;[1] but what has been said may be viewed in the light of the repute assigned to Jerome as the first who brought Wyclif's theological writings to Bohemia, compared with Hus's own statement which marks the year 1402 as the epoch of their introduction.[2] Not that Wyclif's theological views had been unknown there before, for—besides all probability and other evidence—his opinions on the Eucharist were debated in the University of Prague soon after his death.[3] But the epoch now in question is clearly that at which full and authentic copies of his theological works were first brought to Bohemia, and chiefly, it would seem, by Jerome of Prague; the epoch, namely, at which Hus was becoming conspicuous as a religious teacher. We have already seen his admiration of the *philosophy* of Wyclif,[4] whom he called "the Master of deep thought," and with whom he agreed in the *Realism* which (remembering what had once been orthodoxy) it seems startling to find imputed to him at Constance by a Parisian doctor as a *heresy*.[5] But a closer consideration of the proceedings at Constance shows a strong element of hostility to Realism among the French and German doctors, who were now Nomina-

[1] It is convenient here to follow Jerome's course till it falls in again with that of Hus. In 1405 we find him at Paris, where he took the Master's degree, and maintained in a public disputation the doctrine (held by Wyclif) that God cannot annihilate anything, the recantation of which Gerson demanded with an energy that caused Jerome to take to flight; and in the same way he had to beat a retreat from the Universities of Cologne and Heidelberg, where he had also taken the degree of Master (1406). Having taken the same degree at Prague (1407), he paid a second visit to Oxford, where he was only saved from arrest by a powerful protector who is not named. We find him taking part in the critical events at Prague in 1409. These movements illustrate the active communication of medieval students and scholars.

[2] The arguments for this precise year are given by Loserth.

[3] See further on this point, Wratislaw, p. 87.

[4] MSS. of Wyclif's works were among Hus's final bequests; and there are some still extant transcribed by his own hand. But the whole mass of direct evidence as to Hus's diffusion and imitation of Wyclif's writings, and the doubts as to which of the two wrote certain works, may be best studied in the books of Loserth and Buddensieg; and further light may be expected as the labours of the Wyclif Society proceed.

[5] The Doctor from Paris urged that Hus, as a Realist, *could not* hold a right opinion about the Eucharist; to which Hus replied by citing the example of St. Anselm.

lists, and that especially towards Jerome, who had disputed in their schools.[1]

§ 7. Now it was just at the epoch of 1401 that Hus wrote his first Latin treatise. About his theology in general, we have his own statement that the writers he most revered were St. Augustine and Bishop Grosseteste,—conspicuous links with the English school of Bradwardine and Wyclif. But on the particular subject of this first treatise, on the Sacrament of the Altar, he adhered from first to last to the doctrine of transubstantiation, consistently rejecting the view of Wyclif, though it was as persistently imputed to him at Constance. It is related that he advised a student, who showed him one of the books newly brought into Bohemia, to burn it or throw it into the river Moldau, lest it should fall into hands in which it might do mischief; and, when charged at Constance with his opposition to the burning of Wyclif's books, he rebutted the inference of full agreement with their doctrines. Still more significant was the opinion pronounced before the University of Prague as late as 1410 by so earnest a Wyclifite as Jerome.[2] He said he had read and studied them like those of any other Doctor, and had learned much that was good from them; but that he was far from holding as matters of faith everything that he read in them, for *that was due to Holy Scripture only.* He therefore counselled students to read these books frequently and study them diligently, especially such of them as bore upon the Faculty of Arts; but, if they found therein anything that they could not understand, to put it aside till a riper age, for *there were some things in them that appeared to be contrary to the faith.* These things, therefore, they should neither hold nor defend, but *submit to the faith;* and they should also refrain from lending the books to people who were incapable of understanding them. This profession of doctrinal orthodoxy, and readiness to submit to the teaching of the Church, is the one position maintained by Hus and Jerome on their trials, and reiterated by both with their last breath. They were practical rather than doctrinal reformers; and the path in which they followed Wyclif was the assertion of the supreme authority of Scripture, the spiritual nature of the true Church, with Christ for its head, and the ultimate appeal to God by the conscience of the believer, as the governing principles of

[1] These relations may illustrate the spirit in which Gerson said, "Jerome, when thou wast at Paris, thou didst imagine thyself an angel in thine eloquence, and didst set the whole University in an uproar"—a signal testimony to his power; and doctors from Cologne and Heidelberg charged him with having taught errors in those Universities.

[2] Wratislaw, p. 381.

the reformation which the corrupt Church of that age needed. This was the head of their offence in the eyes of those who confessed the corruptions, but whose "reform in head and members" meant the transfer of the Pope's autocracy to a sacerdotal and theological oligarchy.[1] And herein lies the key to the paradox, that men like Gerson, D'Ailly, and their fellows, burnt Hus and Jerome, after treating them with tyrannous insolence and even personal animosity on their trials. The reform they wanted was from above, not from below; and D'Ailly bitterly reproached Hus for preaching to the people about the vices of the Cardinals, as if the Cardinals would have heeded his reproof!

§ 8. To return to the order of events. ZBYNEK ZAJITZ, who became Archbishop of Prague in 1403, was a young man of the world, who had done good military service to King Wenceslaus, but was little conversant with theology, or indeed any learning.[2] As an active man of business, and perhaps to please the king, he set to the work of practical reform, and commissioned Hus to make known to him any ecclesiastical abuses or defects. The first result was the exposure of a local pretence of miracles of healing performed on pilgrims by a portion of the blood of Christ, concerning which Hus wrote a tract[3] against the superstitious craving for relics and miracles, and the frauds of the clergy who supplied them for money. But as the denunciations of corruption were multiplied, and pressure was put upon Zbynek by the clergy and even from Rome, his feelings and conduct changed. Disciples of Hus were cited before him, censured, and threatened with imprisonment. The Archbishop carried his complaints of heresy to Wenceslaus, who is said to have replied: "So long as Master Hus preached against us laymen, you rejoiced at it; now your turn is come, and you must be content to bear it." Still, shrinking from the consequences of having his realm declared heretical, the king consented to an enquiry, as the result of which, the Archbishop and a synod

[1] Compare what has been said of the principles of the leaders at Constance, Chap. X. § 7, and Chap. XII. § 10. The reader, who might suspect the phrases that follow in the text of being rhetoric rather than simple truth, is referred to the records of the trials, especially for the part taken by Cardinal d'Ailly.

[2] The statement that he learnt his letters after being made a bishop is no doubt a mere *literal* rendering of the epigram published when he burnt Wyclif's books:—

"Zajitz, bishop A, B, C, "Burnt the books, but ne'er knew he
"What in them was written."

[3] "On the Glorified Blood of Christ." For other examples of Hus's preaching against abuses, and Zbynek's approval of his course, see Wratislaw, chap. iii.

declared Bohemia free from any taint of Wyclif's heresy; but all the copies of his books were ordered to be given in for examination, and it was forbidden that any one should lecture in the University on such of his tenets and works as were deemed heretical (July 17, 1404).[1]

§ 9. At the same time the quarrel was brought to a crisis in the University, in which, as we have seen, the Germans had a majority of three nations to one, the Germans also being Nominalists, while the Bohemians were Realists; and, as early as 1403, and again in 1408, forty-five propositions ascribed to Wyclif were condemned by the University. But another question was now raised about the proposed Council of Pisa, to end the great Papal Schism.[2] Wenceslaus, who had from the first supported the Council, and was now encouraged by France to hope for his restoration to the Empire, wished Prague to join with other Universities in declaring for neutrality between the rival Popes; but the German majority of nations pronounced for Gregory XII., with whom Archbishop Zbynek was now leagued in opposition to the reforming party.[3] Hus and Jerome seized the opportunity to redress the balance, of which the Bohemians had so long complained; and the king's resentment gave effect to their scheme.[4] A royal decree gave three votes to the Bohemian nation, and one only to the three others jointly (Jan. 1409); the Germans backed their petition against it by a threat of secession, and refused obedience at the elections on St. George's Day (April 23); and, when the king filled up the vacant offices by his own authority, they left Prague in a body.[5]

[1] The *Dialogus*, *Trialogus*, and book on the Eucharist, were specified; while on others opinion was divided in the University. This was in fact a compromise, in accordance with a vote already passed by the Bohemian nation in the University, and supported by Hus, forbidding the teaching of the impugned works and doctrines "in their heretical, erroneous, or offensive sense."

[2] For the whole course of events which led to this Council, see Chap. IX. §§ 7–9.

[3] He suspended Hus and all the Masters who declared for neutrality from their priestly functions in the diocese.

[4] At first he vented angry threats at Hus and Jerome for continually creating disturbances; but his councillors overcame his reluctance. For the procedure, which seemed rather to invert than redress the injustice, it was argued that at Paris the French nation had three votes against one jointly by the others, and so with the Italians in their Universities. The plausible plan of an equal division could only have produced a deadlock. But the question of fairness was overborne by what was in fact a national revolutionary stroke.

[5] Æneas Sylvius says that the seceders numbered 2000, followed by 3000 more; and another writer says that out of 7000 students only 2000 were left. Palacky thinks the total of 7000 too low; while other

Archbishop Zbynek persevered in his struggle on behalf of Gregory XII., punishing several of Hus's adherents, while the king punished the priests who obeyed the interdict which was laid on Prague. At length the Archbishop found it necessary to announce his adhesion to Pope Alexander V.[1] (Sept.), and in October John Hus was elected Rector of the University for the remainder of the year ending on St. George's Day, 1410.

§ 10. It proved for Hus a "Pyrrhic victory," and the beginning of new troubles which beset him to the end. The seceding Germans spread abroad the story of his heresy, and we cannot doubt that many avenged at Constance their expulsion from Prague.[2] In that city too Hus's influence was shaken by the loss of so many profitable residents. The new Pope, devoted to the friars (see p. 148), and a tool in the hands of Balthasar Cossa, was easily persuaded to withdraw the proceedings he had begun against Zbynek for his support of Gregory, and to support the new attack opened against Hus on the charge of Wycliffism. A bull was obtained by Zbynek's envoys (Dec. 1409) commissioning the Archbishop to institute a new enquiry, to demand the surrender of Wyclif's books, and—what was the most direct blow at Hus, as the chaplain of the Bethlehem—to *forbid all preaching*, except in cathedral, collegiate, conventual, or parish churches. Further, he was to proceed against all who resisted any portion of the decree, by penal measures, excluding all right of appeal. Hus, however, appealed at once to Rome, on the ground that the Pope was ill-informed about the state of Bohemia; and, on the death of Alexander V. (May 1410), he renewed the appeal to his successor John XXIII. At the same time Zbynek, having held the enquiry with assessors who condemned the books, published his sentence requiring obedience to the bull on pain of excommunication (June 10).

On the following Sunday Hus preached to a large and excited audience at Bethlehem, denying that there was any heresy in Bohemia, protesting against the intended burning of Wyclif's books, and calling on the people to support him in a new appeal, to which they responded, "We will and do stand by you!" For

accounts are evident exaggerations. But even the lowest estimates illustrate the flourishing state of medieval Universities in general, and of Prague in particular. One result of the secession was the foundation of the famous University of Leipzig by the Margrave of Meissen.

[1] Respecting his election at Pisa, see p. 147.

[2] That this is no mere conjecture, is proved by the stress laid henceforth, and at Constance, on the charge that Hus fomented quarrels between Germans and Bohemians, and by the letter of the Council to Sigismund on the ruin of the University of Prague.

himself he declared that he would not cease preaching, even though he were driven into exile or were to die in prison, and finally, in words which—whether intended to kindle the flame of material or merely moral resistance[1]—found an echo among all classes throughout Bohemia, he exhorted them to stedfastness, "for a need was arising, even as in the Old Testament, according to the ordinance of Moses, to gird on the sword and defend the word of God." Three days later an appeal to John XXIII. was published in the names of John Hus, a leading Bohemian noble and M.A., and other members of the University; while the Archbishop sent a report of the sermon to Rome, asking for further powers, and in particular the citation of Hus to the papal court. On July 16th, in direct violation of a promised delay obtained from him by the king at the instance of the University, Zbynek summoned the prelates and other ecclesiastics to the episcopal palace, and there, with doors guarded by armed men, set fire with his own hand to the pile of Wyclif's books.[2]

Well might a contemporary annalist say that the priests sung the *Te Deum* and rung a funeral knell over the flames, "in the expectation that they had now the end of all troubles, whereas by the permission of God, the righteous Judge, the troubles had but first taken their beginning." That knell was the death-note of peace and religious liberty, which were not restored even when the fire of civil strife was quenched by the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But we cannot stay to relate the early scenes of the strife, from the letters of mingled indignation and entreaty written by the king, queen, and nobles, to the Pope, to the outbreaks of the people, and the acts of violence with which they were punished by the clergy and monks.[3]

Hus continued preaching pending his appeal, while his envoys to Bologna could obtain no hearing;[4] and, on the expiration of the

[1] We regard the latter sense as the more consistent with the whole spirit and course of Hus's life; but in such a crisis it is useless to put the preacher's fervid words into the scales of criticism with the weights of another age and nation; nor, viewing his career as a whole, can we sympathize with those who deem it necessary to write of him, as of Wyclif, in the tone of apology.

[2] It was in consequence of the appeals made against this proceeding to the papal court, then at Bologna, that a meeting of Doctors at that city gave the opinion on Wyclif's writings already quoted (p. 633, n. [2]).

[3] The details may be read in Wratislaw, p. 140, f.

[4] Some of them were imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated; in particular, two of Hus's strongest and more advanced supporters, but afterwards his bitterest enemies, STEPHEN OF PALECZ and STANILAUS OF ZNAIM. Their change of sides, which was declared in the dispute about indulgences, is ascribed to their terror of the Pope's power, which they

term for his personal appearance there, a new excommunication was pronounced against him, with an interdict upon any place where he might be residing (Feb. 1411). The king's indignation and the Archbishop's obstinacy involved both in acts of severity and retaliation, till Zbynek consented to a compromise, but with more than doubtful sincerity; for he was on his way to invoke the intervention of Sigismund, now King of the Romans, when he died on September 28, 1411.[1]

§ 11. The installation of the new Archbishop, ALBIK, who had been the king's physican and was elected by his influence, was the occasion of a new crisis. The legates who brought his pall were the bearers of the Pope's bulls for the crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples, with a large indulgence to all who would aid it (May 1412).[2] Indulgences had been in ill odour at Prague since the great jubilee of 1390, and the scandalous bargains now offered caused general indignation. Hus preached, wrote, and disputed in the University, not only against the indulgence, but denouncing the sin of offering it for making war on a Christian prince. The growing resistance was mingled with acts of ridicule, culminating in a mock procession, in which papers like the bulls were carried with insult and burnt under the gallows (June 24th). Though the scene was got up by one of the King's favourites,[3] Wenceslaus seems to have become alarmed for the public order and the consequences of the Pope's anger; and, while forbidding any to speak against the bulls, under pain of death, he asked the advice of the Faculty of Theology, whose opinion, adadverse to Wyclif and Hus, was urged chiefly by Hus's former friends, Stephen Palecz and Stanilaus of Znaim. Encouraged by the king's new attitude, the aldermen, who were chiefly of the German party, arrested three youths who interrupted the preachers of the indulgence. Hus pleaded for them, saying that he, if any one, ought to suffer as the leader of the resistance; but no sooner had they quieted his remonstrances and the popular ferment by a

had felt at Bologna. Stanilaus died during the preparations for the Council, at which Stephen was one of the chief concocters of the articles against Hus.

[1] Sigismund had been elected in July, with the support of Wenceslaus. For the evidence of Zbynek's hostile intentions towards Wenceslaus, in seeking the "intercession" of Sigismund, see Wratislaw, pp. 156–8. We must be content to refer to the same work (pp. 159–161) for an episode of some importance with reference to the relations of England to Bohemia, namely the arrival of envoys from Henry IV., who used strong language against Wyclif, and Hus's disputations with them.

[2] Concerning the contest between John XXIII. and Ladislaus, see p. 151.

[3] The Lord Woksa of Waldstein. Afterwards at Constance the whole blame was thrown on Jerome of Prague. Hus himself appears to have had no part in it.

promise of mercy, than the youths were led forth to execution.[1] Their fate exasperated the people, and Hus proclaimed them martyrs from the pulpit; while Wenceslaus, enraged at the defiance of his authority, threatened to behead a thousand such rioters if they were found.

§ 12. In this state of affairs, when the renewed sentence of excommunication against Hus, and of interdict on any place where he might be staying, arrived from Bologna (Aug. 1412),[2] Hus made that final appeal *Appeal to Christ*, which was charged upon him at Constance as a heresy, and, after some further proceedings, he withdrew from Prague to save the city from the interdict (Dec. 1412). His departure was followed by further attempts of the King for a reconciliation, on the one hand, and fresh condemnation by the Theological Faculty on the other; and at Candlemas (Feb. 2, 1413) a Council at Rome confirmed the excommunication and interdict, and condemned the works of Wyclif. From his refuge with a Bohemian nobleman, at a spot near the later stronghold of the Taborites, Hus kept up intercourse with Prague; and, among the many works in Latin, Bohemian, and German, which occupied his enforced leisure, he now wrote his most important treatise, *De Ecclesia*, in reply to an attack on his views by Stephen Palecz. We can but give a few leading points of this remarkable work, which must be judged by the light of its age, rather than of ours. Against the claim that the Pope is the head of the Church and the Cardinals its body, he maintains that the only *true* Church is the whole body of believers predestined to life, in the *past*, the *present*, and the *future*, embracing the three states of the Church triumphant, militant, and dormant.[3] This theory of a purely *invisible* Church, resting on a rigid doctrine of *predestination*, does not exclude the recognition of the visible Church. There are many *in* the Church, who are not *of* it; there are others *out of* the Church (as, for example) by ecclesiastical censures, who are yet *of* it; and as without special revelation no one can know that he is predestined, so none can know this of another; and hence the power of binding and loosing is of no effect except so far as it agrees with the judgment of God. The only head of the Church is Christ; but the Pope is

[1] These were the first lives taken in the long religious conflict in Bohemia.

[2] The details of the progress of the case at the Papal court may be read in Wratislaw, chap. vi.

[3] We have one illustration of the doctrinal orthodoxy which Hus always professed, in his consistent belief in Purgatory, which forms a remarkable part of his argument. Fuller accounts of this and Hus's other Latin works, than our space allows, will be found in Wratislaw, chap. xi., on "John Hus as a School Divine."

His vicar if he follows the example of Peter, the chief of the Apostles; but if he be covetous and corrupt, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot. Of the bodies which claim to be the visible Church, he decides in favour of Rome (another proof that he intended no schism or separation). He traces the source of worldliness, corruption, and simony in the Church, to the donation of Constantine (which he assumes as genuine), and, like Wyclif, seeks the remedy in poverty, humility, and obedience to the teaching of Holy Scripture. To the charge urged against him at Constance, that he nullified the Sacraments of the Church, by making them dependent on the holiness of the minister, he replied by the qualification (on which he shewed that his works insist) that, though no unworthy priest can be *in himself* a true minister, yet *instrumentally* his ministrations are valid by the Divine power;[1] and thus, in the Eucharist, he affirmed the reality of consecration by the power of God, while denying any such power in the priest.[2] The rule of the Church for faith and practice is the supreme authority of Scripture; but there is never a suggestion that a clean sweep should be made of the doctrine and tradition of the Church, to build up a new system from Scripture. He stedfastly professed his willingness to accept the doctrine of the Church, and his desire to be taught if he was in error. The vehement attack of Gerson in the following year, especially upon the work *On the Church*, and his letter to Conrad, the new Archbishop of Prague,[3] urging him to the rooting out of heresy, were true signs of the answer which was to be given at Constance.

To the same period, both before and during his exile, belong the most important of his tracts in the Bohemian language, which, but lately made known to the world, have for the first time revealed his power and character, and thrown quite a new light on the practical side of his teaching.[4] "We can now understand this extraordinary man, not only as school divine and a controversialist among theologians, but as a living and moving power in his own country."[5] Chief

[1] Here we trace the influence of Wyclif's theory of dominion.

[2] We have in this controversy another example of his orthodoxy with respect to the reverence due to the Blessed Virgin, in his reply to the boast of certain priests, that, whereas she once gave birth to Christ, they could create him at their pleasure.

[3] Albik had resigned before the end of 1412, to escape the growing troubles of his diocese.

[4] After the fatal epoch of 1620, the Jesuit missionaries were active in the destruction of Bohemian books.

[5] Wratislaw, chap. xii., where a full account is given of Hus's Bohemian works. The almost complete absence of his predestinarian theory in these works shows that it belonged to his scholastic divinity rather than his view of practical religion; but he dwells on election.

of these are the longer and shorter expositions of the *Creed*, the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Lord's Prayer*, exhibiting, as he sets forth in his preface, the three things necessary for salvation: *faith* (that is, chiefly, belief of the *truth*), obedience to God's *law*, and *prayer* to God. In the latter part of 1413 he completed his *Postilla*, or Expositions of the Gospels for the Sundays and Saints' Days of the ecclesiastical year. He is seen in his more polemical aspect in his work *On Simony*, an unsparing exposure of the corruptions of the clergy, mingled with bitter reflections on passing events; and in his tract *On Six Errors*, which he composed during a visit to Prague in the spring of 1414, and inscribed on the walls of his chapel (Bethlehem) to be constantly before the eyes of the people. His former protector having now died, he made his last retreat to the castle of another friendly nobleman at Krakovetz.

§ 13. We have traced the events which forced John XXIII. to concur with Sigismund in convening the COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.[1] At the interview at Lodi the Pope and Cæsar would doubtless discuss the heresy, which was one chief question to be laid before the Fathers; and there seems no reason, at this first stage, to doubt Sigismund's sincere desire to have the question settled by the hearing of Hus before a Council of professed reformers, to which he had been summoned by the Pope.[2] The negociations

[1] See Chap. X. § 4.

[2] On the great question of the imperial safe-conduct, a few words must be added to the note on p. 155. It has been said that it was only a protection against illegal violence, needed especially on the journey through Germany, but with the very object of abiding by the judgment of the Council. To which the reply is: (1) From the avowed purpose of the promise under which Hus left the powerful protection of Wenceslaus and the Bohemian nobles. (2) From the express terms of the document—"*ut ei transire, stare, morari, redire permittatis*,"—the granting of which, *with the reservation suggested*, would have been even worse perfidy than its actual violation. (3) The plain sense is confirmed by contrast with the safeguard offered by the Council to Jerome, *expressly reserving any sentence they might pass on him*. (4) If the suggested meaning had been even so much as thought of, where was there any ground for Sigismund's first indignation, and all the urgency and casuistry by which his consent was gained? (5) Not only did he himself never plead so simple and perfect a justification, but he refused even to avail himself of the excuse that Hus went without waiting for the safe-conduct, and he acknowledged its full force. (6) The allegation that Hus never appealed to it is simply untrue, for he did so on both occasions when the king was present at his trial, on the last day fixing his eyes on Sigismund; and, as the eye-witnesses tell us, the King blushed visibly. (7) The conscience of wrong which that blush betrayed is traced in Sigismund's own conduct; for it is not enough to say that he left Hus to be dealt with by the Council: he urged them to make an end of the obstinate heretic, joined in browbeating, taunting, and upbraiding him, as choosing his fate; and finally gave the sentence of death with his own lips.

were conducted through Bohemian nobles who favoured Hus, and had the confidence of the king, two of whom deserve remembrance for their stedfast adherence to him to the end: the Lords Wenceslaus of Dubna and John of Chlum. King Wenceslaus consented to his brother's application for the attendance of Hus; but his little sympathy with the Council seems proved by his sending no envoys, so that the lords who attended Hus were unable to offer any official remonstrance. Hus himself had always professed his desire to appeal to a General Council and to abide by its decision, and his course was determined by the same conscience and resolve not to bring scandal on the cause, which we shall find governing his final choice of the death he had even now in prospect. For, besides the warnings of his friends, we have several other indications of the foresight which led him to write that he intended humbly to *risk his life*, and appear at Constance under the protection of the king's safe-conduct (August). Going first to Prague, he presented himself before a synod held by the Archbishop, who declared that he had no charge of heresy to bring against him, and he also obtained certificates of orthodoxy from the king and the papal inquisitor, to whom he submitted himself for examination. The enemies, who would not confront Hus before the Archbishop, procured written evidence against him from alleged private conversations as well as his public teachings; and, having obtained copies of this evidence from friends, he again showed what sort of a trial he expected by drawing up answers, to be read after his departure, proving them to be false or garbled, and disavowing the opinions imputed to him. The same foresight was shewn in a farewell letter to his friends "in order that, knowing his opinions, they might not be dispirited if he were condemned for any imputed heresy" (Oct. 10).[1]

§ 14. Travelling through Germany, with the lords John and Henry of Chlum, while Wenceslaus of Dubna went to Sigismund for the promised safe-conduct,[2] Hus held frequent discussions, and was well received, notwithstanding the national feud at Prague. We have seen his reception at Constance,[3] where a chief instigator

[1] In his sermon at Jerome's sentence, the Bishop of Lodi stated the principles of evidence against heretics: "Any witnesses whatever, *even of evil repute*, as ruffians, thieves, harlots, ought to be received against them; yea, if that were not enough, they ought to be *tortured with various tortures* until they acknowledged their errors."

[2] Sigismund granted the safe-conduct at Spires on the 14th of October, though it did not reach Constance till after Hus's arrival.

[3] See pp. 155, 158, and the general account of the Council (Chap. X.). The full details of his imprisonment and trial may be read in Wratislaw, chaps. viii.–x.

of the steps taken against him was his renegade friend, Stephen Palecz. After six months' close and wearing imprisonment, he was brought before the Council on three days[1] for the mockery of a trial, perhaps unexampled even in the history of heresy; a trial which has been called, by no rhetorical figure, "not hearing, but jeering;" the French "reforming" Doctors, headed by Cardinal D'Ailly,[2] being foremost in browbeating and clamorous interruption. The spirit of the whole proceeding was exposed by Jerome on his trial, when, having cited the persecutions of philosophers, apostles, prophets, and martyrs, he added, "And forsooth if it is unrighteousness when this is done by foreigners or natives to an ordinary person, it is a greater unrighteousness when one priest suffers from another, and the greatest unrighteousness when *a priest is given up to death by a council of priests from malice and hatred.*" This is the peculiarity of these two cases amidst the long records of religious persecution. We can understand the zeal which puts the clear issue on some distinct doctrine or observance deemed necessary to salvation. But few, perhaps, who revere the names of Hus and Jerome as martyrs for the truth, are aware that *that issue* was not the real one throughout their trials. Of doctrinal censure there was scarcely a pretence, much less of the corrective argument to which Hus offered to submit. His exposure of the false and garbled evidence—like the false witnesses at Jerusalem who could not even agree together[3]—by reference to his real statements, his declarations of his true opinions, and protestations of conscience, were overborne by the rule, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established," while not a witness was heard in his behalf. In fine, all came to this one point, that he must confess and abjure all that was charged against him by the witnesses, whether he had held and taught it or not. When Sigismund plainly stated the two ways open,—to abjure, recant, and submit to the mercy of the Council, or, if he held to his errors, "the Council and Doctors have their laws as to what they ought finally to do with you," Hus summed up his whole case in the reply, "Most serene Prince! I do not wish to hold any error, but to submit to the determination of the Council; only not to offend my

[1] June 5th, 7th, and 8th, 1415, besides the day of final sentence and execution, July 6th.

[2] D'Ailly repeatedly interrupted Hus's statement and the explanatory extracts from his works by the exclamation, "See how much worse it is than what hath been articled."

[3] Matt. xxvi. 59–62; Mark xiv. 55–60. The parallel is the more striking, as the Doctors and the King rested the whole case on this evidence, reiterating, like the High Priest, "What is it which these witness against thee?"

conscience by saying that I have held errors which I have never held, and which never entered into my heart." It was not a question of true or false belief, but of submission to the will of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, who had deposed three Popes;[1] and if ever there was a martyr to the pure principle of *conscience*, rather than to any dogma, it was JOHN HUS. Even when friendly mediators suggested an escape by the abjuration of the heresies charged, without admitting that he had held them, he saw the fallacy of the subterfuge, which he rejected because such an abjuration would combine perjury, apostacy, and scandal. Referring to the example of Eleazar,[2] "a man of the old law, who would not *lyingly admit* that he had eaten flesh forbidden by the law, *lest he should act against God and leave an evil example to posterity*," he asked, "How should I, a priest of the new law, though an unworthy one, for fear of a punishment which will soon be over, be willing to transgress the law of God more grievously, (1) *by withdrawing from the truth*; (2) *by committing perjury*; (3) *by scandalizing my neighbours*. Indeed it is better for me to die than, by avoiding a momentary punishment, to fall into the hands of the Lord, and perhaps afterwards into fire and everlasting reproach." Nor, probably, did he believe that recantation would save him from such perfidy as afterwards befel Cranmer.[3] These efforts were made during a pause occasioned by a letter of remonstrance to Sigismund, bearing 250 seals of the Bohemian nobles;[4] and later events proved how

[1] It is noteworthy that Cardinal Zabarella, the leader of the Papal party, shewed a better disposition towards Hus than the French and German reforming doctors. He it was who, on the last day of the trial, made the offer of a qualified form of submission.

[2] 2 Maccabees vi. This is from Hus's letter in reply to the confession drawn up for him by the friendly "father" (see the whole in Wratislaw, pp. 312–315). Observe also the simple emphasis of his reply to Sigismund's suggestion: "Listen, Hus! Why should you refuse to abjure all the erroneous articles of which you speak because witnesses have deposed wrongfully against you? *I am willing to abjure all errors*; yet because I do not wish to hold any error, it is not necessary that I have previously held one." Hus replied: "Lord King! *This is not the meaning of the word 'to abjure.'*" If there is something of the schoolman here, there is more of honest truth and enlightened conscience.

[3] For his farewell letters to Bohemia, in the sure prospect of death, see Wratislaw, pp. 316–319. One passage is prophetic: "I think that after my death there will be a great persecution in the land of Bohemia of those who serve God faithfully, if God doth not apply His hand through the secular lords, whom He has enlightened in His law more than the spiritual ones."

[4] The letter was read at the session of June 12th. Palecz took advantage of the absence of the King's participation in this act, and it is not known whether Wenceslaus made any effort on Hus's behalf. Wratislaw cites a document to prove that he probably did so (p. 321),

much reason Sigismund had to fear the resentment of his future subjects. But the danger of breaking up the Council was instant; and we can trace, both in king and Council, the passion influenced by resistance,—"*odisse quem læseris.*"

On the 1st of July Hus briefly repeated in writing the grounds of his decision to a commission charged to receive his final answer, and on the 6th he was brought up for sentence at the 15th session in the Cathedral.[1] His final appeal to God was denounced as heresy; his prayer for the pardon of his enemies was treated with derision. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Lodi from the text, "*That the body of sin may be destroyed*" (Rom. vi. 6); and when they committed his soul to the devil, he replied, "But I commit it to God, the righteous judge." After an insulting degradation from the priesthood, he was led forth to a meadow outside the town, amidst a crowd of people to whom he declared his faith and innocence; and some said to one another, "What or what manner of things he hath done or said formerly, we know not; but now we see and hear that he prayeth and speaketh holy words." To a last offer of mercy, before the faggots piled round him to the neck were kindled, he replied, "God is my witness, that I have never taught or preached the things which have been laid to my charge by false witnesses; but the principal intention of my preaching and of all my other actions and writings has simply been to draw men back from sin, and in that truth of the Gospel, which I have written, taught, and preached, according to the sayings of the holy Doctors, I am willingly joyfully this day to die." The flames soon cut short his last prayers; and his death was speedy. His clothes were thrown into the fire, and every vestige of his remains reduced to ashes and thrown into the Rhine, "that nothing might remain on earth of so execrable a heretic."[2]

§ 15. Nearly twelve months later the like scene was repeated on

and he was certainly much grieved at Hus's fate. The letter of the nobles was accompanied by one from the University of Prague to the Cardinals, interceding both for Hus and Jerome.

[1] We cannot omit the noble advice of his stedfast friend John of Chlum, who went to the prison the day before with the Lord Wenceslaus and four bishops, to receive Hus's decision at the last moment: "See, Master John! We are laymen and cannot advise you; look therefore if you feel yourself guilty in any of the matters laid to your charge, that you fear not to be instructed with regard to them and recant. If, however, your conscience tells you that you are not guilty, do not in any wise act against your conscience or lie in the sight of God. but rather stand even unto death in the truth which you have known." When Hus answered as before, one of the bishops said, "See how obstinate he is in his heresy!"

[2] The details of Hus's trial and execution are derived chiefly from an eye-witness, his secretary Mladenowitz.

the same spot; and the victim was of a spirit as noble if less innocent. Not that the more impulsive character of Jerome was ever sullied, except by the two acts of his breach of faith and his recantation. In one of his journeys to proclaim his principles alike to kings and people, he visited Vienna at the time of the measures taken against the Wyclifite heresy by Alexander V. and continued by John XXIII. (1410). He was arrested, but shewing, it is said, signs of recantation, he was released on a solemn oath to abide his trial; but he escaped into Moravia, and repaid the confidence of the bishop's official by a letter of excuse for not keeping a promise extorted from him by force. The censure, which we must pass on his breach of faith, would ill beseem those who themselves acted on the principle, that no faith should be kept with heretics. After the burning of the bulls at Prague, Jerome visited Lithuania and Poland, causing at Cracow, we are told, "more sensation among the clergy and people than had been excited in that diocese within the memory of man." These visits led to the twofold charge, of sympathy with the Greek heresy, and of seeking converts to his own.

Notwithstanding the dissuasion sent by Hus to the zealous friends who were eager to join him when the news of his arrest reached Prague, Jerome appeared at Constance early in April 1415; but he was persuaded to retire to a neighbouring town, whence he addressed letters to Sigismund and the Council, requesting a safe-conduct and hearing. After waiting some days, he had started on his return to Bohemia, when the Council published in Constance a citation, to which was added a safe-conduct against violence, but not against due course of law; and, when charged with contumacy on his trial, he declared that he would gladly have obeyed the citation had he known of it. He was recognized and arrested at Hirschau, in the dominions of the Count Palatine, John (son of Rupert, the late emperor and enemy of Wenceslaus), who sent him back to Constance, where he was brought in heavy chains before the Council (May 23rd); and, as we have had occasion to mention, he was assailed with special animosity by Gerson and others whom he had formerly met in scholastic disputations. He now offered to defend the same opinions before the Council, adding (like Hus), "if it be proved that there is aught erroneous therein, I will gladly amend it, and also humbly receive better instruction." The cry was raised, "Burn him! burn him!"[1] "No!" said the

[1] We have a curious record of Sigismund's feeling towards Jerome in a conversation (on the last day of Hus's trial, June 8th) with some of the cardinals and bishops, whom the King advised to put no faith in recantations, which would only be followed by a new diffusion of heresy in Bohemia, Poland, &c. "Therefore," he said, "make an end also with

English bishop of Salisbury, Robert Hallam; "for it is written, 'I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.'" The wish seemed to be fulfilled, when, after Hus's execution and an examination of the articles framed against Jerome (July 19th), fear and physical distress from his severe imprisonment broke down his fortitude, and he twice made a public recantation, renouncing the doctrines of Wyclif and declaring the righteousness of Hus's condemnation (Sept. 11th and 23rd). He promised to write to the same effect to the King and Queen and Lords of Bohemia.[1] Cardinals d'Ailly and Zabarella, who were of the commission named to judge him, were in favour of his release; but this was opposed by "the faithless renegade," Stephen Palecz, and by the powerful voice of Gerson, who wrote a treatise to show that recantation must always leave a man under suspicion of heresy.

The two cardinals retired in disgust[2] from the commission (Feb. 1416), and Jerome, refusing to give answers satisfactory to the more hostile judges, demanded a public hearing before the Council. One pregnant sentence of his sums up the whole nature of Hus's trial as well as his own: "Ye wish to condemn me wrongfully and miserably, *without any certain charge.*" This was the exact truth, though no less than 107 articles were preferred against him on his two days' trial (May 23rd and 26th), of which we have the two vivid reports of eye-witnesses, in Latin and Bohemian.[3] We have cited Poggio's admiring testimony to his eloquence and ability (§ 6), but that is not all: "Many he smote with jests; many with invectives; many he frequently compelled to laugh in what was no

his other secret disciples and favourers, because I am soon about to depart, and especially with *that fellow who is detained here in prison.*" They said, "Jerome?" He said, "Yes, Jerome! We'll make a finish with him in less than a day. It will be an easier matter, for the other is his master, and that Jerome his scholar." Then he added: "Verily I was still young when that sect arose and began in Bohemia, and see to what magnitude it has grown and multiplied!" Here the King is clearly regarding the reformers with animosity as political disturbers.

[1] We have his letter to the lords (in Wratislaw, pp. 394–5); the others he delayed, and finally refused to write. The letter, addressed to one of the three lords of the Bohemian union, is the only extant piece of his writing in Bohemian. His remains in Latin are printed in the *Acta et Monumenta*, &c.

[2] Dr. Naz (*Nasus*, i.e. "Nosey"), one of Hus's and Jerome's bitterest enemies, insinuated that they were bribed by Wenceslaus and the heretics. Is it not reasonable to suppose that Jerome's ability—perhaps, too, the conviction that the questions at issue were more scholastic than religious—inspired them with a generous feeling which is conspicuously wanting in their colleague, Gerson, the "Doctor Christianissimus"?

[3] The substance of the Bohemian narrative, which agrees in all essential points with Poggio's, is given by Wratislaw, chap. xiii.

laughing matter, by jeering at the reproaches made to him by his adversaries. . . . This, however, was a token of the greatest intellectual power, that, when his discourse was frequently interrupted and he was assailed with various outcries by some who carped at his sentiments, not one of them did he leave unscathed, and, chastising them all alike, compelled them either to blush or to hold their peace.[1] . . . His voice was sweet, clear, and sonorous; with a certain dignified oratorical gesticulation, either to express indignation or to move compassion, which, however, he neither asked for nor wished to obtain." It seems, indeed, that he might have had it for the asking; for, in the early part of his defence, many felt themselves inclined to his liberation.

But Jerome had come there (like Cranmer at St. Mary's) with quite another purpose. After a glowing eulogy of Hus, he summed up his confession by avowing that "whatsoever Master John Hus and Master John Wyclif had preached against the wickedness, pride, malice, ruffianism, and avarice of the priesthood, all this he held and would hold unto death. As regarded the other articles of the Christian faith, he held and believed them all according to the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, assenting to no error or heresy." Finally, confessing the sin most heavy on his conscience, he said, standing "in that villainous and accursed pulpit, wherein in his recantation for fear of death he had assented to the unrighteous condemnation of Master John Hus, a holy man, he cancelled, annulled, and revoked that recantation." At this they raised the cry, "Now hath he condemned himself!" and after two days, during which Zabarella and others made a last effort to overcome his resolution, he was brought into the cathedral on the Saturday before Ascension Day (May 30th); where, called on to abide by his first recantation, he repeated his belief of "all the articles of the Christian faith, as the Holy Catholic Church holds and believes," and, declaring that his exposure of the vices of the clergy was the motive of his death, as of the condemnation of the two Masters,[2] he ended, "God's will be done: but I will not act against my conscience; for I know that in what they have written against the disorders and unrighteousness of the priesthood, they have set

[1] Thus, when one of them insultingly replied to his denial of any agreement with Wyclif's doctrine of the Eucharist, "Why deniest thou this? Anyhow it is a manifest thing," Jerome shouted, "Silence! hypocritical monk!" This one being silenced, another said, with a great outcry, "*I swear it on my conscience*, as to what thou deniest, that it is so!" Jerome retorted, "Thus to swear on one's conscience is often the safest way to deceive."

[2] Remember that the Council had condemned Wyclif's works, and ordered the burning of his bones.

down the truth." He walked cheerfully to the stake, chanting the Catholic Creed, and singing other hymns, *both of the Mother of God and of other saints*, and from the very spot where Hus had suffered he reiterated to the people his belief in the faith he had just chanted, and the true cause of his death, because he would not condemn that "honourable and holy man and preacher of the faith of God's law and of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Like Hus, he prayed aloud till "the flame struck him, and he prayed within himself a good while, and thus doing he died." If the admiration of Æneas Sylvius and Poggio is tinged with the growing heathenism of the age, it is at least impartial and sincere.[1]

§ 16. The ashes of Jerome, like those of Hus, were thrown into the Rhine, lest a relic of the martyrs should remain. Rather might we imagine them "sprinkled towards heaven" by the prophet's hand, to break forth throughout all the land of Bohemia;[2] but we can only glance at the plague of religious war, of which the germs were cast abroad at Constance.[3] The indignation of the people was vehement. Medals were struck in honour of Hus, and a yearly festival was established to commemorate both martyrs. The faithlessness of Sigismund had provoked the firm resolve,[4] "we will not have this man to reign over us"; and the death of Wenceslaus, three years later, brought the Bohemian reformers into conflict with Hungary, the Empire, and the Papacy. But the religious and national uprising did not await that signal. The communication from the Council of its dealings with Hus was answered in a letter of vehement reproach by a meeting of Bohemian and Moravian noblemen, who bound themselves by an engagement for six years to uphold true and scriptural doctrines (Sept. 1415). But what did this mean? We are dealing with an age when not even the teaching of Hus had imbued the popular mind with abstract religious principles, such as Luther's "article of a standing or falling Church,"—Justification by Faith. The supreme authority of Scripture, freedom to preach the Gospel, and reform of the corruptions of the Church, were indeed their cardinal principles, but a more concrete

[1] "He stood," says Poggio of Jerome, "fearless and dauntless, not merely despising. but even desiring death, so that you would have said he was another Cato"; and Æneas Sylvius testifies of both martyrs, "Nemo philosophorum tam forti animo mortem pertulisse traditur, quam isti incendium" (*Hist. Bohem.* c. 36).

[2] See Exodus ix. 8, 9.

[3] The details may be read in Gieseler (vol. v.), who, as usual, gives valuable extracts from the original authorities; and in Robertson, vol. iv.

[4] He made an attempt at conciliation by a letter assuring the Bohemians that he had been unable to protect Hus.

and tangible symbol was wanted, and was at hand. One of the false charges brought against Hus at Constance was the advocacy of "communion in both kinds," instead of the administration of the bread only to the laity (see p. 326). The practice had in fact been begun (late in 1414) by his friend Jacobellus,[1] after his own departure for Constance; but he approved and maintained it when questioned; and it was formally condemned by the Council (June 14th, 1415), but supported by the University of Prague.[2] While Wenceslaus only partly allayed the excitement by giving up some churches for the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, the Council sent forth new decrees and emissaries to enforce them; and the new Pope, Martin V. entrusted his bull for the suppression of heresy (Feb. 1418) to a legate whose violence only exasperated the Bohemians. The contest began to assume the aspect of a civil war; for, though the reforming party was by far the more numerous, the Catholics were strong among the greater nobles and the burghers of German origin; and both sides proceeded to deeds of violence. As usual in such a crisis, an extreme party arose among the reformers; and while the more moderate were known, from the chief symbol common to all, as *Calixtines* or *Utraquists*,[3] the zealots, who rejected most of the traditional system of the Church, assumed the name of *Taborites*,[4] from their stronghold on the hill near Aust (the former retreat of Hus), where a vast multitude assembled in the open air to celebrate the communion at 300 uncovered altars with wooden chalices (July 22nd, 1419).

[1] Jacobellus de Misa (James of Mies), Æn. Sylv., *Hist. Bohem.* c. 35. He is said to have been influenced by some expressions thrown out by Mathias of Janow.

[2] For Hus's declaration, see Wratislaw, p. 311. Von der Hardt gives the decree of the Council (iii. 646), and the *Apologia* of Jacobellus in reply to it (iii. 591, *f.*). The manifesto of the University (March 10, 1417) is in the *Acta et Monum.* ii. 539.

[3] From *calix*, the "cup" or "chalice," and *sub utraque specie*, "under both kinds." Their strength lay in the University and city of Prague and among the reforming nobles.

[4] The name was applied to the hill from the *booths* (in Bohemian, *Tabor*) which sheltered the assembled people; but the coincidence with Tabor in Palestine (the traditional Mount of Transfiguration) was eagerly welcomed, and Scriptural names were applied to other places in Bohemia. With the Taborites were mingled many Waldensians who had found refuge in Bohemia, and other sectaries called by the name of Beghards, corrupted into *Picards*. But this name was chiefly used to stigmatize those who denied any real presence in the Eucharist, and regarded the elements as mere bread and wine—a doctrine which even the Taborites zealously rejected, expelling such "Picards" from Mount Tabor. Some of the extremer fanatics were even massacred by Ziska (1421); but for all this the enemies of the Taborites fastened on them the odious name of Picards.

Thence they marched on Prague by night, plundered some convents, drove the magistrates out of the town-hall, killing several of them, and had a fierce fight with the Catholic people of the Old Town. The shock of these scenes brought on Wenceslaus a fatal fit of apoplexy; and he was hastily buried with scant ceremony (Aug. 1419).

§ 17. Sigismund was too sharply pressed in the defence of Hungary against the Turks, to enforce his rights as his brother's successor; and Bohemia became a prey to a ferocious war of factions. The Taborites had a leader of ability matched only by his ruthlessness, in John of Trocnow, surnamed ZISKA, who had been a page of Wenceslaus, and had acquired experience in the Polish wars, where he is said to have lost an eye; but even his total blindness (in 1421) gave no check to his career. He taught his undisciplined followers to make a fortified camp of their waggons, and to use their clubs and flails with effect against lance and sword. His ability, and the power he infused into his followers, were proved in the thrice-repeated defeats of the vast armies which Sigismund led into Bohemia on a Crusade proclaimed by Pope Martin V. (1420); and, after Ziska's death of the plague (1424), the like successes were gained by the new leaders, the Great and Lesser Procopius, against the crusading armies led by the English Cardinal Beaufort (1427), and by the legate Julian Cæsarini, whose signal overthrow at Tauss (Aug. 14, 1431)[2] led to the admission of Bohemian delegates to the Council of Basle, where the chief demands of the Calixtine party were conceded by the agreement called *Compactata* (1433).[3] The resistance of the Taborites was quelled in battle at Lipan by the Calixtines (1434), and Sigismund, at length recognized as king, had begun to betray his old faithlessness, when his death renewed the conflict (Dec. 1437); but we must leave to special histories the details of the struggle, which lasted for two centuries.

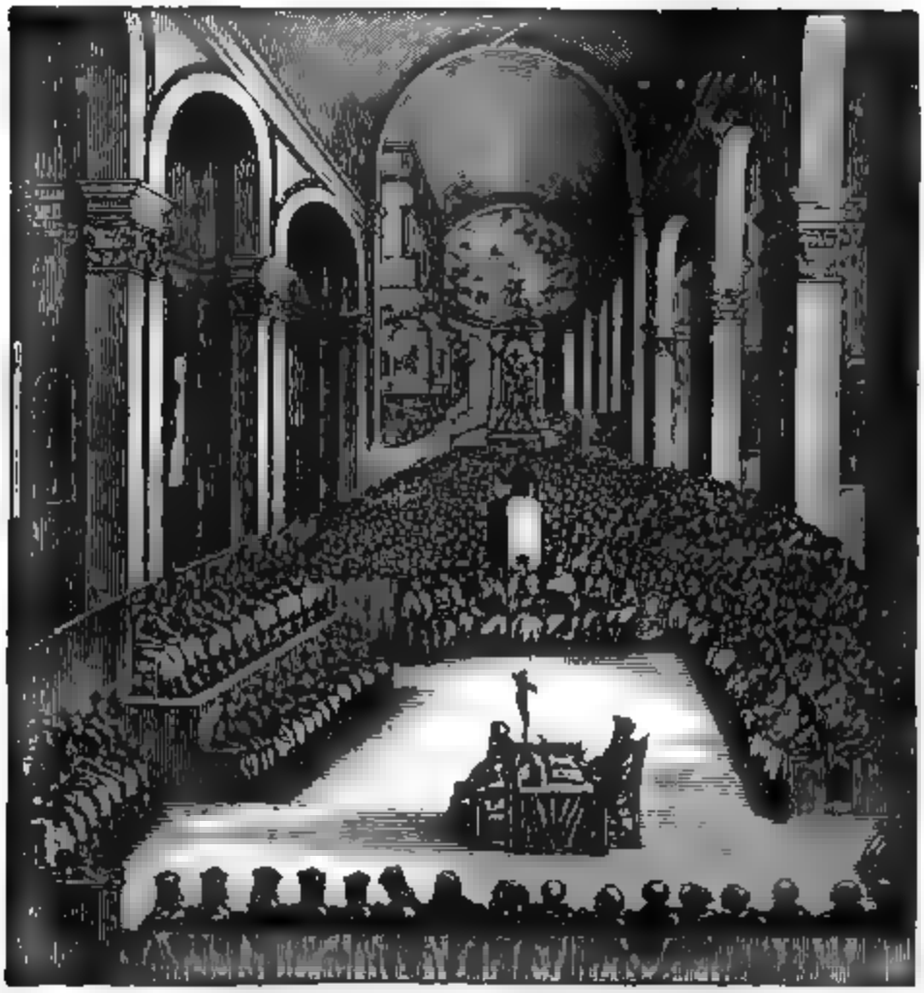
[1] For the atrocities committed in the ensuing war, by Sigismund on the one side and Ziska on the other, and the destruction inflicted on the flourishing state of Bohemia, see Robertson, vol. iv. pp. 389, 390.

[2] See Chap. XI. § 5, p. 172. We are compelled to pass over the entangled details of the internal struggles of parties who united against the common enemy.

[3] The *Compactata* were founded, though with considerable modifications, on the *Four Articles of Prague*, drawn up by the moderate party in 1420, after Sigismund's first great defeat, and accepted (at least provisionally) by him and Archbishop Conrad: (1) Freedom of preaching the word of God; (2) the Eucharist in both kinds; (3) the clergy to be deprived of secular lordship and temporalities; (4) all deadly sins and other disorders to be forbidden and extirpated, especially those of a public kind, including the exaction of fees by the clergy. The *Compactata* were annulled by Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), but little regard was paid to his decree (1462).

§ 18. The crown of Bohemia was elective; and it was only by force of arms that Albert of Austria was established as Sigismund's successor (1438). He died next year; and another civil contest resulted in the acknowledgment of his posthumous son Ladislaus, under the regency of a native noble, GEORGE OF PODIEBRAD, who was elected king on the early death of Ladislaus (1458). He held an even balance between the two religious parties, and successfully withstood the encroachments of Pius II. and the crusade proclaimed by Paul III. His death in 1471 gave the signal for new troubles, till the crown came finally to the house of Austria by the election (1527) of Ferdinand (brother of Charles V. and his successor in the empire), who had married the sister of the late king. The Catholic zeal of Ferdinand I. and his successor Maximilian II. was moderated by policy; but Rudolf II., a pupil of the Jesuits, provoked a revolt, which wrung from him the *Royal Charter* (*Majestätsbrief*), securing religious freedom (1609). At this time we are told that out of every hundred Bohemians scarcely one or two were Catholics. But under the Emperor Matthias (1612) and his brother Ferdinand II., who was elected King of Bohemia in 1617, the attempt to evade the Charter provoked the revolt which began the *Thirty Years' War* (1618). The unfortunate Elector Palatine, Frederick, the "Winter King," whom the Bohemians chose in 1619, was utterly defeated at Prague within a year, and Bohemia was finally subjected to the house of Austria, to whose mercy its civil and religious liberties were left by the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648). The Calixtines were for the most part re-united to the Catholic Church, while the remnant of the Taborites, mingled with Waldensian refugees, and purified by persecution and adversity, still survive in the Evangelic sect of the *Bohemian*, afterwards absorbed in the *Moravian Brethren*,[1] which has been illustrated in our time and country by the poetry of JAMES MONTGOMERY and the science of MICHAEL FARADAY, whose varied gifts were harmonized in their simple piety.

[1] Or, according to their own proper name, *Unitas Fratrum*. Their society was first formed about 1450, and separated from the Catholic Church in 1457, distinctly on the ground of evangelical doctrine (as they wrote to the Archbishop of Prague, "non propter cærimonias aliquas et ritus, sed propter *malam et corruptam doctrinam*"). Their leading principles were the authority of Scripture and the law of love. For their view of the Eucharist as simply commemorative, rejecting any "real presence" save purely spiritual, they were stigmatized by Luther as heretical, but he afterwards regarded them more favourably. (Camerarius, *Narratio de Fratrum Orthodox. Ecclesiis in Bohem. et Morav.* (about 1570), Heidelb. 1605; Carpzov, *Religions untersuchungen d. Böhm. u. Mähr. Brüder*, Leipz. 1742; and other works cited by Hase, p. 369.)



Council of Trent. From a photograph of an old picture which used to hang in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Trent.

CHAPTER XLI.

SUMMARY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

CENTURY XVI.

§ 1. "*Where was Protestantism before Luther?*"—His own Answer—Causes of the Reformation: not mechanical, but spontaneous. § 2. State of Western Christendom at the epoch of LUTHER'S Birth. § 3. Reformers between Hus and Luther—Luther "a Hussite without knowing it. § 4. The *Humanists*—Erasmus's Greek Testament—The Indulgence of Leo X.—Luther's 95 *Theses*—PHILIP MELANCHTHON. § 5. Luther's *Three Primary Works*—He burns the Pope's Bull. § 6. The Diets of *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Augsburg*—The *Augsburg Confession*—League of Schmalkald and Peace of Nuremberg. § 7. The *Swiss Reformation*: ULRICH ZWINGLI—Luther and Zwingli. § 8. The Reformation in *France* and at *Geneva*—JOHN CALVIN: his *Institutes*. § 9. Roman Catholic Reformers—Failure of the Conference at Ratis-

bon. § 10. LOYOLA, XAVIER, and the *Society of Jesus.* § 12. The COUNCIL OF TRENT—The Schmalkaldic War—Peace of Augsburg—Sequel down to the Peace of Westphalia.

§ 1. IN the history of the five hundred years traversed in this volume, or rather of the fifteen centuries of the Christian Church, we have the answer to the challenge, so often put with an air of triumph—"*Where was Protestantism before* MARTIN LUTHER?" Nor can a better reply be given than his own:[1] "And now I perceive for the first time that some of our learned divines at Wittenberg speak boastfully as though we had made *a new discovery*, as if there had not been men before now in other places. Truly there have been such men; but the wrath of God, caused by our sins, has not suffered us to be worthy to see and hear them. For it is clear that in the Universities no such questions have been handled; hence it followed that *the Word of God has not only been laid on the shelf*, but almost destroyed by dust and moths."

We have seen how, in the whole system of the Church, in the teaching of the Schoolmen, in the failure of the Councils, the deliberate refusal of reformation brought to a crisis the elements of revolution, which gathered in a portentous mass from all the various quarters of the social, political, and ecclesiastical horizon. It is for the general historian to trace the wide and deep secular movements of the age, in the progress of civilization, commerce, and the desire of liberty; the breaking down of feudalism and the beginning of emancipation among the peasantry; the separation of the European states from the Empire of Rome, a sure sign of revolt from her spiritual supremacy and the formation of national churches; and the marvellous re-awakening of intellectual life. What we are more especially concerned with is the twofold current of ecclesiastical and doctrinal development; the climax of abuses, after a vain effort to reform them—vain because on principles essentially faulty—culminating in the most corrupt and wicked state of the Papacy; simultaneous with the silent and steady progress, though outwardly suppressed, of a genuine reformation on spiritual and scriptural principles, far more searching than even the most thorough ecclesiastical amendment.[2]

[1] In his Preface to the *Theologia Germanica*, to which he owns his obligations as next to the Bible and St. Augustine. (See p. 566.)

[2] In this brief summary we make no attempt to cite the vast array of works on the Reformation (the chief titles are given by Gieseler and Hase); but, besides the ordinary text-books, special mention may be made of two convenient and excellent manuals—Archdeacon Hardwick's second vol., *Hist. of the Christian Church during the Reformation*, and

And here it is well, once for all, to expose the fallacy, that the mighty changes of the sixteenth century could have been caused by any external forces, whether the energy of Luther, the subtilty of Calvin, the tyrannous will and corrupt motives of Henry VIII. Such causes were as inadequate as the command of Canute to the sea; nor could any mere mechanical impulse have been lasting, even if momentarily successful. The much-abused word *evolution* —fallacious as it is when prating of effects without causes, and setting aside moral law and providential government—may be properly applied to the long train of events in the Medieval Church, of which we have now to trace the consequences in the era of the Reformation. This is the present terminus of our work—not to embark on the wide history itself—but only to mark it in brief outline as the culminating epoch of Medieval Christianity; the new starting point from which modern ecclesiastical history branches out at once into that of the *various national Churches*, and of the *various religious bodies and opinions*, both without and within the Church which still claims the name of Roman Catholic.[1]

§ 2. The new state of Western Christendom[2] during the closing years of the fifteenth century is marked by some coincidences well worth noting. The *epoch of Luther's birth* (Nov. 10th, 1483) was also that of the death of Louis XI. and of Edward IV. and the transition from the last struggles of feudalism to the reign of despotic monarchy in France and England; the final stage of the long decline of the imperial power under Frederick III.; the climax of the new splendour of art and letters at Florence and Rome, and also of the abominations of the Papacy under Sixtus IV. It had been lately preceded by the invention of printing, and was immediately followed by the discovery of America.

§ 3. We have seen that the efforts for a pure and scriptural reformation survived in the Waldenses, the Lollards, and the Bohemians, besides other centres of spiritual light; and there are some names worthy of special commemoration, bridging over the

Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution*. A general outline is given in the *Student's Hist. of Modern Europe*, and of the English and French Reformations in the *Student's Hume* and the *Student's History of France*.

[1] Once for all, we adopt this name in preference to the ambiguous "Catholic," as both inoffensive and strictly accurate; for the same claim which assumes the title of *Catholic* connects it inseparably with the see of *Rome*; and, besides, the title is the one recognized by the law of England.

[2] The Eastern Churches are now thrown back into obscurity by the progress of Mohammedan conquest and the capture of Constantinople (1453), and what might be said of them is rather matter of curiosity than general interest.

interval between Hus and Luther. Such, among others, were JOHN OF GOCH, rector of a cloister of nuns at Mechlin (*b.* about 1400, *d.* 1475); JOHN OF WESEL, a professor at Erfurt and preacher at Worms, conspicuous for his Augustinian theology (*b.* between 1400 and 1420, *d.* 1481); and JOHN WESSEL, of Gröningen, who united the characters of schoolman, mystic, and humanist, with that of scriptural reformer (*b.* about 1429, *d.* 1489), thus overlapping the life of Luther, who professed special obligations to his teaching.

Through all this period runs the powerful chain to which Luther bore his emphatic testimony when he came to read the works of Hus:[1] "Unknown to myself (*Ego imprudens*), I have both taught and held all (the tenets) of this John Hus; John Staupitz too has taught them without knowing it; in brief, we are all Hussites unawares; in fine, Paul and Augustine are Hussites to the very letter (*ad verbum*)." Nor, in recognizing this bond of realist philosophy and Augustinian theology, must we exclude Aquinas and Bacon among the schoolmen, or, on the other hand, Calvin, much as they differed from Luther; for all held the Augustinian doctrine of faith, though Luther was its great champion as the "articulus stantis aut labentis Ecclesiæ."

§ 4. Another mighty movement, which had intimate though various relations to the great era of religious reformation, was that of the ardent scholars called *Humanists*, among whom are numbered names so various as Reuchlin and Erasmus, Dean Colet and Sir Thomas More;[2] but we must here be content to record the mighty impulse which Luther received from the reading of Erasmus's edition of the Greek Testament in his cell at Wittenberg (1516). Next year the crisis, which had been ripening in his mind, was brought to a head, when the Dominican Tetzel came to the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, preaching the Indulgence[3] proclaimed by Leo X. for the building of St. Peter's.[4] On the Eve of

[1] In his letter to Spalatinus, Feb. 1520.

[2] In this brief review we are relieved from all necessity of treating the whole subject of the English Reformation, including the Oxford School of Reformers, and Erasmus's connection with England, by Canon Perry's *Student's English Church History*, Period II. Erasmus was some sixteen years older than Luther, having been born at Rotterdam about 1467. Colet was about the same age (*b.* 1466). More (*b.* 1480) was only three years older than Luther.

[3] Observe the remarkable coincidence with the opposition to the Indulgence and the burning of the Pope's bull at Prague in 1412. (See Chap. XL. § 11.)

[4] Comp. Chap. XV. § 14, p. 247. For Luther's first works, and a full account of his embarking on the Reformation, see "*The First Principles of the Reformation, or, the Ninety-five Theses and the Three Primary*

All Saints (Oct. 31, 1517) he nailed to the palace door, to be read by the people flocking to the great festival, his famous *Ninety-five Theses*, addressed to the Archbishop of Mainz; and his action was sustained by his sovereign, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. In the disputations which followed with the Dominicans, Luther was joined by PHILIP MELANCHTHON[1] (1518), whose profound learning and gentle spirit, united with the firmest attachment to the same principles, made him alike the support and moderator of his vehement leader.

§ 5. In 1520, the Pope's decision to issue his Bull against Luther caused the publication of his *Three Primary Works*. The first was an *Address to the German Nation*, assailing the "three walls of the Romanists," namely the supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the temporal power, the Pope's sole claim to interpret the Scriptures, and his sole right to summon a Council; adding twenty-seven articles of Reformation. The second was a *Letter to Leo X.* on the Liberty of the Christian man; in the third, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, he attacked the whole scholastic doctrine of the Seven Sacraments, virtually denying the *sacramental* character of all but the Eucharist and Baptism. As to the former, he decisively rejected Transubstantiation, while firmly holding the "real presence" in that form of "*Consubstantiation*," which became thenceforth a distinctive article of the Lutheran Creed. When, after an interval of hesitation, the Bull arrived at Wittenberg, Luther carried it in procession outside the walls, and burnt it together with a complete set of the books of Canon Law (Dec. 10th, 1520).

§ 6. This act was Luther's final breach with Rome; and it remained for the young Emperor and the German princes to choose their part in the Diet summoned at WORMS (Jan. 1521), to consider the grievances of Germany and the case of Luther. The reformer obeyed the summons with courage proof against the fate of Hus and Savonarola; and Charles V. was too politic to yield to the instigations to repeat the perfidy of Sigismund. But on the main question his policy sacrificed the interests and peace of Germany, to gain the support of the Pope against the rivalry of France, and the edict issued against Luther at Worms[2] was finally ratified at the Second

Works of DR. MARTIN LUTHER, translated into English. Edited with Theological and Historical Introductions by Henry Wace, D.D., and C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D. Lond. 1883."

[1] *Melanchthon* (let the student eschew the corruption *Melanctho*ı) is the Greek form of his name (*Schwarzerd*, i.e. "black earth"), assumed according to the custom then usual with scholars. He was at this time only twenty-one (*b.* 1497).

[2] We must leave to fuller narratives the residence of Luther, under the protection of the Elector, in the castle of the Wartburg, where he began the

Diet of Spires, in spite of the *Protest* of the reforming princes, which established the famous name of PROTESTANTS (1529). Next year Charles V., at the summit of his power, having made peace with France, become master of Italy, and received the imperial crown at Bologna (see p. 253), presided at the *Diet of Augsburg*, where the Protestant princes presented the famous *Confession of Augsburg* (*Confessio Augustana*), drawn up by Luther and Melanchthon[1] (June 25th, 1530). During the interval granted them before the power of the Empire should be put forth to crush the Lutheran heresy, they formed the defensive *League of Schmalkald* (1531). But civil war was postponed by the irruption of a vast host of Turks into Hungary, and Charles promulgated the religious *Peace of Nuremberg*, with the promise of a General Council (1532).

§ 7. A glance must here be thrown on another scene. The cantons of SWITZERLAND, which had heroically freed themselves from the power of Austria, Burgundy, and the Empire, might have expected (at least, according to our modern ideas) to throw off the yoke of Rome. But the simple faith of the peasantry in the "Forest Cantons" kept them, with the Cantons more nearly connected with Italy, to the old faith;[2] while the more enlightened and commercial people of *Zürich* and *Bern* espoused the Reformation. The leader of the movement was ULRICH ZWINGLI (born the year after Luther), who had been educated at Bern, Basle, and Vienna, and had studied Plato and the Greek Testament. Returning from Marignano, where he had been an army preacher, full of disgust at the Swiss mercenary system, he preached reforming doctrines at Zürich, which threw off the yoke of the Bishop of Constance (1424), and was soon followed by Bern. Zwingli fell in the ensuing civil war (1531), which was ended by the Peace of Cappel, leaving each Canton to settle its own religious system.

translation of the Bible, which, with his German works, fixed the standard of the language; the peasants' insurrection and fanatical outbreaks, which he joined the princes in putting down; and the temporary compromise at the First Diet of Spires (1526), where the Emperor, in the midst of his quarrel with Clement VII. (see pp. 251–2), consented that "each state should, as regards the Edict of Worms, so live, rule, and bear itself, as it thought it could answer it to God and the Emperor." The reversal of this decree at the Second Diet was the consequence of Charles's reconciliation with the Pope.

[1] Their leaders were "John the Constant," who had succeeded to the electorate of Saxony on the death of his brother Frederick (March 1525) and Philip of Hesse. The Elector John died in 1532, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick "the Magnanimous."

[2] This is not meant as an *exact* statement of the divisions of the cantons, on the details of which we cannot enter here.

Meanwhile no small influence was produced in Germany by the views of the kindred Swiss; for Zwingli, besides being not so earnest an Augustinian as Luther, regarded the Eucharist as only a commemorative ordinance."[1] To Luther this was rank heresy, and his passionate denunciations of Zwingli and his followers had an unfortunate influence on the common cause of the German reformers.[2]

§ 8. The old imperial city of Basle, now the most powerful of the Swiss states,[3] accepted the Reformation preached (1522 f.) by Œcolampadius,[4] the friend of Erasmus and Melanchthon, after a strong opposition from the Bishop and a party in the University. The reformation in the free city of *Geneva*,[5] which had a powerful influence on other lands, sprang from the movement in France, with which the city was linked by language and old connections. The work begun by William Farel, in 1532–3, was carried on by JOHN CALVIN (the Latin form of his name *Chauvin*),[6] who was born at Noyon in Picardy (July 10, 1509), and acquired in the schools of Paris, Orleans, and Bourges, that deep learning and dialectic subtilty,

[1] Abstaining, as is our duty here, from any theological discussion, we point out the two sides of the question, as set forth in one and the same passage (1 Cor. xi. 24–26): "This is *my body*; . . . this is the new testament (covenant) *in my blood*; . . . this do in *remembrance* of me; for as often as ye eat this *bread* and drink this *cup*, ye do *shew forth* (Καταγγέλλετε) the Lord's death till he come."

[2] Erasmus also was at issue with Luther on the sacramental question, as well as on that of predestination and free-will, about which they had a violent controversy. Nothwithstanding the impulse given to the new movement by his bitter satire on abuses, especially on the monks, in his *Praise of Folly* (Μωρίας Ἐγκώμιον) and his Greek Testament, Erasmus was opposed to separation, and, after his controversy with Luther (1524) he withdrew from the Reformation, and strove to act the part of mediator, with the result described by himself, shortly before his death (1536): "Discerptus est ab utraque parte, dum utrique studet consulere."

[3] Basle had joined the Confederation in 1501.

[4] The Greek form of his German name *Hausschein* (i.e. "House-light").

[5] Geneva, a city of ancient Gaul, had in 1518 formed a league with Freiburg, and soon after with Bern, against the claims of the Dukes of Savoy, who (since 1401) had secured the bishopric in their family. The Reformation gave a pretext for a new attack by Duke Charles (1534), whose defeat by the aid of Bern caused the final acknowledgment of the city's freedom, with new territory at the expense of Savoy. It was united to the Swiss Confederacy by the treaties of 1815. For the outline of the *Reformation and Religious Wars in France*, to the establishment of toleration by Henry IV.'s *Edict of Nantes* (1598; revoked by Louis XIV. 1685), it is only necessary to refer to the *Student's France*, from p. 305 onwards. The first leader was Jacques Lefevre, in the diocese of Meaux, soon after 1512.

[6] Among a host of works that might be cited, special mention may be made of Dr. Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, Lond. 1850.

which his influence impressed on the widespread theology called by his name in France, England, Scotland, and America. From the persecution provoked by the excesses of the reformers at Paris (1534) he fled first to Basle, where he wrote the first draft of his great manual of the Augustinian Theology reduced to the severest logical form, and also of church discipline, the *Institutio Christianæ Religionis.*[1] Warmly welcomed by Farel at Geneva, he enforced discipline with a severity which caused the banishment of both (1538), but he was recalled in 1541, and ruled the republic as a sort of evangelical pope till his death in 1564.

§ 9. While Germany paused over the civil conflict, which Luther always desired to avert,[2] a hope of accommodation sprang up from Rome itself. The Papacy had recovered from the depths of profligacy, warlike ambition, and half-heathen luxury, which had made it the scandal of Christendom;[3] and the counsels of reformation given by such men as Ximenes, Morton, and Wolsey, were now urged by Juan de Valdez (the brother of Charles V.'s secretary), Reginald Pole, the Venetian noble Gaspar Contarini, and others of the highest distinction, even courtly ladies as well as eloquent preachers. We have seen (p. 270) that Pope Paul III. issued a commission of cardinals to enquire about "the amendment of the Church" (1538); and in 1541 he allowed Contarini to confer with Melanchthon at the *Diet of Ratisbon*, where (strange as some may now think it) a basis of reunion was laid in *the doctrine of justification by faith.* But Luther held aloof in distrust, while Francis I. persuaded the Pope that the concord of Germany would make the Empire dangerously strong, and all was thrown back for the expected Council.

§ 10. But meanwhile the zeal of an enthusiast, like Francis and Dominic three hundred years before, had called into being a new power, which was destined to mould the character and policy of the Roman Church for another three centuries and more, down to our own time.. The young Spanish nobleman, IGNATIUS LOYOLA

[1] In his doctrine of the Eucharist, Calvin held a "real presence," but in a purely spiritual sense, quite distinct from the Lutheran consubstantiation. We need only refer to the great blot on his fame, the burning of the Spanish physician, Servetus (Miguel Servede) as an anti-Trinitarian and Pantheistic heretic (1553), as a conspicuous proof, among many for long centuries, that the principle of religious toleration was rejected alike by all but a very few. Theodore Beza, the eminent colleague and sucessor of Calvin, defended the deed in a tract, "*De Hæreticis a Civili Magistratu puniendis.*"

[2] His heart was set on the union of Christendom against the Turks, whom he coupled with the Pope in one of his best-known hymns to the "Pope and Turk tune."

[3] See Chaps. XIV. and XV.

(Inigo Lopez de Recalde), wounded at the siege of Pampeluna (1521, see p. 249), employed his hours of pain and sickness in contrasting the lives of the saints with the romances of chivalry, till, inspired by visions, he vowed to be a soldier of the Church, commissioned by the Virgin to lead new spiritual armies against all her foes. To prepare himself by study, he went to Paris, where he met a noble fellow-countryman, FRANCIS XAVIER, who soon after undertook that part of the enterprise which led him to the work and death of a missionary in the East (*ob.* 1552). Recruits of all classes were soon enrolled in Loyola's army, under the banner of the strictest discipline, absolute devotion to the cause of the Catholic faith, unquestioning obedience to the superior authority, without regard to any human ties or interest to the contrary. The whole order was to be directed by a *General*, resident at Rome. This *Society of Jesus* was sanctioned by Paul III. in 1540, and, before the death of Loyola (in 1546), he had founded more than a hundred Jesuit colleges and an immense number of schools, and had established thirteen provinces, besides the Roman, in Europe (chiefly the south), Africa, India, and Brazil. Their power in the north of Europe dates chiefly from the counter-reformation.

§ 12. The influence of the Jesuits was at once felt, in opposition to the party of conciliation, at the meeting of the COUNCIL OF TRENT (in the Tyrol), the *Nineteenth Œcumenical Council* of the Romans (Dec. 13th, 1545). Its long history of twenty-five sessions, extending, with interruptions, over eighteen years (to Dec. 3rd, 1563) may be summed up in a few ecclesiastical amendments, but the more distinct and rigid confirmation of the doctrines called in question by the Reformers.[1]

The death of Luther, two months after the Council met (Feb. 18, 1546), was followed by the terrible *Schmalkaldic War*, in which the Protestant princes were crushed at Mühlberg by the Spanish troops of Charles V. (April 24, 1547). John Frederick was taken prisoner, and was succeeded in Saxony by his imperialist cousin, Maurice. But five years later Maurice changed sides, and made an alliance with France against what was in effect a Spanish yoke

[1] The chief authorities are the Italian *Histories of the Council* by Sarpi (P. Soave Polano), Lond. 1620 (translated into French by Courayer, Amst. 1751), and Pallavicini, Rom. 1656, reprinted at Augsburg, 1836, *f.*; with important criticisms on both works by Ranke (*Hist. of the Popes*). Besides earlier editions of its *Acts and Decrees*, they have been published from the original archives by Aug. Theiner, Zagrab. et Lips. 1875. (For other works, see Hase, *Kirchengesch.* p. 475). The Jubilee of the Council was celebrated in 1863 by Pius IX., who seven years later held the 20th Œcumenical Council at the Vatican, to promulgate the dogma of Papal Infallibility, which was rejected by the Fathers at Trent.

imposed on Germany;[1] and Charles, worsted in the contest, was forced to grant the *Peace of Augsburg* (1555), by which the division of Germany into Catholic and Protestant states was established on the principle "*cujus regio, ejus religio*;" a semblance of toleration, which left the Catholic princes, notably in the dominions of the house of Hapsburg, to enforce the adhesion to Rome which was henceforth their stedfast policy.[2] We must leave to the general history of Europe the fruit which this principle afterwards bore in the *Thirty Years' War*, which ended in a similar arrangement by the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648).

[1] On this point see Chap. XV. § 15, p. 249.

[2] For the abdication of Charles and the religious war of his son, Philip II. of Spain, with the Netherlands, as well as the sequel of the contest in other countries, see the *Student's History of Europe*.

Castle of the Wartburg in Thuringia, where Luther made his translation of the Bible.

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